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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
DEDICATE
THIS VOLUME
TO THE MEMORY OF
J. JOSEPH RYAN
AND
JAMES A. WEISHEIPL, O.P.



J. JOSEPH RYAN (1906-1984)

Roger E. Reynolds

ON 13 May 1984, Msgr. John Joseph Ryan, alert and serene in his faith, asked for his crucifix and happily passed into Paradise. Three subsequent events in Boston, Europe and Toronto celebrating the rich life of this priest of over fifty years betokened the multifaceted aspects of his career. His funeral in Dorchester, Massachusetts, was thronged with many of the thousands of priests and students he had instructed in a teaching profession spanning two score and more years. His concerns for the poor and social justice and his devotion to the Church he served were among the aspects of his life emphasized in the eulogy by the former rector of St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts. Less than three months after his funeral Msgr. Ryan was specially remembered in Cambridge, England, at one of those events he so loved to attend and had so often before helped to organize, an International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. At St. John's Chapel there was a Mass for Msgr. Ryan, known as an ecumenist long before that word became popular, and for Walter Ullmann, the noted historian of the medieval papacy. Stephan Kuttner, his close friend and co-founder of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law, spoke of Msgr. Ryan's contributions to the study of canon law, and one of the celebrants was his Toronto colleague, Leonard E. Boyle, Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where many of the texts of 'Msgr. Ryan's' Peter Damian are housed. Not long after that event in Cambridge, a symposium in Toronto was dedicated to Msgr. Ryan where aspects of 'his' period 1050-1150 were examined by his Toronto colleagues and visiting members of the CARA Committee of the Medieval Academy of America.

Msgr. Ryan was born in Boston on 16 June 1906, and graduated from Boston College High School and Boston College. After attending Notre Dame University on a scholarship and studying for the priesthood at St. John's Seminary, he was sent to Rome where he earned degrees in sacred theology and church history at the Pontificia Università Urbaniana and the Pontificia Università Gregoriana. His early experiences in the Rome he dearly loved and where he was ordained on 5 December 1933 by Cardinal Marchetti-Selvaggiani were to be powerful stimuli in the shaping of his later academic career. After a period of work with the poor and as a curate at Holy Cross Cathedral in Boston, Msgr. Ryan began to lecture in Church History at St. John's Seminary. In 1946

he came to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto for further training and received his Doctorate in Mediaeval Studies in 1956 with the publication of his thesis *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources*. Thereafter, he divided his time between Toronto and Brighton as a professor of Mediaeval Church History, author of scholarly publications, and promoter of research on the medieval papacy and canon law.

As a teacher Msgr. Ryan's influence was most strongly felt at Toronto and Brighton, but it did not fail to penetrate other academic circles. I first encountered his name as a graduate student at Harvard. There Giles Constable in his lectures numbered Msgr. Ryan with Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras as one of those scholars who in his work at Toronto had revolutionized the study of early medieval canon law in the twentieth century; and his friend, George Huntston Williams, often praised Msgr. Ryan for his great service to the ecumenical movement. On seeking out this celebrated scholar in Brighton I found his generosity to a student from another university beyond all bounds and his enthusiasm for medieval church history and canon law infectious. Hours of his time were devoted to introducing me to the mysteries of early medieval canon law collections, and, imitating one of his practices in Toronto, he would frequently disappear into the library stacks to return proudly burdened down with volumes of the rare editions of the canonical collections that were in St. John's Library and not in the Harvard collections.

Over the years Msgr. Ryan published numerous newspaper articles, encyclopaedia entries, and book reviews, but his major studies were devoted to the period of the so-called Gregorian Reform and to the history of early medieval canon law collections. The significance of his Institute thesis on Peter Damian's canonical sources – highly acclaimed in almost three dozen reviews – was captured in the preface by Stephan Kuttner to the published version. Prior to Msgr. Ryan's study, Humbert of Silva Candida and Peter Damian were traditionally lumped together as Italian papal reformers whose works displayed little or no influence of the earlier eleventh-century transalpine reforms epitomized in the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms. But Msgr. Ryan's careful examination of the canonical sources showed that Peter Damian did indeed rely heavily on the *Decretum* and that there was definitely one current among the reformers which considered the German bishop's book a useful instrument for restoring the ancient discipline of the Church.

One of Msgr. Ryan's most frequently cited articles was his address to the First International Congress of Medieval Canon Law at Louvain in 1958. In it he summarized research in progress on the early medieval canon law collections since the magisterial *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident* of Fournier and Le Bras. He outlined not only the opportunities for work in this field but also some of the pitfalls. The challenges in that article have un-

doubtedly been instrumental in the high percentage of volumes on pre-Gratian collections published in the *Monumenta iuris canonici* by the Institute of Medieval Canon Law and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Symbolic of Msgr. Ryan's promotion of research in canon law were the *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* of which he was a co-editor. Msgr. Ryan had induced Cardinal Cushing to support the Congress in Brighton in 1963 together with the publication of its proceedings, and the depth and quality of the papers given there signalled the coming of age in North America of a branch of studies formerly regarded as a European affair.

Msgr. Ryan has been variously eulogized as an urbane, witty, and fun-loving Christian gentleman whose versatilities outside academe ran the gamut from mountain climbing to music. His major legacy to the academic world has been the example of an historian who was able to show in a magisterial way how modes of thought and historical currents were influenced by and influenced legal sources.

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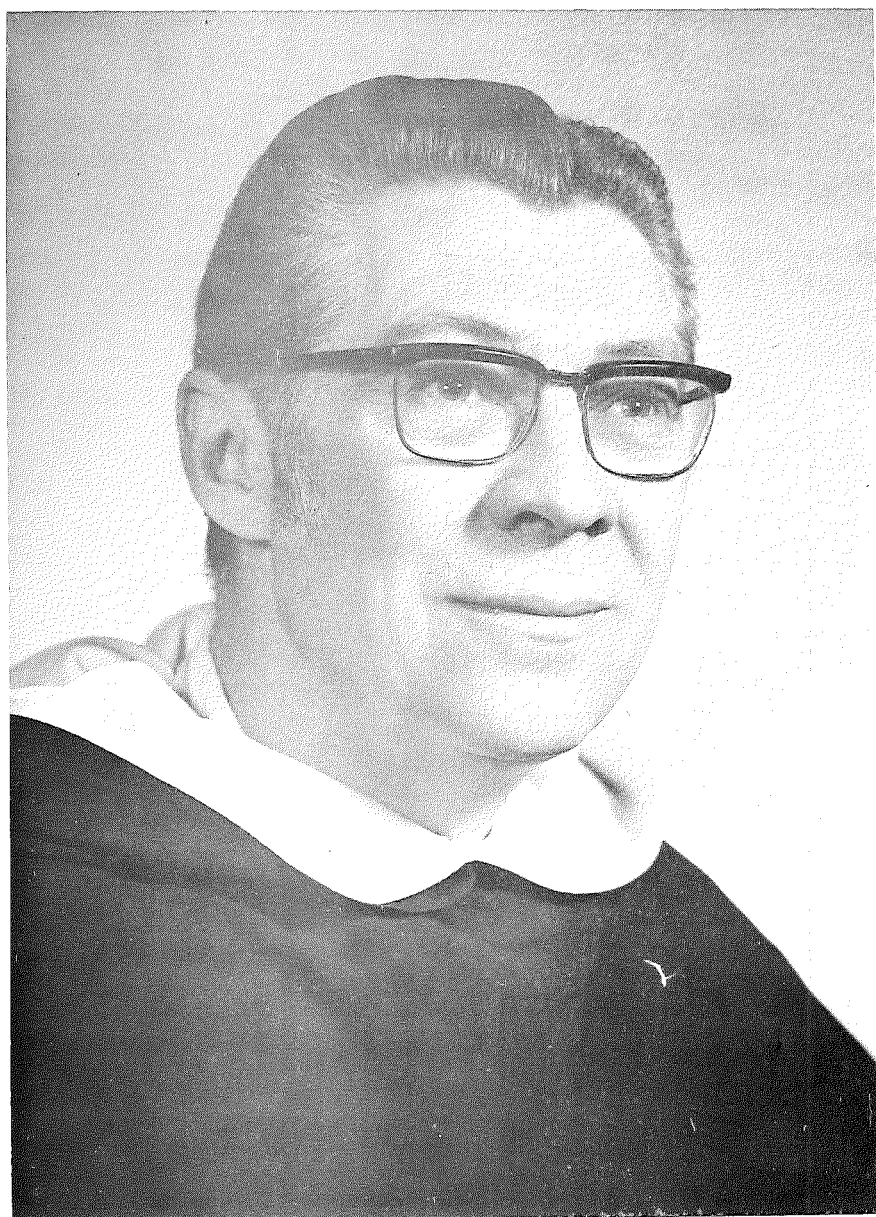
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JAMES A. WEISHEIPL, O.P. (1923-1984)

Armand Maurer, C.S.B.

JAMES Athanasius Weisheipl, O.P., died on 30 December 1984 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, where he was visiting friends during the Christmas vacation. He was buried from the Dominican Priory, River Forest, Chicago on 3 January 1985. The homily was delivered by his friend and Dominican confrère, Benedict M. Ashley. A memorial Mass was celebrated in the chapel of the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto on 16 January.

Weisheipl was born in Oshkosh, Wisconsin 3 July 1923. He received his early education in Oshkosh and entered the Dominican Order at River Forest, Illinois, receiving the habit on 24 June 1942, and being professed on 25 June 1943. He studied philosophy and theology at River Forest, earning the Licentiate in Philosophy in 1946 and Lecturer in Sacred Theology in 1950. He was ordained priest in St. Pius Church, Chicago 7 June 1949.

Following his ordination, Weisheipl spent two years in England at the College of St. Thomas Aquinas (Hawkesyard Priory) lecturing on the philosophy of nature, the subject he loved so well and cultivated so expertly throughout his life. Recognizing his talents as a research scholar and teacher, his Dominican superiors then assigned him to graduate studies in Rome, where he received the Doctorate in Philosophy in 1953 from the Angelicum. His dissertation, which was subsequently published, was entitled *Nature and Gravitation*. There followed four years of study in the history of medieval science at Oxford, leading to the D. Phil. This period of immersion in the physical theories of the Middle Ages came to a focus in his thesis: *Early Fourteenth Century Physics of the Merton 'School' with Special Reference to Dumbleton and Heytesbury* (1957).

On his return to the United States, Weisheipl taught the history of medieval philosophy at River Forest from 1957 to 1965. His association with the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies as professor in the History of Medieval Science began in 1964 and continued until his death. In addition to his professorship at the Pontifical Institute, he was also a member of the graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, the Department of Philosophy, and the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology of the University of

Toronto. During the years 1965-68 he was the founder and first director of the American section of the Leonine Commission (located at Yale) for the critical edition of the works of St. Thomas. He was also one of the contributing editors of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. In 1973-74 he revisited his beloved Oxford as Visiting Fellow of Corpus Christi College. A long-time member of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, he was elected its President for 1963-64. The recognition of his achievements he prized most highly was the degree of Master of Sacred Theology conferred on him 12 September 1978 by his Dominican Order.

Weisheipl's reading in the history of science convinced him that the revolution in science that took place in the seventeenth century, with Galileo as its leader, cannot be understood without a knowledge of ancient and medieval physical theories. Galileo's originality cannot be appreciated without knowing the vast fund of scientific knowledge he inherited from his predecessors. 'Modern readers', he wrote, 'could learn a great deal from the ancestors of Galileo, particularly from the philosophers and scientists of the Latin Middle Ages who synthesized and elaborated the learning of Antiquity'. His intensive study of the Merton School of physics showed the importance of the new mathematical approach to nature begun at Oxford in the fourteenth century by Thomas Bradwardine and his followers.

While recognizing the value of mathematics in physics, Weisheipl was critical of Galileo's proposed new science that would supplant natural philosophy as it was developed by Aristotle and his medieval successors, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. With them, he defended a *scientia media*, or 'intermediate science', that utilized mathematical constructs to 'save the appearances', without disclosing the real causes of natural events. But he insisted that this does not eliminate a philosophical study of nature, as pursued by Albert and Thomas, which explains nature through its real causes and takes into account realities such as change, motion, time and causality.

Weisheipl was an indefatigable worker. Though he suffered poor health for many years, to the end he kept up a rigorous schedule of teaching, writing and directing the work of graduate students. He could be demanding of his students, requiring them to revise their theses again and again before presentation; but he won their friendship and affection by his obvious concern for their welfare. His work with them was a sharing, a joint growth, and indeed a common experience in the pursuit of truth. A popular lecturer, he addressed many audiences in the United States, Canada and abroad. Among his numerous publications, the book for which he is best known is his life of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work*). It embodies the ideals of scholarship and learning that inspired all his teaching and writing and that he passed on to his students.

A man of deep faith, James Weisheipl considered his life as a scholar and teacher to be an intimate part of his vocation as a priest and a Dominican. He put his intelligence in the service of God and made his own the ideal of St. Thomas and the Dominican Order to hand on to others what you have contemplated (*contemplata aliis tradere*).

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THE NINE WAYS OF PRAYER OF ST. DOMINIC: A TEXTUAL STUDY AND CRITICAL EDITION*

Simon Tugwell, O.P.

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* In the following article, I cite Dietrich of Apolda's *Libellus* on Dominic according to the paragraph numbers given in the text of this work printed in *Acta Sanctorum. Augusti tomus I*; where appropriate, I also give the number of the line within the paragraph; thus, for example, 'Dietrich, §285.5' or simply '§285.5' means paragraph 285, line 5.

I cite The Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic (= NW) according to the line numbers of the edition printed below, pp. 81-92; references to NW prefaced by D are to the same edition and specify the D text. References to the translations and the version by Taegio (= M, B, and T) are to the line numbers of the editions of those texts, printed below, pp. 94-103, 106-10, 110-16 respectively. References to St. Antoninus' précis of NW (= A) are to the line numbers of the edition below, pp. 103-105.

The following abbreviations for printed sources and libraries are used throughout this article:

- AFP = *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*
- AGOP = Archives of the Order of Preachers, Santa Sabina, Rome

I

INTRODUCTION

The little treatise known currently as 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic' has established itself firmly as part of the dossier on St. Dominic (c. 1172-1221). However, its recent history is in some ways rather unfortunate. For a long time it was known simply as the concluding chapter of Dietrich of Apolda's *Libellus* on St. Dominic, compiled in the 1290s, since it was in this form that it was printed by G. Cuyper in his edition of Dietrich in A.SS.¹

In 1921 L. G. Alonso Getino published, neither accurately nor completely, an early Castilian translation of NW,² and later in the same year Eugenio Dupré Theseider published an Italian *Fourteen Ways of Prayer*, adapted from NW by Bartholomew of Modena for inclusion in his vernacular *Lives of the Brethren*.³

In 1922 Innocenzo Taurisano published a new edition of the Latin text of NW from Vatican Library ms. Rossianus 3,⁴ which contains NW as a separate work, independent of Dietrich's *Libellus*. This edition was marred by several inaccuracies, some of which were corrected in Taurisano's second edition, published in Rome in 1923.⁵ Taurisano himself printed two Italian translations of the Rossianus text, one in 1923 and one in 1947.⁶ On the strength of his assertion that Rossianus 'lectionem meliorem et magis correctam habet, quam sit textus Fr. Theodorici',⁷ his edition was thereafter accepted by everybody as

- ASOP = *Analecta (sacri) Ordinis Praedicatorum*
 A.SS = *Acta sanctorum. Augusti tomus 1* (Antwerp, 1733; rpt. Brussels, 1970)
 MOPH = *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum historica*
 QE = J. Quétif and J. Échard, eds., *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum ...*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1719-21).

These abbreviations are used to refer to archetypes, subarchetypes, or groupings of manuscripts under discussion:

- D = mss. C + E + G + H + J + K + X
 α = Archetype of the surviving tradition of NW
 β = Bologna miracle collection
 δ = Archetype of the D tradition of Dietrich of Apolda
 ε = 'Bologna Supplement' to the *Vitae fratrum* of Gerald de Frachet
 μ = The common source of M and R.

¹ Printed as Dietrich, *Libellus* §§398-418 (edited from J) in A.SS, pp. 629-32.

² 'Los nueve modos de orar de señor Santo Domingo', *La ciencia tomista* 24 (1921) 6-17.

³ 'Come pregava S. Domenico' in *Il VII centenario di S. Domenico* 2 (Ravenna, 1921), pp. 386-92.

⁴ 'Quomodo sanctus patriarcha Dominicus orabat', ASOP 15 (1922) 95-106.

⁵ *Quomodo sanctus patriarcha Dominicus orabat* (Rome, 1923).

⁶ 'Come pregava S. Domenico', *Memorie domenicane* 40 (1923) 215-29 (his own translation); I. Taurisano and A. Floris, *Come pregava S. Domenico* (Rome, 1947), pp. 100-16 (translation by G. F. Barbantini).

⁷ Taurisano, 'Quomodo sanctus patriarcha Dominicus orabat', 95.

providing *the* text of NW. Since in fact, as I shall show, Rossianus offers an unusually degenerate text, this was unfortunate. And, to make matters worse, Taurisano's second edition remained almost entirely unknown, so that all the mistakes in his first edition found their way into the dossier. The only exception, not surprisingly, is that the two translations published under Taurisano's own auspices are based on his second edition. But it was his 1922 edition that was translated into French by the Dominicans of Saint-Maximin, whose version was reproduced by Marie-Humbert Vicaire in his collection, *Saint Dominique de Caleruega, d'après les documents du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1955), and again in *Saint Dominique. La vie apostolique. Textes présentés et annotés* (Paris, 1965); Andrew Kolzow followed suit in the English translation included by Francis C. Lehner in his *Saint Dominic. Biographical Documents*, published by the Thomist Press (Washington, D. C., 1964). P. Lippini did likewise in his Italian translation in *S. Domenico visto dai suoi contemporanei* (Bologna, 1966), and I myself used the same edition in my own translation made in 1971 and published in a de luxe edition by Dominican Publications (Dublin) in 1978. Finally, the same text underlies the German translation of Viktor Hofstetter contained in V. J. Koudelka's *Dominikus* (Olten, 1983).⁸ In all these translations one glaring mistake in Taurisano's 1922 edition shows through: in the Fifth Way he printed *ab altare*, which he rightly corrected in 1923 to *ab alto*, the genuine reading of Rossianus, even if it is not the authentic text of NW.

A new edition, based on a serious study of the manuscript evidence, is clearly called for. The evidence is of various kinds. First of all, there are the manuscripts of Dietrich containing NW:⁹

C = Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 168 (saec. XIV), fols. 71r-74v (pp. 135-142)¹⁰

⁸ A translation based on my own study of the text was included in S. Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans. Selected Writings* (The Classics of Western Spirituality 33; New York, 1982), pp. 94-103; a revised version of the same translation 'In His Image. The Nine Ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic', was published in *The Canadian Catholic Review* 1 (1983) 93-96.

⁹ On Dietrich, see the excellent article by H. Lomnitzer, 'Dietrich von Apolda', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 2 (Berlin, 1980), cols. 103-10. I am grateful to Hilarius Barth, O.P., for allowing me to use the list of manuscripts of Dietrich he had compiled in view of an edition of Dietrich. Since the bulk of this article was written, the task of editing Dietrich passed into my hands, and as a result I was given access to the list of manuscripts contained in the late Thomas Kaeppli's files in the Istituto Storico Domenicano in Rome, which allowed me to add one more manuscript of NW (namely, X). Since this extra manuscript confirms my interpretation of the evidence, I have presented it separately, without making serious changes in the text of the article as it was already written; but I have included the evidence of X in the apparatus criticus.

¹⁰ This manuscript almost certainly belonged to the Dominicans of Santa Maria in Gradi, Viterbo; see below, p. 74.

E = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Campori App. 59 (early saec. xiv), fols. 127r-133v¹¹

G = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. D.2.76 (saec. xiv-xv), fols. 70v-75r¹²

H = Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1168/470 (saec. xv), fols. 118v-124r¹³

J = Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1218 (c. 1440), fols. 133v-141v¹⁴

K = Vatican Library Vat. lat. 10152 (saec. xiv), fols. 168r-176r¹⁵

X = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 36 sin. 4 (late saec. xiv), fols. 84v-87r.¹⁶

In addition to these, there is one manuscript containing NW as a separate work:

R = Vatican Library Rossianus 3 (late saec. xiv), fols. 5r-13r.¹⁷

There is also the Castilian version, which forms part of a life of St. Dominic, into which various independent documents are worked:

M = Madrid, Monastero de Santo Domingo el Real S.N. (saec. xiv), fols. 79r-88r.¹⁸

Finally, the text is contained in Ambrogio Taegio's compilation, *De insigniis Ordinis Praedicatorum* (c. 1520), of which an eighteenth-century copy survives in the Dominican Archives in Rome:

T = Rome, AGOP XIV 54, fols. 45r-46v.

AGOP X 982 contains no less than three texts of NW, but unfortunately they are of no independent value. The papers bound together and catalogued as X 982 are simply a bundle of eighteenth-century transcriptions, in which we find a copy of the Spanish text of M and two copies of Dietrich, both including

¹¹ On this manuscript, see V. J. Koudelka, 'Les dépositions des témoins au procès de canonisation de saint Dominique', AFP 42 (1972) 62-64.

¹² This manuscript belonged to Santa Maria Novella, Florence; cf. G. Pomero, 'Censimento dei manoscritti della Biblioteca di S. Maria Novella. Parte I: Origini e Trecento', *Memorie domenicane* N.S. 11 (1980) 378-79.

¹³ This manuscript belonged to the Carthusians of Beatusberg, Koblenz; cf. M. Coens, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis', *Analecta bollandiana* 52 (1934) 229-31.

¹⁴ On this manuscript, see below, p. 22 n. 75.

¹⁵ This manuscript belonged to the Dominicans in Orvieto; see T. Kaeppli, 'Antiche biblioteche domenicane in Italia', AFP 36 (1966) 54.

¹⁶ This manuscript was given to the library of Santa Croce, Florence, by the great Franciscan bibliophile, Tedaldo della Casa, in 1406; it is interesting to note that in 1396 it had been lent to Bartholomew of Pisa. On Tedaldo, see F. Mattesini, 'La biblioteca di S. Croce e Fra Tedaldo della Casa', *Studi francescani* 57 (1960) 254-316.

¹⁷ On this manuscript, see Taurisano, 'Quomodo sanctus patriarcha Dominicus orabat', 94-95.

¹⁸ On this manuscript, see W. F. Manning, 'An Old Spanish Life of Saint Dominic: Sources and Date' in U. T. Holmes, Jr. and A. J. Denomy, eds., *Medieval Studies in Honor of Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, Smith Professor of French and Spanish Literature, Emeritus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 139-58.

NW, one taken from A.SS with variants from C noted in the margin, the other taken, precisely, from C.

There is also a seventeenth-century copy of extracts from M in Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria 821 (formerly 2382), likewise a bundle of miscellaneous papers, but the text is clearly copied from M and is of no independent value.

Apart from the manuscripts containing NW as such, there is a certain amount of other pertinent material.

St. Antoninus gives a précis of NW in tit. xxiii of the third part of his *Chronica*. No autograph survives of this section of the work, but three manuscripts are known:

- S = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale II I 376 (saec. xv), fol. 307 [298]
- U = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8951 (saec. xv), fols. 283v-284r
- V = Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1968 (a. 1476-78), fol. 370.¹⁹

It is chiefly through Antoninus that NW was known to later writers. For example, Guillaume Pepin paraphrases part of the text in the third sermon for St. Dominic in his *Sermones de imitatione sanctorum* completed in 1519,²⁰ but his source is Antoninus. Juan de la Cruz, O.P. refers to NW in his *Diálogo sobre la necesidad de la oración vocal*, published in Salamanca in 1555: 'En su historia leeréis que en sus continuas oraciones usaba (S. Domingo) de diversas posturas y meneos del cuerpo' ²¹ Although Juan at some time came to know the Madrid codex,²² it is probable that his source here is Antoninus. Luis of Granada offers a loose translation of Antoninus' précis of NW in his *Memorial de la vida cristiana* 5.1.4 (Lisbon, 1565), and this was then reproduced in French in *L'année dominicaine*, August 1 (Amiens, 1693), pp. 448-52. It is still Antoninus who is cited by Serafino Maria Loddi in his *Vita del glorioso patriarca S. Domenico* (Lucca, 1727), pp. 249-52.

Parts of NW were also incorporated by Johannes Antonius Flaminus into his life of St. Dominic, which was published in his *Vitae patrum Ordinis*

¹⁹ Cf. S. Orlandi, *Bibliografia antoniniana* (Vatican City, 1961), pp. 65-76. U belonged to the Benedictines of San Benedetto di Polirone. S apparently goes with Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana San Marco 363, which was given to San Marco by an unnamed *civis Florentinus* in 1465. V was written for Cardinal Pedro Ferriz (a decoration on the first folio includes his arms and title, so he was clearly already a cardinal when the manuscript was written); he was made a cardinal in 1476 and died in 1478 (cf. F. Martin, 'Ferriz (Pedro)', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques* 16 [Paris, 1967], cols. 1292-93).

²⁰ fol. 315v (Venice, 1589). For the date, see QE 2.87b.

²¹ Edited by V. Beltrán de Heredia, *Melchor Cano, Domingo de Soto, Juan de la Cruz. Tratados espirituales ... Estudio preliminar y ed. preparada* (Biblioteca de autores cristianos 221; Madrid, 1962), p. 328.

²² Juan de la Cruz, *Crónica* (Lisbon, 1567), fol. xxxvii^v.

Praedicatorum (Bologna, 1529), fols. LVI^v-LVII^v (= F¹). In addition to the printed text, there is a manuscript dating from a few years earlier:

F² = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. D.3.501 (a. 1524), fols. 57v-58v.

It is difficult to learn much from F, since Flaminius was making use of NW, not simply quoting it, and in any case he rewrote all his sources in what he considered to be more elegant Latin, which effectively obscures the mediaeval originals.

Finally, there is the Italian adaptation and expansion of NW in Bartholomew of Modena (B). The manuscript has, most regrettably, been lost from the Convento di San Domenico, Bologna, but R. Creytens has published a fairly detailed study of it.²³ For the text of the *Fourteen Ways* we are dependent on the edition mentioned above by Dupré Theseider, but there is a French translation and a more generous reproduction of the illustrations in F. Balme and A. I. Collomb.²⁴

II

NW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIETRICH'S *LIBELLUS*

The first question raised by the texts we have of NW is whether the treatise was originally part of Dietrich's *Libellus*, as in D, or whether it was originally a separate work as, seemingly, in M and R.

Bernard Gui appears to have known NW as a separate work. In 1314 he sent the Master of the Order a collection of historical material with an accompanying letter, in which he says:

Superaddidi nunc ... ea que de beato Dominico amplius petivistis, scilicet modos orandi ipsius devotissimos et quedam miracula gloriosa meritis eius Rome patrata que in gestis ipsius communibus non habentur, necnon dicta seu attestationes testium super inquisitione facta de vita et obitu et miraculis eiusdem quando debuit per sedem apostolicam sanctorum confessorum catalogo annotari.²⁵

²³ R. Creytens, 'Barthélemy de Ferrare O.P. et Barthélemy de Modène O.P. Deux écrivains du xv^e siècle', AFP 25 (1955) 376-416.

²⁴ *Cartulaire ou Histoire diplomatique de Saint Dominique* 3 (Paris, 1901), pp. 275-87. The illustrations are also reproduced on the walls of the entrance hall of the Maison St. Dominique, Fanjeaux, from photographs taken for the late Ceslas Rzewuski, O.P. These photographs make it clear that Dupré Theseider did not preserve the orthography of the manuscript in his edition, but they do not permit of any serious control of his text.

²⁵ Cf. Koudelka, 'Le procès de canonisation', 50-51 with n. 10 (cited above, n. 11); the text is printed from AGOP XIV lib. KKK, fol. 758r. NW is not mentioned as part of Gui's earlier collection in 1304 (T. Kaeppli, ed., 'Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis. De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit' in MOPH 22.3-6), but this does not, of course, have to mean that Gui did not know NW in 1304.

Gui certainly knew Dietrich's *Libellus*,²⁶ but he evidently regards NW as an autonomous work, like Cecilia's *Miracula* and the canonization process.

Gui's text of NW is unfortunately not available to us. It was contained in a manuscript belonging to the Dominicans in Carcassonne (W), which is now lost; the canonization process of St. Dominic was printed from the same manuscript in QE 1.44-58. Souèges reports that he saw the text of NW there and apparently made a copy of it:

Saint Antonin rapporte neuf manières de prier dont il se servoit; qu'il avoit sans doute prises de quelque ancien manuscrit de Bernard Guidonis, semblable à celui qui se garde encore dans nôtre bibliothèque de Carcassonne, d'où je les ay aussi tirez.²⁷

It is hard to forgive him for printing a translation of Luis of Granada's translation of Antoninus instead of Gui's own text. The Carcassonne manuscript is now lost, and Bernard Montagnes, O.P. informs me that Souèges' papers are not known to have survived either.

However, it is probable that we still have indirect access to Gui's text, thanks to the Castilian translation in M. All three documents listed in Gui's letter, quoted above, are contained together in M, fols. 37r-88r, and a comparison between W's text of the canonization process and the translation in M suggests that there is a close relationship between them. I have noticed fifteen or more passages in the Bologna process where M and W share a common and at least suspect reading not found elsewhere,²⁸ and there are also several places where

²⁶ Dietrich concludes Gui's list of biographers of St. Dominic in his *Libellus de magistris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio* ..., 9 vols. (Paris, 1724-33), 6.405. Since he cites the incipit without the *ut puto* with which he cites Ferrandus' *legenda*, we may presume that Gui had actually seen Dietrich's *Libellus*, and his date of 1290 is presumably taken from the reference to Cecilia's death in the proem; but there is no reason to suppose that he read any further, so his copy may have contained NW without his noticing it.

²⁷ *L'année dominicaine*, August 1, p. 448.

²⁸ References in the following notes to the Bologna canonization process will be given according to the paragraph and line numbers in A. Walz's edition, 'Acta canonizationis s. Dominici' in MOPH 16.123-67. On the complex textual problems involved, see Koudelka, 'Le procès de canonisation', 47-61; Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, pp. 474-75. It is difficult to compare the different texts. Dietrich's précis is too concise to be of much use to us. The excerpts in E cover only a portion of the text. Borselli's text is shorter and very different from the others. Flaminio gives a fairly complete text, but rewritten in more humanistic Latin. The only complete witness other than W and M is Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. IX 61 (3287). In the following passages, M agrees with W against Marciana, and the other witnesses are either silent or support Marciana:

§2.8	<i>dispensationem</i> W, <i>para dispensar</i> M, where <i>dispositionem</i> must be correct
§3.12	WM omit <i>horis competentibus</i>
§4.10	WM both interpolate <i>non ibat ad quiescendum sicut quidam faciunt</i> (<i>non se yua a folgar e repausar commo fazen agora algunos</i>), after <i>fratres</i>

M and W alone preserve portions of text which are probably genuine.²⁹ Since there are lacunae in W not repeated in M,³⁰ we may conclude, not only that M is based on Gui's text, but also that it derives from a better copy than W.

Since there is this affinity between M and W, and since M's life of Dominic shows no sign of any dependence on Dietrich,³¹ it seems reasonable to infer that M derives NW from Gui's collection and is therefore a witness to NW as an independent work.

Of itself, of course, this does not prove that NW was originally independent of Dietrich, as it might have become a separate work simply by being detached from his *Libellus*. To pursue our enquiry further, we must turn to the tradition of Dietrich. I have made a study of the manuscripts containing NW and, as a

§7.7	and elsewhere, WM give Rodulphus' name as <i>Radulphus, Randulfo</i>
§8.16	<i>priorem</i> W, <i>al prior</i> M, for <i>hunc testem</i>
§8.29	WM omit <i>priori</i>
§10.7	<i>clericis</i> W, <i>clerigos</i> M, for <i>episcopis</i>
§13.2-3	WM have the three subjunctives in the plural
§15.5	<i>ecclesia</i> W, <i>iglesia</i> M, for <i>sepultura</i>
§18.7	<i>frequens</i> W, <i>espessa mente</i> M, for <i>feruens</i>
§20.4	<i>quatuor</i> W, <i>quatro</i> M, for <i>decem</i>
§25.6	<i>frater</i> W, <i>el frayre</i> M, for <i>firmiter</i>
§26.26	<i>temporibus ipsius</i> W, <i>en el su tienpo</i> W, for <i>temporibus ipsis</i>
§28.7	<i>lectum</i> W, <i>lecho</i> M, for <i>locum</i>
§29.21	<i>audiui</i> W, <i>yo oy</i> M, for <i>audiuit</i> (Walz wrongly reports the reading of Marciana)
§30.2	WM omit <i>sacerdos</i>
§43.17	<i>tempestatibus</i> W, <i>tempestad</i> M, for <i>temptationibus</i> .

The text of M is printed in L. G. Alonso Getino, *Origen del Rosario* (Vergara, 1925), pp. 173-205, but I have checked it against photographs of the manuscript, kindly procured for me by Carlos Junquera, O.P.; the Bologna canonization process is found on fols. 50v-73v.

²⁹ At §6.14 WM add *Item dixit quod nesciuit unquam quod haberet proprium locum iacendi nisi in infirmitate, nec de leui potuisset habuisse quin sciisset* (*Mas dixo que nunca sopiera por cierto que touiesse proprio logar para iazer e dormir si non en el dormitorio ni alli saluo en alguna enfermedad, nin lo podria auer auido sigura mente que non lo sopiesse el*), after *officio*; at §7.19 WM add *nec conquirebatur nec gemitum emittebat, immo* (*non se querellaua nin gemmia, ante*); at §12.21 W adds *In Pcia et* (*en Perçia e M*); at §44.2 WM add *cui sepulture ipse testis interfuit* (*la qual sepultura el mesmo testigo fue presente*), after *fuit*.

³⁰ At §40.18-20 W reads *magister ordinis* for *magister* at l. 18, then jumps to *cum aliis* in l. 20, omitting *accepit ... magister Iordanis*; M reads *el maestro de la orden* in both ll. 18 and 20, but has not lost the intervening words. At §47.9-11 W omits *non solum ... animarum*. At §28.16 the text of M printed by Getino, *Origen*, gives the impression that M alone gives the historically accurate reading *Coserana* for the bishopric refused by Dominic; but in the manuscript the word is written in by a much later hand, and it is no doubt taken from the Languedoc canonization process §§3, 5, 18 (M, fols. 74r, 74v, and 76v; also printed in Walz, 'Acta', to which edition the paragraph numbers refer). That Gui, like all the other witnesses, did read *Conuenarum* here is proved by Kaeppli, 'Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis', 118, l. 8 (Gui's continuation of Salagnac).

³¹ Manning, 'An Old Spanish Life', 142-50 (cited above, n. 18).

control, five of the manuscripts which do not contain NW.³² Of these last, O appears to be copied from P, so this gives us four significant manuscripts without NW and seven with NW.

The addition of NW to the text of the *Libellus*, or its omission from the *Libellus*, is clearly quite deliberate. In the manuscripts which contain it, NW is duly given a chapter title and number and included in the index of chapters; it is also alluded to at Dietrich, §218, where all the D manuscripts contain the sentence:

Modus autem orandi corporalis, scilicet qualiter se exercitabat orando, ponetur in fine libri.

Conversely this sentence is not found in LNPQ, nor does NW feature in the list of chapters. We are, therefore, dealing with two distinct recensions of the *Libellus*.

It can further be shown that, of these two recensions, it is the one which includes NW which is the 'second edition'. A large number of common variants proves that all the manuscripts containing NW derive from a single archetype (δ), and the nature of some of these variants shows that δ derives from some manuscript of the non-NW recension, whereas the non-NW recension cannot derive from δ .

A few examples must suffice to demonstrate both the coherence and the derivativeness of the D tradition:

- (a) ... (libellus sancti Dominici) post longam disputationem apud Phanum Iouis habitum cum libello cuiusdam heretici ignibus est iniectus; uerum libellus heretici mox a flammis consumptus et incineratus periit, libellus confessoris Christi Dominici ab igne prosiliit in longinquum. (§31)

This is the text of LOPQ and it is certainly correct. N jumps from the first *heretici* to the second, thereby omitting *ignibus ... libellus heretici* and leaving an unintelligible sentence. The D manuscripts have the same lacuna, but, presumably in an attempt to shore up the meaning, *cum libello* is altered to *cum libellus*.

- (b) In §52 the D manuscripts all read *preliari*, where LNOPQ have *preualere*, and in *terra*, where LNOPQ have *ista*. Dietrich is here following Humbert's *Legenda* 56, and Humbert supports *preualere* and *ista*.

³² These five are: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 7825-26 (saec. xiv) (= L); Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Theol. 109b (saec. xiv) (= N); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 833 (saec. xv) (= O) and 846 (saec. xiv) (= P); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.q. 55 (saec. xiv) (= Q). L belonged to the Dominicans in Frankfurt, but was given away as a duplicate in 1688 by the prior, Ulrich Nols; cf. G. Powitz, *Die Handschriften des Dominikanerklosters und des Leonhardstiftes in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt am Main, 1968), p. xxvi. P belonged to the Dominicans of Pirna (f.A.). Q belonged to the Dominicans in Würzburg; cf. H. Thurn, 'Die Handschriften des Würzburger Dominikanerkonvents in der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 29 (1967) 34.

(c) In §133, where A.SS (with L) has *duabus aliis pallis uidelicet*, NPQ read *duabus toaliis pallis uidelicet*. *toaliis* is evidently taken from the German tradition of Cecilia, *Miracula* 3,³³ which is the source here. *pallis uidelicet* is Dietrich's gloss. But CEGHJX all read *pre aliis* for *pallis* (K omits the word).

(d) In §138 *iuxta uiam Numentanam* LPQ (N omits *iuxta uiam*) is guaranteed by *Miracula*, pp. 38.29-39.1; D has *inuenta nauis* for *Numentanam*.

(e) *Existens in uia singulis fere diebus missam celebrabat, si ecclesiam inueniebat, et quando missam celebrabat multas lacrimas effundebat.* (§191)

This is the reading of NPQ, and it is supported by the Bologna canonization process §3; in L *si ecclesiam ... celebrabat* has been lost, but the missing words are supplied in the margin by a corrector. The same lacuna occurs, uncorrected, in D.

(f) In book 7 Dietrich reproduces, apparently without deliberate changes, the standard list of St. Dominic's miracles, associated with his canonization. At §285.5 *ope*, read by LNPQ, is solidly backed by other versions of the miracle list against *arte* D (none of the manuscripts I have looked at supports *opera* A.SS), and so is §286.3 *elapsis capite* LNPQ against *erasis de capite* D.³⁴

The D tradition, then, derives from a common archetype and represents some kind of second recension. This means that where the D manuscripts contain portions of text not found in the other witnesses, these should normally be regarded as additions to the text. And NW is by no means the only such addition:

(a) At §262.10, with minor variants, the D manuscripts all fill out the mention of the communal discipline after compline by explaining that the brethren submit themselves:

uerberibus que dicimus disciplinas, non de cathena ferrea ut pater Dominicus, sed de ligneis uirgulis.

This insertion is probably related to the insertion of NW (cf. NW 64).

(b) There is a curious ideological insertion in §273. The text of LNPQ cites the phrase from the Dominican constitutions³⁵ about the Order being founded *principaliter ob predicationem animarumque salutem*; the text in D modifies this by adding *post suam propriam salutem* after *principaliter*.

³³ References to Cecilia's *Miracula beati Dominici* will be given according to page, paragraph and line number in the edition by A. Walz, 'Die *Miracula beati Dominici* der Schwester Cäcilia', AFP 37 (1967) 5-45. For the passage referred to here, see the apparatus criticus to §3.26 (Walz, *ibid.*, 26).

³⁴ Cf. the miracle lists in Ferrandus (ed. M.-H. Laurent, 'Legenda s. Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi' in MOPH 16.197-260), §§56, 55 (pp. 253-54); QE 1.59, nos. 12, 7; M, fols. 90r, 89r.

³⁵ G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360* (Publications of the University of Manchester 170; Manchester, 1925), pp. 203-204.

(c) In §302 D offers a significantly divergent text of a passage concerning the social achievements of the Great Alleluia of 1233 (the divergences are marked in *italics*):

In ciuitatibus etenim Lombardie maxima hereticorum multitudo resipiscere nolentium *per inquisitores zelo potenti tradita seculari iudicio* igne cremata est, et plus quam centum milia hominum qui *spiritu uertiginis hereticorum agitati* nesciebant utrum ecclesie romane an hereticis adherere deberent ad catholicam fidem per predicatorum conuersi *sunt et* nunc persequuntur hereticos et abhominantur *inimicos crucis Christi* quos primitus defendebant ... de bellis quoque *et guerris* extirpandis et discordiis componendis, de usuris et male *acquisitis restituendis*, fratrum sententie se submittunt.

The most interesting feature of the D tradition, however, is a series of additions and modifications which indicate a specific local interest in the province of Lombardy:

(a) In §157, according to LNPQ, Dietrich says that Dominic remained in Bologna from 1219 until his death, except when he went to visit *quasdam terras Lombardie ciuitatemque Venetiarum*, a phrase derived from the Bologna canonization process §30. D adds a reference to his visiting Bergamo and Milan, which is not supported by any of Dietrich's acknowledged sources. Indeed, this would appear to be the earliest known reference to Dominic visiting Bergamo.³⁶

(b) In §202 the reference to John the Teuton is expanded in D to mention the fact that he was at one time provincial of Lombardy.

(c) In §240 D adds the information that Guala was 'Lombardus de Pergamo', and claims that his vision of Dominic being carried up into heaven occurred *post orationem* (a detail not supported by any other source).

(d) In §302, where John of Vicenza is mentioned for the first time, D adds that he was 'cognomento sanctus, sic enim comuniter a populo uocabatur', and in §349 he is again described as *cognomento sanctus*; thereafter in D he is referred to as *Iohannes sanctus*, not *Iohannes Vincentinus* as in LNPQ (three times in §350). There are also other alterations in connection with John in §§302 and 349.

(e) In §306 D adds the information that Amizo was from Milan.

These additions all bespeak an interest in and an awareness of local traditions in the province of Lombardy, and the two references to Bergamo are

³⁶ The earliest report of Dominic visiting Bergamo is otherwise given by Galvano della Fiamma (ed. B.-M. Reichert, 'Galuagni de la Flamma Cronica ...' in MOPH 2), p. 20. It is curious that the sixteenth-century manuscript of Dietrich, Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 65, which otherwise does not have the D variants or interpolations, has the D reading at this point in §157. (This manuscript is almost certainly the one reported to be in the novitiate library of San Esteban, Salamanca: see Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria 821, first document). I have checked two more German manuscripts of Dietrich (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 18427 and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe 379) and neither of them contains the interpolation.

particularly striking. It is quite true that Guala did come from Bergamo, and Dominic may well have visited Bergamo,³⁷ but the standard sources, which were used by Dietrich, connected Guala with Brescia, not with Bergamo (he was prior and later bishop of Brescia), and they made not the slightest mention of Dominic visiting Bergamo.

In some sense, then, the D tradition can be regarded as an 'Italian' recension of Dietrich's *Libellus*,³⁸ over against the non-NW tradition found in the German manuscripts.³⁹

The question now arises: what is the relationship between the 'Italian' recension and Dietrich? That Dietrich himself did not write NW was cogently argued by Altaner,⁴⁰ and can indeed be proved beyond reasonable doubt. The author of NW, precisely as the text is found in D, claims to have been present when Cecilia recounted the story of the raising of Napoleon (NW 116-121), giving an account of it, we may notice, which is by no means identical with that which she dictated to Angelica in the *Miracula*. But Dietrich tells us in the proem to the *Libellus* that his collection of Bologna material, including explicitly Cecilia's *Miracula*, was brought back for him after the General Chapter of 1288 by his 'beloved provincial, Conrad'.⁴¹ In the same proem Dietrich gives us the date of Cecilia's death (1290). If Dietrich had been to Bologna himself and had met Cecilia, surely he would have said so. This means that, even if he did later visit Bologna, it can only have been after Cecilia's death. He cannot therefore be the author of NW.

Did he then, without actually being the author of NW, incorporate it into his own *Libellus*? And if so, where did he get it from and when did he acquire it?

³⁷ Cf. W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. 1: *Origins and Growth to 1500* (New York, 1966), p. 89.

³⁸ CEGJKX are obviously Italian manuscripts; H is a German manuscript; at §237.7 the scribe provides a marginal gloss to *toalia* (*id est eyn twele*), and in §355 not only does he get *Susato* right, unlike the other D manuscripts, he is able to locate the place, adding *Westphalie*. But H contains all the 'Italian' idiosyncrasies, and after the *Libellus* the same hand continues with the miracles of Dominic and Peter Martyr compiled on the orders of Berengarius, which appears to be an Italian compilation (for the text, see H.-C. Scheebēn, 'Notae et additiones ad legendas s. Dominici aliorumque virorum clarissimorum, O.P. saec. xiii', ASOP 17 [1926] 697-710).

³⁹ None of the German manuscripts apart from H contains NW, nor does the German vernacular text (I am grateful to Hilarius Barth, O.P. for this information).

⁴⁰ B. Altaner, *Der heilige Dominikus. Untersuchungen und Texte* (Breslau, 1922), pp. 187-89; his opinion was endorsed by Scheebēn, 'Notae ... ad legendas s. Dominici', 684 n. 1.

⁴¹ Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §4. For the name and identification of the provincial, see Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 192. All the manuscripts I have used read *Conradus*, not *Gerardus* (as in A.SS). The 1288 chapter was a diffinitors' chapter, so Dietrich must mean that Conrad was provincial at the time of writing, not in 1288. Since there is a clear link between the proem and the letter to Boccasini (1297), the Conrad in question is surely, as Altaner suggested, Conrad of Trebensee, provincial 1296-1300 (P. von Loë, *Statistisches über die Ordensprovinz Teutonia* [Leipzig, 1907], p. 14).

The textual evidence already adduced obliges us not to treat the problem of NW in isolation from the larger question concerning the provenance of the 'Italian' recension. It is not just the presence of NW which has to be explained. NW itself, as a self-contained document, could, no doubt, somehow have found its way to Dietrich in Erfurt; but what kind of source would have produced the other modifications which characterise D? The problem is not simply one of information; from the sources already available to him Dietrich would have known that Dominic visited Milan and that Amizo was Milanese,⁴² but he had evidently decided that there was no occasion to mention either fact. Why should he change his mind? The salient feature of the 'Italian' modifications is that, apart from the addition of NW, they reflect precisely the insistence on relatively trivial local details which characterises local traditions. If Dietrich was responsible for making these changes in the text of his *Libellus*, then it is not enough to suppose that he somehow came to be informed of local traditions from the province of Lombardy; he must also somehow have been persuaded that they were significant enough to warrant a succession of emendations to his text.

Even if we can imagine a source capable of having precisely this effect on Dietrich, we shall still have to clarify how and when it reached him.

We do not know when Dietrich first began to work on his life of Dominic, but by 1288 he had put together a single, coherent account, in which *all* the material provided by the sources available to him was synthesised.⁴³ In 1288, at Dietrich's request and expense, Conrad, who was presumably the German diffinitor at the Lucca General Chapter, obtained copies in Bologna of the canonization process and of Cecilia's *Miracula*.⁴⁴ Conrad's activities on Dietrich's behalf seem to have attracted the attention of the Master of the Order, Munio of Zamora, or maybe Conrad mentioned Dietrich's project to him. Anyway, apparently also in 1288, Munio wrote to Dietrich, commanding him to produce a *legenda* of St. Dominic.⁴⁵

⁴² Bologna canonization process §§6, 17 (Walz, 'Acta', 127, 137).

⁴³ 'Cumque ex hiis que ad manum habebam exemplaribus omnia consummassem ...' (letter to Boccasini). I quote the letter from NQ, as the other manuscripts I have used do not contain it. The letter is printed in full in A.SS, pp. 371-72 and in part in QE 1.453-54.

⁴⁴ Letter to Boccasini; Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §4. The 'gesta que ex ore sororis Cecilie conscripta sunt' are, of course, the *Miracula* dictated to Angelica, not, as Echard imagined, some other collection made by Conrad himself; cf. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 191. It is highly unlikely that Dietrich had asked Conrad for precisely the works he in fact obtained; he probably just asked Conrad to look around for historical material.

⁴⁵ Of the manuscripts I have used, Munio's letter is contained only in N. It is printed in QE 1.453 and in A.SS, p. 371. The date I infer from the letter to Boccasini, which refers to Conrad's 'trouvailles' and then goes on immediately 'preuenit preterea me littera uenerabilis patris nostri fratris Munionis'; this seems to indicate a connection between the arrival of Munio's letter and the reception of Conrad's packet. Contrast Altaner, *ibid.*, p. 171.

Realizing the importance of his two new sources, Dietrich tells us:

opus preteritum, ut illa insererem, penitus dissipauit.⁴⁶

In 1296, presumably, the new Master, Niccolò Boccasini (Bl. Benedict xi), wrote to Dietrich asking him for the *legenda* which his predecessor had commissioned.⁴⁷ In 1297⁴⁸ Dietrich duly sent him a text, though he disclaimed the title of 'legenda' for his work.⁴⁹ However, he was still not satisfied with the state of his text:

Decreueram certe huic operi superaddendo, detrahendo, immutando, ornando, ordinando ulteriorem diligentiam adhibere, si facultas expensarum et oportunitas temporum affuisset; quibus deficientibus destiti et, ut aspicitis, dereliqui.

If the Master of the Order so wishes, he adds, he is willing to do more work on the *Libellus*.⁵⁰

The letter to Boccasini implies that there was no major accession of new material after 1288, and that thereafter Dietrich's main task, once he had incorporated the *Miracula* and the canonization process, was to find the best way to arrange and present his material. *superaddendo*, *detrahendo* need only mean that Dietrich was undecided how much of the material he had assembled should be included in his final text; it does not have to mean that Dietrich was still obtaining completely new material.

In his proem Dietrich gives what is patently intended to be a complete list of his sources, and there is nothing to contradict the belief that, apart from the two sources specifically mentioned as having been procured in 1288, he essentially had all his material assembled before that date. As has been shown by Altaner, the vast bulk of the *Libellus* depends, as Dietrich says it does, on Jordan's *Libellus*, Constantine, Humbert's *legenda*, Gerald de Frachet, Cecilia and the canonization process.⁵¹ Some of the stray stories, for which no source has been identified, may well have reached Dietrich as additions to the miracles in Constantine or to the *Vitae fratrum*, as Altaner suggests.⁵² The remaining material consists of *reuelationes sanctorum ... relationesque ueterum*. The *reuelationes* are evidently those found (in D and in LNQ) at the end of the fifth and eighth books of the *Libellus*. One 'revelation' comes *ex gestis sancti Ysidori* which must, as Altaner suggested, mean the *Miracula s. Isidori* compiled by

⁴⁶ Letter to Boccasini.

⁴⁷ Boccasini's letter does not survive, but Dietrich begins his letter to Boccasini, 'Libellum quem ... sibi deferri uestra dignatio imperauit'. Boccasini was elected in 1296.

⁴⁸ For the date see Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 172.

⁴⁹ Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §6.

⁵⁰ Letter to Boccasini.

⁵¹ Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §§3-5; cf. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, pp. 173-81.

⁵² Altaner, *ibid.*, pp. 175, 180.

Lucas of Tuy.⁵³ There is nothing to prevent Dietrich having knowledge of this work before 1288. The other 'revelations' come from Mechthild of Magdeburg, as is pointed out in a note in N.⁵⁴ According to Margot Schmidt⁵⁵ the German text of *Das fliessende Licht* was produced between 1250 and 1280, and the Latin translation round about 1285. Since Dietrich sometimes quotes the Latin text and sometimes quotes a quite different version,⁵⁶ I take it that he first encountered Mechthild's writings in German and began to make his own translation of the passages he wanted to use, but, before he had finished, he received notice of the existence of a complete Latin version. In any case, there seems, once again, to be no reason to suppose that Dietrich did not already have the text by 1288.

The *relationes ueterum*, the last source to be mentioned, are surely not, as Altaner suggested,⁵⁷ identical with the *reuelationes sanctorum*, though they are closely linked to the *reuelationes* in that both kinds of material are included for the same reason: they both display the prestige (*auctoritas*) of the Order of Preachers and the outstanding merits of its founder.⁵⁸ In the *Libellus* we do indeed find two very different types of material adduced to this effect. On the one hand there are the full-blooded, extended revelations cited from Lucas and Mechthild; on the other hand, there are several anecdotes which would, if we could believe them – and believing them would be a feat worthy of the White

⁵³ Dietrich, *Libellus*, §372. Cf. Altaner, *ibid.*, p. 185. On Lucas of Tuy's connections with the Dominicans and his appreciation of Dominic, see V. D. Carro, *Domingo de Guzman. Historia documentada* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 363, 427. The ascription to Lucas is noted in a later hand in Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 65.

⁵⁴ N, fol. 18v (cf. Scheeben, 'Notae ... ad legendas s. Dominici', 684 [cited above, n. 38]). Altaner did not succeed in identifying this source, but students of Mechthild have for some time been aware of Dietrich's use of her work; cf. M. Schmidt, ed., *Mechthild von Magdeburg. Das fliessende Licht der Gottheit* (Einsiedeln, 1955), p. 15.

⁵⁵ *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 10 (Paris, 1980), col. 878. Cf. also H. Neumann, 'Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des *Fliessenden Lichts der Gottheit* und zur Lebensgeschichte Mechthilds von Magdeburg' in K. Ruh, ed., *Altdeutsche und altniederländische Mystik* (Wege der Forschung 23; Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 175-239.

⁵⁶ (References in this footnote will be made to Dietrich's *Libellus* and to book and chapter numbers of the standard Latin text of Mechthild's *Lux divinitatis* printed in the Solesmes edition: *Revelationes Gertrudianae ac Mechthildianae*, vol. 2: *Sanctae Mechthildis ... Liber specialis gratiae ... Lux divinitatis* [Poitiers-Paris, 1877], pp. 435-643). Dietrich, §§251-253.9 corresponds to Mechthild, 2.9, but is patently not the same translation. Dietrich, §§253.9-254 corresponds to Mechthild, 2.11, but is not the same translation. Dietrich, §383, on the other hand, does reproduce the standard Latin text of Mechthild, 2.11; Dietrich, §§384-388 does not correspond to anything in Mechthild's Latin text. Dietrich, §389 is taken from Mechthild, 2.10. Dietrich, §390 does not correspond to anything in Mechthild's Latin text. Dietrich, §391 is taken from Mechthild, 3.12 and §§392-394 from Mechthild, 2.17. Dietrich, §§395-397 corresponds to Mechthild, 2.15, but is a different translation.

⁵⁷ Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 186.

⁵⁸ Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §4.15-20.

Queen – make exactly the points mentioned in the proem. Typically an initially hostile witness, usually a Franciscan or a supporter of the Franciscans, is constrained by a miracle or a vision to admit the superior merits of St. Dominic and the supremacy, in the sight of God, of the Dominican order. There were already tales of this sort in Dietrich's other sources, but some of the anecdotes cannot be accounted for by reference to any known literary source and are almost certainly to be ascribed to local German traditions.⁵⁹

In the nature of the case, material of this kind is difficult to date, and also the stockpile of anecdotes would be liable to continual increase. But at least some of Dietrich's stories could reasonably be taken to come from the *ueteres*, and there is nothing to prevent us believing that he already had a solid block of such tales by 1288.

There are four such stories in all the manuscripts I have looked at and in A.SS. First there is a group of three more or less anti-Franciscan stories,⁶⁰ the first of which is about a vision alleged to have occurred in 1270-71.⁶¹ Then there is a story about Abbot Ditmar of Volkerode, which mentions his death in 1293; this is presumably a story added to Dietrich's material after 1288.⁶² In OP three more stories of a similar kind are incorporated into the text of book 8, and the same stories, one of them considerably expanded, are also found in N, together with four more stories, though in N they are not incorporated into the text of the *Libellus*, but come together after the lives of Jordan of Saxony and Henry of Cologne.⁶³ There seems no reason to deny that all these stories are a genuine part of Dietrich's material.

One of them illustrates particularly clearly the nature of the *relationes ueterum*: it is an autobiographical account from some unidentified chaplain to the Dominican nuns at Cronschwitz of visions had by himself and by some

⁵⁹ Cf. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 180.

⁶⁰ Dietrich, *Libellus*, §§353-360.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, §§353-356. Reference is made to the impending chapter at Hildesheim; the provincial chapter was held there in 1271 (cf. von Loë, *Statistisches*, p. 32; Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 180 n. 2). This confirms the date 1270 for the death of Wichmann of Neuruppin (described as 'nuper ... defunctum'); cf. M. A. van Oudenrijn, 'Miracula quaedam et collationes fratris Wichmanni', *Analecta praemonstratensia* 6 (1930) 11 n. 10; W. Eckert, 'Wichmann v. Arnstein (od. v. Ruppin) OP', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 10 (Freiburg im Br., 1965), cols. 1089-90.

⁶² Dietrich, *Libellus*, §§361-363. The story refers to an episode 'several years' before Ditmar's death, but Dietrich does not bother to rewrite his text to note the death of someone who was still alive at the original time of writing; cf. §148, where Cecilia is described as being still alive.

⁶³ The life of Jordan is compiled largely from the *Vitae fratrum* (cf. B. Altaner, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen* [Leipzig, 1925], pp. 1-2), the life of Henry from Jordan's *Libellus*. The life of Jordan is printed in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, vol. 1: *Codices latini membranei* 2 (Brussels, 1889), pp. 136-50, and completed in Scheeben, 'Notae ... ad legendas s. Dominici', 685-88. I see no reason why these compilations should not be regarded as Dietrich's. The extra stories in N are published by Scheeben, *ibid.*, 689-96.

beguine shortly after the death of Prior John of Magdeburg. I have not been able to identify John of Magdeburg, but the foundress of Cronschwitz, Jutta of Weida, is described as being the prioress there; the foundation was made in 1238 and Jutta is still prioress in 1268, but presumably she cannot have gone on for very much longer after that date.⁶⁴

Another story concerns a Praemonstratensian during the reign of Frederick II (†1250); the canon in question is said to have died and come back to life twice, having in the mean time a spectacular vision of the heavenly glory of the Dominicans, which he duly related to a visiting Franciscan, who told it to the prior of the Dominicans in Freiburg, Arnold of Trier. Arnold was prior there from the foundation of the convent of Freiburg in 1235-36 until 1268; he died in 1275.⁶⁵

Then there is the story of a Polish nobleman who died, came back to life and became a Dominican laybrother; he was the favoured socius of *Heydenricus theutonicus Pruxie episcopus*, while he was provincial of Poland. Heydenricus was provincial of Poland in 1238-40, and became bishop of Kulm (*Pruxia*) in 1245; he died in 1263.⁶⁶

Next we have an account of the miraculous reception of a poor and not very talented priest into the order at Neuruppin, under the priorship of Wichmann. Johannes Meyer tells the same story in different words and identifies the priest as Arnoldus Theutonicus.⁶⁷ N continues the story with an account of Arnold's later life and death as prior of Hamburg, and it is followed by another story from the same priory. The only chronological anchor I have been able to discover is that Wichmann became the first prior of Neuruppin in 1246⁶⁸ and died in 1270.

Finally there are two very entertaining anecdotes from England from the period when Pecham, as archbishop of Canterbury, was persecuting between

⁶⁴ Cf. H. Wilms, *Das älteste Verzeichnis der deutschen Dominikanerinnenklöster* (QFGDD 24; Leipzig, 1928), p. 93; H. Thurm, *Das Dominikaner-Nonnenkloster Cronschwitz bei Weida* (Jena, 1942), pp. 264-65. Jutta's son, Henry, was also a Dominican and was prior of Erfurt 1256-59; see Thurm, *ibid.*, p. 31 n. 8, and J. B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America; Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 228.

⁶⁵ *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 16 (1883) 41-42 (edition of the Freiburg *Catalogus mortuorum*); J. Steinhart, 'Ein unbekannter Brief des Konstanzer Bischofs Heinrich von Tanne an die Freiburger Dominikaner aus dem Jahre 1237', *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsverein* 101 (1982) 49-50.

⁶⁶ R.-J. Loenertz, 'Une ancienne chronique des provinciaux dominicains de Pologne', *AFP* 21 (1951) 18-19.

⁶⁷ *Liber de viris illustribus* 1.80, ed. P. von Loë (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 38-39. He refers to Dietrich in connection with Wichmann, but plainly this particular story is not in the text of Dietrich known to him.

⁶⁸ Cf. van Oudenrijn, 'Miracula quaedam et collationes fratris Wichmanni', 10 and *idem*, 'Miracula quaedam et collationes fratris Wichmanni inter mysticos O.P. nationis Germanicae aetate antiquissimi', *ASOP* 16 (1924) 399.

1284 and 1292 Dominican supporters of Thomist doctrines. The stories, as written, presuppose that Pecham is already dead.

We can see why Dietrich would hesitate to use all these anecdotes in his *Libellus*, but our analysis discloses a nucleus of material which could quite properly be described as *relationes ueterum*, to which other stories could accrue. And the source is clearly German provincial tittle-tattle, and most of it could have reached Dietrich long before 1288.

Apart from the idiosyncrasies of the 'Italian' recension, the only component of the *Libellus* which is not accounted for by Dietrich's listed sources is the Bull of Canonization, and we can take it for granted that there was at least one copy of the Bull somewhere in the province.⁶⁹

There appears, then, to be no reason to refuse the obvious meaning of Dietrich's letter to Boccasini: the bulk of his material was already assembled by 1288, and what was added then was precisely the *Miracula* and the canonization process. After that, at most, a few new stories were added which arrived down the provincial grapevine.

The only hint that Dietrich was in receipt of some Italian gossip as well as German gossip is the presence in the *Libellus* of two otherwise unknown stories about John of Vicenza.⁷⁰ But even if Dietrich did receive these stories directly from some Italian source, this source cannot also be responsible for the idiosyncrasies of the 'Italian' recension; if it were, then the omission of the 'Italian' features in the non-NW tradition would be secondary, whereas, as we have seen, it is the 'Italian' recension which is secondary. And in particular it would mean that Dietrich received his John of Vicenza stories complete with the designation of John as *Iohannes sanctus*; why then should the non-NW manuscripts uniformly refer to him as *Iohannes Vincentinus* without so much as a single reference to the sobriquet *sanctus*?

We may conclude, then, that once the 1288 material had been absorbed the problem facing Dietrich was, as the letter to Boccasini says, that of deciding what material to include in the *Libellus* and how to organize it. This was still a real problem to Dietrich in 1297. And, in view of his claim to have incorporated *all* the material he had at his disposal before 1288, we may surmise that one of his difficulties was that he could not bring himself to omit anything.

The proem informs us that the *Libellus* is divided into eight *particulas*,⁷¹ but

⁶⁹ The exemplar of the Bull cited by Dietrich was issued at Spoleto on 28 August; this shows that his text does not derive from the Bologna copy, issued at Rieti on 9 July. For the diversity of dates and places of issue, see V. Ligiez and P. Mothon, 'Epitome Bullarii Ordinis Praedicatorum', ASOP 4 (1899) 255-56.

⁷⁰ Cf. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, pp. 179-80.

⁷¹ Dietrich, *Libellus*, proem §5.

in most of the manuscripts I have looked at (LNQ and D) there is a text at the end of book 7 which suggests that this was not the original plan:

Multi quidem et alia tam in uita gloriosissimi patris huius quam etiam post obitum perpetrata innotuere miracula, que non sunt stili officio designata. Hec autem breuiter annotata sunt ad sanctitatis eius demonstrationem, ad fidelium edificationem, ad laudem quoque et gloriam eius qui facit mirabilia magna solus, qui trinus in personis et unus in essentia uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.⁷²

Not only is this obviously intended to be the end of the book, it also shows that, at some stage, Dietrich was trying to persuade himself to leave out most of the post-canonization miracle stories found in book 8.

However, at least some of the extra material could be worked into the text. It is interesting that all the manuscripts I have looked at have essentially the same index of chapters for the first seven books, yet in books 5 and 6 the index does not correspond to the actual content of the books, as found in LNQ and D: in each case the index promises material at the end of the book which is in fact not there. In OP, however, the material is rearranged so that it does correspond to the index. §§392-397 are transferred to the end of book 5 and §§389-391 to the end of book 6; in addition, the Bull of Canonization is inserted where it logically belongs, after the account of the canonization process.

This suggests that LNQ and D reflect a situation in which Dietrich has drafted a new outline for his book, but has not yet rearranged his material in accordance with it.

And the reason why he has not yet rearranged his material is, actually, quite clear: he has not yet decided all the details. There is a curious uncertainty in the manuscripts as to whether book 5 is meant to conclude with two chapters *de merito et premio sancti Dominici* or with three. Of the manuscripts which contain an index of the whole work, O promises three chapters, whereas N and E promise two.⁷³ In the index at the beginning of book 5, NOP promise three chapters, but Q and CEGJKX promise two.⁷⁴ It seems to have been Dietrich who was unsure of his intentions, not just successive copyists. As we learn from OP the two extra chapters added at the end of book 5 consist of material taken from Mechthild. The one chapter deriving from Mechthild which all the manuscripts have in book 5 is one of the quotations not taken from the standard Latin version. Of the two extra chapters, the second is similarly not from the standard version, whereas the first is from the standard version. This surely

⁷² *ibid.*, §316.

⁷³ H promises only one chapter, but this must be due to editing.

⁷⁴ L promises only one (clearly an adjustment of the text to fit the facts); H does not have an index.

cannot be accidental. As the material is arranged in all the manuscripts, there is no discernible reason why, after one or more passages taken from the standard version, we should then find another chapter which is not taken from that version. But if Dietrich at one stage intended simply to add *one* more chapter to book 5 (taking the material from §§395-397) and accordingly translated it into Latin, then everything becomes clear. By the time he had decided to add a third chapter from Mechthild, he already had a ready-made translation from which he could quote.

Most of our manuscripts, then, reflect not only an as yet unfinished process of development within the text of the *Libellus*, but a process about which the author still has some hesitation.

Dietrich's planned rearrangement of his material did not stop at inserting extra material into books 5 and 6; it also involved the creation of a new book 8, which would allow him to salvage far more of his material. Once again the index at the beginning of the whole work, as found in N and O, corresponds to the new plan; but in O the material is rearranged accordingly, while in N it is not. And it is particularly significant that, at the conclusion of the last chapter listed in this index, OP have the passage already cited as the end of book 7 in the other manuscripts. This reinforces my contention that this passage was indeed intended to be the end of the whole book.

The new book 8 only evolved gradually, it seems. The D manuscripts all have the eight-part structure, but there is no sign of the revised index to book 8. N has the new index at the beginning of the whole book, but at the beginning of book 8 itself there is the same index as in D, corresponding to the unrevised arrangement of the material.

The conclusion is forced upon us that the archetype of D was produced after Dietrich had begun to evolve a new plan for the arrangement of his material, but before he had finalised it and before he had even begun to implement it. OP, on the other hand, show us, more or less, how the new plan was eventually implemented.

NOP also reveal that even material which was not incorporated in the text tended to linger on in a kind of limbo after the official ending of the book. Dietrich did not like to leave anything out.

All of this illustrates very vividly the problem to which Dietrich alludes in his letter to Boccasini. He is indeed having trouble with *superaddendo*, *detrahendo*, *immutando* and *ordinando*. It also makes it very difficult to see where there is room for a new influx of Italian material which could account for the idiosyncrasies of the 'Italian' recension. Even if he did acquire a new source which he does not see fit to mention in his proem, is it conceivable that Dietrich would have inserted a text as manifestly important as NW, only to leave it out again thereafter? As we have seen, we can trace the development of the

Libellus beyond the stage reached in δ , and we can be confident that if NW had ever got into Dietrich's text it would have stayed there, at least among the debris at the end of the book.

It seems in every way safest and simplest to say that the 'Italian' recension, as such, was not the work of Dietrich.

The D manuscripts, as we have seen, derive from a single archetype. And we do, in fact, know of one copy of the *Libellus* which was sent to Italy: the autograph which Dietrich sent to the Master of the Order in 1297. The General Chapter (of provincials) was held in Venice that year, and it is surely extremely probable that Dietrich, once again, asked Conrad to act as postman. The archetype of D in many ways fits the description given in Dietrich's letter to Boccasini. He is sending him a copy which, as he says in his letter,

in abiectis quidem cedulis ac uilibus peciis primum iam senex conscripsi propriis manibus oculisque caligantibus et compegi. (A.SS, pp. 371-72)

He is not yet satisfied with the arrangement of the book (which is no doubt why he has not got a fair copy to hand) and he has not had the time to perfect the work as he would have desired. He has to send a copy now, because the Master has told him to ('uestra dignatio imperauit'), but he is embarrassed to be sending it in such an unfinished form. This fits admirably with the place we have ascribed to δ in the development of the *Libellus*. Dietrich expresses himself willing to continue working on the book; as we have seen, he did go on revising the book after δ was produced. He also invites Boccasini himself to edit the work:

Vos, quod uestrum est, manum peritam apponite et de hac informi materia opus sicut scitis perficite gloriosum. (A.SS, p. 372)

Can we not conjecture, then, that the archetype of D derives from the copy which Dietrich sent to Boccasini, and that Boccasini did, in some way, accept the invitation to do a bit of editing? It is unlikely, perhaps, that he edited the *Libellus* himself, and there does not seem to be any reason for him to insert the references to Bergamo for his own roots were in eastern Italy. But he might well have passed the text on to somebody, perhaps in Bergamo, asking him to polish it up. This would account for the Italian idiosyncrasies, even if the results would hardly have satisfied Dietrich.

So how did NW find its way into the text? Since it contains its own prologue and its own account of the raising of Napoleon (which Dietrich had already included in the *Libellus*), it is safe to assume that NW was not specifically written for inclusion in a revised *Libellus*. We must suppose that whoever it was who edited the *Libellus* had a copy of NW to hand and saw fit to append it to Dietrich's work; conceivably Boccasini himself had suggested that this

should be done, in which case it was presumably he who had discovered and appreciated the value of NW.

In conclusion, then, we may say that Dietrich of Apolda had absolutely nothing to do with NW. It became attached to his *Libellus* in the course of a rather perfunctory reediting of the work undertaken in Italy, somewhere in the province of Lombardy, perhaps in Bergamo; this reediting was probably prompted by Niccolò Boccasini. NW was not written specially for this purpose; it preexisted in its own right. But it is conceivable that attention was drawn to its existence by its insertion into the *Libellus* and that its subsequent distribution was parasitic on that insertion. We cannot a priori exclude the possibility that the process that led to a copy of NW being available to Bernard Gui early in the fourteenth century involved first the attachment of NW to the *Libellus* and then its transcription on its own. So the question whether today we have access to NW as a genuinely independent work is one which we still have to answer.

III

THE D MANUSCRIPTS

The D manuscripts, as we have already noted, derive from a single archetype; this is shown, not only by the more sensational variants, some of which have been cited, but also by a steady succession of minor variants common to all six manuscripts.

Within the D tradition, it is clear that CGJ form a family. This can easily be seen from the apparatus to NW and it is evident throughout the *Libellus*. Certain idiosyncrasies and lacunae in C (such as *istis* for *nouissimis* in §1.16 and the omission of *afficiebatur ... miserorumque* in §26.5-8) show that C, the oldest of the three manuscripts, cannot actually be the ancestor of the other two; but J is probably copied from G.⁷⁵

It is also abundantly clear that EK form a family,⁷⁶ but in this case there are complications. K is an outrageously inaccurate manuscript and its text is full of

⁷⁵ J is one of the books of Eugenius IV; the catalogue produced shortly after his return from Florence in 1443 describes it as 'Vita sancti Dominici confessoris; in pergamenis, littera antiqua bona cum armis sanctissimi domini nostri, copertus rubeo modo florentino'. It seems that Eugenius acquired an interest in developing his library during his stay in Florence, where, it will be remembered, he was accommodated at Santa Maria Novella. It is therefore antecedently probable that his manuscript of Dietrich (which is written in a Tuscan script) should have been copied from that of Santa Maria Novella. The contents of the two manuscripts are identical: Dietrich's *Libellus* followed by Gui's life of St. Thomas. There are seemingly no good readings in J which could not have been derived from G, so the conclusion seems inevitable, in view of the number of their shared readings and shared mistakes, that J is in fact copied from G. See E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1887), pp. 6, 11; M.-H. Laurent, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 1135-1266* (Vatican City, 1958), p. 158.

⁷⁶ Not only do they have related texts of the *Libellus*, both of them also contain, after NW:

gaps where the scribe (an unidentified *Iacobus*⁷⁷) either found something missing in his source or could not decipher his source. E, on the other hand, has some outstandingly good readings, to which it has no obvious right. Koudelka has drawn attention to the fact that, in at least some places, it has the correct name for the monastery which supplied most of the nuns for San Sisto, *Sancte Marie in Tempoli*.⁷⁸ Since none of the other manuscripts I have looked at contains this reading, our first impression must be that E has an unusually good tradition behind it.

Unfortunately, though, this good tradition is not a tradition of Dietrich's *Libellus*. The mistaken name *Sancte Marie in Tiberi* was already present in the German tradition of Cecilia's *Miracula*⁷⁹ and the manuscripts of Dietrich leave us in no doubt that he wrote *Transtiberim*. E is not the beneficiary of a good tradition of Dietrich, but of a fairly good collection of other Dominican texts, which could be used to control the text of Dietrich.⁸⁰ In fact E is amply annotated with references to Dietrich's real or imagined sources: *De eius legenda*, *De uitis fratrum libro secundo capitulo primo* etc. The sources thus identified are Humbert's *legenda*, *Vitae fratrum*, Cecilia and the Bologna canonization process. Sometimes the identification is written in the margin, but more often it is actually written into the text as a kind of title, frequently as an appendage to the genuine chapter title.

The unknown student who took the trouble to identify Dietrich's sources did not content himself with simply recording his discoveries. Several times the text of the *Libellus* is rewritten on the basis of its sources. Thus, for instance, §32 is identified as being *de eius legenda* and a sentence from Humbert is inserted at §32.13-14 in place of the text of Dietrich. The received text reads:

... prefecit fratrem Dominicum, ut ad ipsum omnium ratio referretur.

Instead of this plainly unsatisfactory sentence, E has:

... prefecit fratrem Dominicum in spiritualium cura, quendam uero Guilielmum

the report on Dominic's Translation (*Solet diuina*), printed by H.-C. Scheeben, quite gratuitously, as part of Jordan's *Libellus* ('*Libellus de principiis ... auctore Iordano de Saxonia*' in MOPH 16.82-88; Gregory ix's letter commissioning the Bologna canonization process; the letter of the Bologna commissioners setting up the Languedoc process; the Languedoc canonization process; Cecilia's account of Dominic's external appearance. E contains five more pieces not found in K. EK's text of *Solet diuina* bears certain features which distinguish it from other copies.

⁷⁷ K, fol. 186v.

⁷⁸ Koudelka, 'Le procès de canonisation', 63. E has the name right in the general index at the beginning of Dietrich's *Libellus*, wrong in the index to book 2, right in the title at §84 and at §84.2-3, wrong at §95.13-14; in the title at §95.4 it has 'de Transtiberim uel sancte Marie in Tempoli'.

⁷⁹ Cf. Walz, '*Miracula* der Schwester Cäcilia', 23 (apparatus to 1. 13 and n. 6).

⁸⁰ E contains the *legenda* of the San Sisto painting of Mary, from which the name 'Sancte Marie in Tempoli' could have been gleaned (cf. E, fol. 159r).

nomine in temporalium administratione prefecit, ita tamen ut ad fratrem Dominicum referret omnium que ageret rationem.

This may well be what Dietrich intended, but since it is not found in any of the manuscripts I have looked at it is clear that E has it from Humbert.⁸¹

§60 is identified as being *de uitis fratrum parte prima capitulo primo* and a passage from Gerald de Frachet is duly substituted for §60.4-5 ('quidam ... monachorum' in A.SS):

Contigit quendam illorum iuxta uillam quandam transire, in qua quidam qui mortuus fuerat, reuixerat, ut dicebant; misit ergo quendam monachum ut inquireret ueritatem et exploraret diligenter, quid uidisset. Requisitus uero ab eo⁸²

Sometimes only a few words are taken from the source and inserted into the *Libellus*. Thus in the description of Dominic's bodily appearance, taken from the *Miracula*, at §213.9 E adds *oculos pulcros habebat*,⁸³ which is not found in the other manuscripts of Dietrich.

Occasionally only a single word is affected. At §150.9 *lectiones* is changed to *letanias*, in accordance with the text of Gerald de Frachet.⁸⁴

Names evidently interested our source-hunter. At §202.8 the name of the monastery is given as *Salemannes*, which tallies with some manuscripts of Gerald de Frachet,⁸⁵ and at §303.5 E alone fills out the name of the second *inquisitor delegatus* as *Thomas*, where the other manuscripts give only an initial (and even that is missed out in A.SS). Unfortunately it is not always clear what authority E's names have;⁸⁶ in book 2 the name of Cardinal Stephen's nephew, whom Dominic is supposed to have raised from the dead, is consistently given as *Neapoleon*, as in E's text of NW, but it is not apparent what justification there is for this. The story is taken from Cecilia, and the manuscripts of the *Miracula* have *Napoleon*, as do most of Dietrich's manuscripts.⁸⁷

In some of E's readings it is clear that we are dealing with pure conjectures:

(a) §213.14-16 is an interesting example. The passage essentially comes from Cecilia's description of Dominic's appearance and LNPQ have an admirable text:

Manus longas habebat et pulchras, uocem magnam et pulchram et tubaliter resonantem.

⁸¹ Ed. Walz, 'Legenda s. Dominici auctore Humberto de Romanis' in MOPH 16.369-423. The passage to which I refer here is §20 at p. 383.

⁸² B.-M. Reichert, 'Fratrisc Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae fratrum ...' in MOPH 1; the passage quoted is on p. 8.

⁸³ Walz, 'Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia', 44 (§15).

⁸⁴ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 74.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 35, apparatus criticus.

⁸⁶ Cf. Koudelka's comment ('Le procès de canonisation', 64 n. 51).

⁸⁷ Walz, 'Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia', 24 (2.11).

This text has gone slightly awry in the whole D tradition. CGHJX read:

Manus longas habebat et pulchram uocem et magnam et tubaliter resonantem.

In K *tubaliter* has turned into *tubarum*, which makes no sense. Faced, presumably, with something like K's nonsense, E does not have recourse to the text of Cecilia, from which a few words were imported not many lines before; instead he offers us the quite implausible emendation, *tubarum sonationem*. This is sufficient to show that the source-hunter and the person responsible for this emendation (and presumably many of the others) are not identical. The emendations peculiar to E may be due to the scribe of E, but the identification of the sources and the importation of material from the sources must already have been part of the tradition received by E.

(b) A few chapters earlier, at §192.10-11, instead of *si quando exilis esset procuratio*, K reads:

Si quando ex illis esset procuratio

E's text is manifestly an attempt to make sense of something like K:

Si quando ex illis esset aliquid procuratum

The result is thoroughly unfortunate, as *illis* can only refer to *cibaria condita cum carnibus*, so that the sentence now makes Dominic out to be delighted if he is offered such fare, when we have just been told that he refused it on principle.

(c) At §263.12-14 we are being told about people who:

nolebant oculos leuare ad celum quousque ardor ebulliens per lacrimas doloris incendium irroraret.

K, by an easy mistake, turns *irroraret* into *non oraret*, which is more or less meaningless. E emends to *non sentiret*.

(d) At §389.6-8 (from Mechthild) E misunderstands the Latin:

In hoc predicatorum ordine duo, id est statum cultum et fructum multum ... amo.

Taking the adjective *cultum* as a noun, E finds three things mentioned rather than two, so alters *duo* to *tria*.

K does not contain any identification of Dietrich's sources, and there are few signs of interference with the text of Dietrich on the basis of the sources. But there are some signs. The clearest instance is at the end of §371, where both E and K cite a text of the Bull of Canonization different from that given in the other manuscripts of Dietrich. The other manuscripts give the date and place of issue as Spoleto, 28 August, but EK read *Reate septimo ydus iulii*, which is in fact identical with the date and place of issue of the exemplar at San Domenico, Bologna.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Walz, 'Acta', 194, apparatus criticus.

It is clear, then, that the whole EK tradition has suffered from deliberate tampering as well as from serious corruption, and E makes matters worse by a taste for officious and incompetent emendation. As evidence for the text of Dietrich E and K have to be used with considerable caution, but E in particular may be valuable evidence for texts other than that of Dietrich. Unfortunately for our present purposes, though, there is no reason to believe that E derives any readings from a text of NW other than that received from its tradition of Dietrich.

So far the situation is tolerably clear, even if it is not entirely satisfactory. H, unfortunately, is a teaser. It is unmistakably within the D tradition, yet it sometimes has a good reading where CGJ and EK agree in a bad reading; at other times it shares a deviant reading with EK against CGJ, and on a significant number of occasions it shares a wrong text with CGJ against EK.

The scribe of H appears to have been collecting material for a projected new *legenda* of St. Dominic, presumably for use in the Koblenz Charterhouse. The early books of the *Libellus* are heavily annotated in the scribe's own hand; words and phrases are inserted and deleted, occasional cross-references are supplied, with the odd comment such as 'Istud multo melius habetur in *Speculo Historiali* libro 30 capitulo 96' in the margin at §31.1.⁸⁹ The interpolations sometimes consist of dates and other extra historical information, but often they are simply stylistic. Sometimes the text itself is modified, and this continues to occur throughout the *Libellus*, even after the marginal annotations have largely ceased. At least one motive for such modifications is the desire to make sense of a corrupt text, though the provision of extra information is not entirely abandoned. The addition of *Westphalie* in §355 has already been noted. Other examples are:

(a) At §21.16-17 Dietrich himself seems to have had a corrupt text of Jordan to work on. At least the manuscripts of Dietrich give us a text which makes no sense:

... quorum studiosa foret ad sanctitatem uoluntas pena ad seculum.

From Jordan, *Libellus* §4.11-12,⁹⁰ we can see that *studiosa* must be a corruption of *desidiosa*⁹¹ and *pena* of *prona*. H, quite sensibly, emends the received text of Dietrich by adding *non* before *foret* and changing *pena* into *sed*.⁹²

(b) At §149.3-5 H, like CGJX, has lost *iter*, leaving the not very intelligible text:
cum in partibus Tholosanis cum multis fratribus ageret.

⁸⁹ The reference should be *Speculum historiale* 29, chap. 96.

⁹⁰ Jordan is cited according to the paragraph numbers in Scheeben's edition ('*Libellus ... auctore Iordano*' in MOPH 16.25-82 [full title cited above, n. 76]).

⁹¹ It is curious that *desidiosa* is missing in the lost Osma manuscript, formerly ms. 162 in Brussels, Bibliothèque de la Société des Bollandistes; the text is printed in A.SS, pp. 545-59.

⁹² EK reveal a less successful attempt to improve the passage, reading *parata* for *pena*.

EK correctly have *iter ageret*, which I suspect has been reimported from Dietrich's source,⁹³ but H is plainly emending a text from which *iter* has disappeared: *ageret*, with some ingenuity, is simply altered to *degeret*.

(c) At §299.8-11 the whole D tradition seems to be in trouble. The text should read:

Non solum uirginei corporis puluerem ... deliciosus ille ac diuinus odor perfuderat, uerum etiam in re circumquaque congesta sic hesit

CEGJKX have all lost *in re*. H reads:

... uerum etiam circumquaque terre congeste sic hesit

This suggests that *in re* may have been present in H's source, but illegibly; *terre congeste* is plainly an intelligent conjecture.

Since both H and EK present texts which have been deliberately tampered with, it is possible that in some places where they converge it is due to independent, but similar, tampering. This appears to be the case in their versions of the Canonization Bull in book 8. EK, as we have seen, must derive from some exemplar of the Bull whose place and date of issue did not coincide with those of the exemplar cited by Dietrich. This provides the explanation for the various places where EK have the correct text of the Bull, against nearly all the other manuscripts of Dietrich. For instance at §366.19-20 they correctly omit *arene maris*, at §367.8 they add *bonum*, at §368.39 they have *fulgurante* for *uulnerante*, at §369.16 they have *multarum generibus inualitudinum*, at §370.4 they have *testimonio*, not *testimoniis*, at §370.7-8 they have *eius posse suffragiis*; these are all correct readings, judging by the text of the Bull,⁹⁴ but they are not correct readings of Dietrich (they are not found in LNPQ or CGJ). Now H has all the same readings, which suggests dependence on EK; however, H gives the place and date of issue of the Bull in accordance with the other manuscripts of Dietrich, so cannot be simply dependent on EK. Is it not possible that H too was produced by someone who had access to the Bull and so could make the same corrections as EK, but independently?⁹⁵

⁹³ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 70. E gives the reference as 'De vitis fratrum lib. 2 cap. 5.1'.

⁹⁴ Printed by Walz, 'Acta', 190-94.

⁹⁵ Another interesting example of apparently independent, but partially convergent, editing is found in the dates ascribed to the different witnesses in the Bologna canonization process given in Dietrich, *Libellus*, §§305-309:

	LNPQ	CGJ	K	E	H
August	6	6	6	6	6
	6	6	6	7	7
	8	8	8	8	8
	9	9	9	9	9
	10	10	10	10	10
	13	13	11	12	12
	13	13	12	13	13
	13	13	13	16	15
	18	14	14	17	16

A similar explanation may be offered for the fact that, at §274.11, EK and H cite the full text of the three prayers *pro predicatoribus* supposedly revealed to James of San Galgano, whereas CGJ, like LNPQ, do not. These prayers were in the Dominican missal⁹⁶ and in the *Vitae fratrum*,⁹⁷ so were certainly available to anyone who could collect the Dominican material contained in H.

The situation is rather different, though, when we come to the title of the penultimate chapter of book 2. Both in the index and at the beginning of the chapter CGJ have the title given by LNPQ: *De reuelatione sacratissima et omni acceptione dignissima*. H, however, agrees with EK in substituting an entirely different title: *De bina uisione qua beatus Dominicus uidit beatam uirginem in una nocte*. This title does not come from Cecilia, who is the source of the story,⁹⁸ so there is no way by which H and EK could have arrived independently at the same deviant title. There must be some link between them.

At §335.3 all the D manuscripts have lost *detentus est*; to supply the needed verb, EHK add *affligebatur*. This is manifestly a conjecture, so its presence in H and in EK cannot be fortuitous. There are also many minor variants common to H and EK which do not appear to be the product of deliberate editing and do not derive from Dietrich's sources. Thus, for example, at §37.3 EHK all add *nauta*, at §40.14 they have *caritatem* instead of *caritas*, at §45.17 they have *carta* for *cartula*, at §67.1 they add *etiam* before *per*, at §105.10 they have *uirgo inquit*, *Ungo* instead of *Ungo inquit*, at §106.2 they have *gesta sunt per uirginem* for *per uirginem gesta sunt*. Such relatively small aberrations occur throughout the *Libellus*, and even if each one is unimpressive the persistence with which they continue suggests that they are not all random coincidences.

But we are prevented from concluding that H forms a family with EK by the fact that similar, even if rather less frequent, agreements are found between H and CGJ. Thus, for instance, at §167 H and CGJ add a new chapter title, which

The dates in LNPQ are the only possible dates of those given in the sources (which does not guarantee that they are authentic), as they respect the Sundays (7 and 14 August) and the holiday on 15 August. CGJ err only in omitting *exeunte* from the last date, so they essentially show that the D tradition was the same as LNPQ. Presumably it was Dietrich himself who prompted the various (and surely arbitrary) changes in the dates, by suggesting that the different witnesses 'singulis diebus quasi singulas edidere legendas' (§304). Gui's version evidently did not contain any dates (there are no dates in W or M), and the Italian tradition also does not seem to carry any dates except perhaps 6 August (this is the only date found in the excerpts in E, and neither Borselli nor Flaminio gives any dates). The dates in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. IX 61 (3287) are identical with those in E (Walz's edition of the Bologna canonization process needs to be corrected at §30.1 ['Acta', 147] to read *XII*) and are, I suspect, taken from a manuscript of Dietrich; I doubt if they are a genuine part of the tradition. X gives only 6 August and omits the other dates.

⁹⁶ AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 419r.

⁹⁷ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 33.

⁹⁸ Walz, 'Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia', 33-35 (§7).

is found neither in the indices nor in the text of LNPQ or EK: *De pane et uino celitus misso*. This cannot be fortuitous. And, as in the case of the alliance between H and EK, there is a supporting series of shared minor variants, though it must be admitted that H sides with CGJ much less frequently than with EK. To cite only some relatively significant instances, at §115.13 CGHJ read *sub scapulari* instead of *super scapulam*, at §133.12 *ad dexteram unus* instead of *unus ad dexteram*, at §198.1 they omit *humanarum*, at §207.5 they omit *alleluia* (which is conversely doubled by EK), at §227.9 they omit *uespere*, at §288.1 they omit *quedam*, at §289.5 they read *ductus* for *dictus* and at §307.6 *feruenter* for *frequenter*.

We have to conclude, I think, that H is genuinely related to both the two subfamilies within D, CGJ and EK. But there are also some signs that it is closer to δ than either of the subfamilies. Thus at §35.24 it rightly has *manet*, where CEGJK have *mouet*; at §92.15 it has *et conicere potero*, which is omitted by CEGJK; at §181.5 it preserves *comperta*, where CEGJK have *comparata*; at §203.19 it has retained *equi*, which is lost in CEGJK; at §299.25 it has *odoramentis*, which is corrupted into *odorantes* in CEGJK; at §309.20-22 it has *ex confessione eius didici quod numquam letali crimine inquinatus fuit*, which CEGJK have all lost (this might be coincidence, as more than one scribe might have jumped easily enough from one *fuit* to the next); at §374.5 H correctly reads *doctores*, where CEGJK read *doctoribus*.

There is an intriguing situation at §306.11. The name of the fourth witness at the Bologna canonization process is given by Bernard Gui as *Bonuisus*,⁹⁹ and this is supported by the evidence of Italian texts;¹⁰⁰ however, this name seems to have reached Dietrich in a corrupt form. LNPQ read *Kaneuisus* or *Kaneninus*. There can be no doubt that Dietrich wrote one or other of these forms, so it is striking that the name has disappeared in the D tradition. This can only be due to the editor of the Italian recension, who, no doubt, knew the Italian form of the name. And it seems likely that he intended to supply what he took to be the correct name. That the D tradition did originally carry some name is suggested by EK: K has (apparently, though the name is partly covered by a blot) *frater Arrigus*. E does not have a name, but there is a blank left where the name should be.¹⁰¹ CGJX simply omit the name. H does not have a name, but it does have *frater bonus iustus*, which must be a corruption of some form like

⁹⁹ QE 1.48; in Spanish M gives the name as *Bouis* (fol. 58r).

¹⁰⁰ Borselli (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1999, fol. 22v) and Flaminio (F¹, fol. lxxv) have *Bonuisus*; Marciana 3287 has *Boniuisus* and *Bonusuisus*; Galvano della Fiamma (Reichert, 'Galuagni ... Cronica', 90) has *Bonvisius*.

¹⁰¹ E's source-hunter presumably did not have a complete text of the canonization process; it is perhaps significant that Bonvisus' name is the only one not given in the excerpts contained in E.

Bonusuisus. This might be simply a correction, though it is not clear where the scribe of H would have found the name. But, in view of the evidence of EK, it seems better to assume that H once again attests the text of δ better than the other D manuscripts.

There can be little doubt, then, that H, however it came by its CGJ and EK readings, derives from a manuscript considerably closer to the archetype than either of the subfamilies. And there is some reason to believe that its immediate source may well have been Dietrich's own manuscript. At §355.19-21 H is able to give us two German names quite correctly, which apparently defeated the Italian scribes responsible for the traditions of EK and CGJ: H accurately reads *Susato* (Soest), where EK have *Sothado* and CGJ have *Satoro*; H also has *in Hildensem*, where E has *michi densem*, K has *michi* followed by a gap and CGJ have *inde*. This at least raises the possibility that H can get good German readings from his original because his original is a German manuscript; the German scribe would naturally be in a better position to read it accurately than the Italian copyists responsible for EK and CGJ. And this hypothesis perhaps finds some confirmation at §64.27-28, where H has the correct text and CEGJK all omit *est* twice: could it be that the Italian copyists simply failed to spot the conventional sign for *est*, with which they would have been less familiar than a German scribe? Similarly at §291.19, where the true reading seems to be *Serra*, H has *Ferra*, which is an easy mistake; CEGJK have the more familiar *Ferrara*. All this suggests, though of course it is far from proving, that H's scribe was using a German manuscript and, as a German, was immune to some of the temptations which would beset an Italian copyist. And there seems little reason to postulate the existence of any German manuscript with D readings other than Dietrich's autograph with the annotations of the Italian editor.

H, then, inherits a tradition from δ which is independent of CGJ and EK and which may come directly from δ itself. So where do the readings come from which it shares with one or other of the two subfamilies? One possibility which immediately suggests itself is contamination, and this is supported by §75.3, where H appears to be conflating the reading of CGJ, *publicarent*, which is also the reading of LNPQ and of Dietrich's source,¹⁰² with that of EK, *predicarent*: H reads *predicarent publicarent*. The same could be said about §239.11, where LNPQ read *spernit* and CEGJK read *spreuit*: H appears to have *spernit* altered to *spreuit*.

There is, however, another possibility which is, in my view, slightly more plausible, and that is that the whole D tradition derives from an archetype which was not very easy to decipher, and that the different D manuscripts, to some extent, represent different ways of interpreting one and the same source.

¹⁰² Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 49-50 (§51).

At §241.5 H appears to have a reading which mediates between LNPQ and CEGJK, and which may therefore be presumed to be the reading of δ . LNPQ read *illas sursum*; CEGJK read *sursum illas*. H too has *sursum illas*, but with correction marks to indicate that the two words are in the wrong order.

At §155.11 all the D manuscripts can be interpreted as deriving from the same original. LNPQ simply read *eregione*, which is followed by CGJ. E has *eregione oppositum*, which presumably underlies K's cryptic *eregione oppo*. H has *eregione id est oppositum*. This suggests that *oppositum* began life as a marginal gloss, which the CGJ tradition chose to ignore, which H inserted with a proper *id est*, and which the EK tradition simply incorporated into the text regardless of syntax.

At §182.12 all the D manuscripts have lost *Parisius*, but they all have *Parisiensi* attached to some form of *conuentus*. CGJ attach the adjective to *conuentu*, which was already in the text, and accordingly omit *illo*; EHK insert *conuentui Parisiensi* earlier in the sentence. Both readings could be derived from a marginal correction *conu. Parisiensi*.

The evidence is insufficient to permit of any certain conclusions, but it is worth remembering what we do know about the manuscript which must, ultimately, underlie the D tradition, namely, the autograph which Dietrich sent to Boccasini in 1297.

We have it on Dietrich's own authority that the copy he sent to Boccasini was not a properly produced fair copy; and if he wrote it *oculis caligantibus*, we may well believe that it was neither accurate nor particularly legible. And if, as I have argued, the copy was produced while Dietrich was still undecided in his own mind about the structure of the work, it is quite likely that there were some rather unclear corrections and additions and deletions. This probably provides the most plausible explanation of the unsettled state of some of the chapter titles. And the example of Bonvisus' name in §306 suggests that the Italian editor was as capable of illegibility as ever Dietrich was, so by the time he had finished with Dietrich's autograph, it must often have been far from clear what the text was supposed to be.

If this hypothesis is correct, then it is possible that all of H's readings in fact derive from a single source, and that that source is δ , the archetype of the whole D tradition, and that δ is no other than Dietrich's autograph, with the annotations of the Italian editor, in which case there never was a fair copy of the Italian recension of the *Libellus*. δ consists simply of Dietrich's *uiles pecie* and the Italian editor's additions and alterations.

Should this hypothesis be accepted, an important conclusion follows. If H, CGJ and EK represent three different attempts to decipher one and the same original, then the agreement of H with either subfamily does not in any way add to the authority of their reading. If two people interpreted the manuscript in

the same way, that still proves only that the manuscript was susceptible of being read in that way; it does not prove that that was the correct way to read it.

On the alternative view, that H is the product of multiple contamination, a similar conclusion follows, in that the agreement of H with either subfamily would have to be regarded simply as a result of that contamination.

If it is correct to surmise that there never was a fair copy of the Italian recension of the *Libellus*, then the question must be asked whether a particular copy of NW was attached to Dietrich's *pecie* or whether there was simply a directive saying that the text of NW was to be incorporated. On the latter supposition, the tradition of NW would not have to be the same as that of the *Libellus*, though we should still expect to find CGJ and EK forming families (as indeed they do).

The behaviour of H in NW seems to be the same as it was in the *Libellus*. In at least one place it preserves a reading lost in the other D manuscripts: it alone of the D manuscripts reads *frater Thomas* at NW 6, where the others read *sanctus Thomas*. On some occasions it sides with CGJ, and in at least one place (NW 217) it agrees with them in a reading which is patently wrong; on other occasions it sides with EK, agreeing with them in manifest error, for instance, at NW 37. This suggests that whatever explanation we adopt for the behaviour of H in Dietrich must be extended to cover NW too. Confirmation of this, however, must depend on whether or not we discover that the D manuscripts of NW form a coherent and distinct tradition, as they do in the *Libellus*; we shall be turning our attention to this shortly.

Addendum

After I had already completed my discussion of the D manuscripts, the kindness of the Istituto Storico Domenicano enabled me to find another Italian manuscript containing NW, namely, X. Since its evidence confirms my previous conclusions, it seemed best simply to append some notes on it, without rewriting the whole section to accommodate it.

X is written in at least two hands; it begins with a clear, formal script, and ends in an untidy scrawl, but there seems to be no doubt that it was written as a whole. In the text of NW one folio is displaced, so that NW 82-132 is found after NW 228.

X belongs squarely within the D tradition; it has all the D interpolations and follows the typical D readings. But, like H, it seems to be independent of CGJ and EK; it is also independent of H. It contains a considerable number of extra divisions of the text, with appropriate headings, which are sometimes written into the text and are sometimes added in the margin; these appear to be original, but may, of course, already have existed in X's immediate source.

The discussion of X can follow that of H almost exactly:

- (a) At §21.16-17 X has the received text, without the emendations of H or EK.
- (b) At §149.3-5 X follows CGJ, having neither the restored correct reading of EK nor the emendation of H.
- (c) At §299.8-11 X has the received D text, without H's emendation.
- (d) In the Canonization Bull X has all the corrections common to EK and H (except that at §367.8 it has *bona* instead of *bonum*), but it has the standard date and place of issue, like H but unlike EK. It also gives the text of the prayers *pro praedicatoribus* in §274, like EHK. This suggests that maybe H and X derive from a common source, in which the text has been improved and completed; the date and place of issue of the Canonization Bull shows that this source cannot belong to the EK tradition.
- (e) The title of the penultimate chapter of book 2 is the same in X as it is in EHK.
- (f) At §335.3 X agrees with EHK in adding the conjecture *affligebatur*.
- (g) In the list of minor variants common to H and EK, I notice that X agrees with HEK at §45.17 and §106.2 and, effectively, at §67.1 (though X has *et*, not *etiam*). At §§37.3, 40.14, 105.10, on the other hand, X follows CGJ.
- (h) In the list of variants common to H and CGJ, I notice that X agrees with CGHJ at §§115.13, 133.12, 227.9, 288.1 and 307.6; on the other hand, it follows EK in not having an extra title at §167 and at §§198.1 and 289.5. At §207.5 the original text of X omits *alleluia*, like CGHJ; but a different hand has added a double *alleluia*, bringing the text into line with EK. It seems that the corrector was making at least occasional use of E, or of a manuscript extremely closely related to E: at NW 77 he has added a quite superfluous *quandoque* after *et*, which is otherwise found only in E. But this contamination does not seem to extend to the uncorrected text of X.
- (i) X, like H, has some readings which suggest that it is closer to δ than either CGJ or EK, but these do not coincide exactly with the good readings of H. At §35.24 X has *mouet*, like CEGJK. At §92.15 it has a better reading than CEGJK, though not the same reading as H: *et conicere possum*. At §181.5 it has the corrupt *comparata*, and at §203.19 it omits *equi*, like CEGJK. At §299.25, like H, it has the correct *odoramentis*. At §309.20-22 it has the same lacuna as CEGJK. At §374.5, like H, it has the correct *doctores*.
- (j) At §306.11 X, like CGJ, omits the name of the fourth witness in the canonization process; but it should be remarked that all the formulae introducing the successive witnesses are very truncated in X.
- (k) The passages adduced in support of my suggestion that H derives from a German original to some extent support a similar suggestion with regard to X. At §355.19-21 X has *in Hildensem* correctly, with H and against CEGJK, but it has *Sosharo* for *Sosato*. At §64.27-28 X has *est* in both the places where it is omitted in CEGJK. At §291.19 X (alone of the D manuscripts) has the correct reading *Serra*.

(l) In §75.3 X follows CGJ in reading *publicarent*, and in §239.11 it has the standard D reading, *spreuit*.

(m) In the passages which I used to support my suggestion that the whole D tradition derives from an ambiguous archetype, at §241.5 X has the usual *sursum illas*, at §155.11 X agrees with H in reading *eregiōne id est oppositum*, and at §182.12 X actually has, more or less, the reading which I postulated: *Parisius* is omitted, and nothing is added to replace it in the text itself, but the corrector has inserted the EHK reading *conuentui Parisiensi*.

(n) At §15.24 X has a reading which appears to support my belief in an ambiguous archetype: the correct reading seems to be *preconizans*, but CGJ read *preconizabat* and EHK read *preconizaret*. Both readings would be intelligible if the ending was omitted or hopelessly unclear in the archetype, and in fact in X we find the truncated reading *preconiza*.

The evidence is, I think, sufficient to show that X is independent of all the other D manuscripts and that it is, in significant ways, closer to δ than CGJ or EK. I see no reason why it should not derive, more or less directly, from Dietrich's autograph, with the 'Italian' emendations. The coincidence of X and H noted above under (d) suggests that perhaps the autograph had been corrected at some stage before the originals of H and X were copied from it.

IV

NW AS AN INDEPENDENT WORK

The only manuscript which presents NW as a completely separate work is R, but, as we have seen, there is reason to believe that M derives its text from a manuscript of Bernard Gui, who also knew NW as a separate work. And if we compare the text of NW as found in M and R with that found in D, it becomes apparent that M and R are in fact related.

In NW 1 D has *Leone* in the list of authorities, but RM do not. In 10-11 RM both omit *quandoque in agonia ut saluator*, which is found in all the D manuscripts. In 21 R's *deprecatione psalmodie*¹⁰³ is supported by *el ruego de la psalmodia* M against *decantatione psalmodie* D. In 119 *el moço de Neapol* (M 148) is presumably to be explained by R's odd adjectival form *Neapuleum* (though without R's idiosyncratic addition of *nomine*).¹⁰⁴ In 148 RM agree in what is certainly a mistaken reading *igne (fuego)* against *significatione* D.

¹⁰³ This is a possible idiom; cf. Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 80 (§118); Dietrich, *Libellus*, §15.6. (Line numbers in IV refer to NW as edited below, unless specified otherwise.)

¹⁰⁴ At fol. 38r-v, in the translation of Cecilia's *Miracula*, M has *Napuleon*.

RM are also innocent of all the connecting devices which were presumably inserted into NW when NW has attached to Dietrich's *Libellus*. Thus at NW 12-13, where D has *aliquid dicendum est ad operis terminationem*, R simply has *aliquid est dicendum* and M has *algunas cosas auemos de dezir*. In 60 D has *disciplinam de qua supra dictum est*, where R, supported by M, simply has *disciplinam*. In 124-125 where D has *ut supra scriptum est*, R has nothing and M has *segun que en otra manera es escrito*, which is obscure but is certainly not a reference back to an earlier passage, as *ut supra* is.¹⁰⁵

Since RM appear to form a family and since they appear not to contain the phrases which must be credited to the editor of δ , it is tempting to suppose that they attest NW as it existed before it was appended to the *Libellus*. But this can only be true if RM not only form a family but form a family radically independent of D, enquiry into which will at the same time shed light on the question whether the D manuscripts of NW form a coherent and distinct family themselves.

There are some passages which seem to indicate that RM and D do not represent two autonomous textual traditions:

(a) In 25 there is such confusion that it is probably not significant that HX and R agree and that K and M agree. RHX *primus uidelicet humiliando* is effectively supported by E's *primum uidelicet humiliando*. The rather awkward gerund is vouched for by MTA as well as by CGJ, so the reading of K (*primus modus orandi beati Dominici sic erat, humiliabat*) can only be regarded as editorial. The various ways of expanding the phrase in CGJ, M and T are presumably to be treated the same way.

(b) In 42 EK add *uerbum* after *euangelicum* and M similarly adds *aquellas palabras*; but it is difficult to see how *euangelicum* could be translated into Castilian without some such addition.

(c) Similarly in 103 the coincidence of *sacerdoti* EHK and *al sacerdote* M, against *sacerdotis* RCGJXT, might well be due to the exigencies of translation rather than to a genuine difference between R and M.

(d) In 129 CGHJX read *nec uero prohibebat*, of which *nec non prohibebat* EK must be a corruption. RT read *nec prohibebat*. M has *e non dexaua*, which is presumably a translation of *nec non prohibebat*,¹⁰⁶ as in EK, unless we are to suppose that M's original had *nec permittebat*, which is less likely. The reading of RT can be explained as a necessary emendation of *nec non*, in which case the source of RM shares a mistake with EK.

¹⁰⁵ At NW 162 EK have an extra *ut supra* not found in CGHJX.

¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere in M *prohibere* is rendered periphrastically; on fol. 37v *prohibuit* (Walz, 'Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia', 22.9 [§1]) becomes *non lo consintio* and *prohibentibus* (ibid., 22.18 [§1]) becomes *dezian ... que non*; on fol. 54r *prohibuerunt* (Bologna canonization process §9.15 [Walz, 'Acta', 130]) becomes *non consintieron* and on fol. 70v *prohibuit* (ibid., §42.4 [Walz, 'Acta', 161]) becomes *mando ... que non*.

(e) In 135 *despues* M implies a reading *postea*, where R has *postea non*; CGJ have *nec postea* and H (more or less supported by T) has *neque postea*. E has *pro eo non* and K has *pro eo*. X curiously has *uidelicet postea. pro eo* is evidently a corruption of *postea*, so K effectively agrees with M; the addition of *non* in R and E may be regarded as editorial in each case (hence *non* rather than *nec*). In this case μ agrees with a putative source of EK in which the negative has already been lost, but *postea* has not yet been corrupted. The Spanish text seems to be secure, as any insertion of a negative would lead to a highly improbable word order, *despues <non> conuenia les*.¹⁰⁷ But it is possible that the loss of the negative goes back behind the whole surviving tradition, and that R, HT, CGJ and E represent independent attempts to remedy the situation; this would explain why we find three different forms, *postea non*, *nec postea* and *neque postea*.

(f) In 136 *quia* EHKXT is supported by *ca* M, against *qui* RCGJ. In R *qui* is written in supra lineam, but seemingly by the original scribe.¹⁰⁸ This makes it uncertain what R's source read, and in any case the change between *qui* and *quia* in either direction is too slight to carry much weight.

(g) In 196 E's eccentric *deuotus* is echoed by M's *deuoto*, against the certainly correct *delibutus*. E is otherwise on its own here, so if this link is significant, it obliges us to look for a connection specifically between M and E, not just between μ and δ . This would surely raise more problems than it would solve.

(h) In 220 *este tal modo* M appears to correspond exactly to *istum talem modum* CGHJXT against *istum modum* REK. However, in 15 *este tal* is used to translate *iste* without *talis*, so there is no necessary disagreement between R and M here. And EK add *orandi*, which is not found in RM, so little is gained by positing a relationship between RM and EK.

In sum, there is no serious evidence against the coherence of RM as a single family, nor is there any clear example of RM and CGJ agreeing in any significant error. The question is whether or not RM are related to the tradition of EK. The agreement of E and M in 196 (g) must be fortuitous. In 135 (e) the link, if there is one, would have to be between RM and an hypothetical earlier stage in the development of the EK tradition. Nothing can be inferred from 219 (h). This leaves only 129 (d), and the corruption of *uero* into *non* is hardly abstruse enough to warrant any substantial conclusions. At most, then, there is a mild hint that RM may have some connection with EK.

And this hint is sufficiently outweighed by two passages where all the D manuscripts are in disarray and RM provide at least a better text:

¹⁰⁷ H. Ramsden, *Weak-pronoun Position in the Early Romance Languages* (Manchester, 1963), pp. 64-66, shows that *non conuenia les* is highly improbable, whereas *despues conuenia les* is less unusual. I am grateful to Mr. F. W. Hodcroft for this reference and, indeed, for this comment.

¹⁰⁸ I am grateful to Louis-J. Bataillon, O.P. for checking this for me; he too is of the opinion that the insertion is most probably due to the original scribe.

- (a) 5-7 gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor frater Thomas de Aquino et Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris et Guillermus in tractatu de uirtutibus (R)
 los onrados doctores fray Thomas de Aquino e fray Alberto en los sus libros e fray Guillem en el tractado de las uirtudes (M)
 gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor sanctus Thomas (frater Thomas de Aquino H) et Guillelmus et Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris in tractatu de uirtutibus (CGHJ)
 gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor sanctus Thomas de Aquino et Guilelmus et Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris in tractatu de uirtutibus (X)
 gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor sanctus Thomas de Aquino et (fratres E) Guillelmus et Albertus de ordine (ordinis K) predicatorum in suis libris in tractatu de uirtutibus (EK)
 gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor sanctus Thomas de Aquino et frater Guillelmus et frater Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris in tractatu de uirtutibus (T).

Some of the variants are of no great significance. In a text written before the canonization of Thomas Aquinas in 1323 we of course expect *frater Thomas de Aquino*; that this is preserved in RM and H supports my suggestion that H comes from a text put together in or soon after 1297 and that RM derive from a compilation assembled by Bernard Gui in 1314. That the other manuscripts have *sanctus* is not surprising; and *sanctus Thomas* needs the further specification *de Aquino* much less than *frater Thomas* did, so it is reasonable enough for CGJ to drop it. K's *de ordinis predicatorum* is obviously a mistake for *ordinis predicatorum* and E has been unlucky in his correction of it. It may be surmised that the addition of *fray*, *fratres* and *frater* to the names of Albert and William in MET is editorial. With these minor variants cleared out of the way, the one significant variant becomes clear: in all the D manuscripts and in T *et Guillermus* has become displaced. There can be little doubt that RM have the correct reading; the reference is to the famous *Summa de uirtutibus* by William Peraldus.¹⁰⁹ It is true that St. Thomas also discusses prayer in his treatise on the virtues (ST 2-2, 83), but the DT text has no obvious application to St. Albert. Evidently the ancestor of D accidentally omitted *et Guillermus* and then inserted it in the wrong place. This is a powerful indication both of the coherence of the D tradition and of the independence of RM.

¹⁰⁹ Lippini, *S. Domenico*, p. 143 n. 2 (cited above, p. 3), suggests William of Auvergne. I presume he was misled by Taurisano's text into looking for a William who has a discussion of the role of the body in prayer, and William of Auvergne does have such a discussion in *De rhetorica divina* 25 (printed in the *Opera omnia* edition of Venice, 1591 on pp. 349 ff.): 'Quaedam dispositiones corporis iuvantes orare volentem'. But a reference in a Dominican work to a *De uirtutibus* by 'William' can only mean Peraldus' *Summa*, which was one of the books which Humbert of Romans thought every Dominican house ought to have (Humbert, *Instructiones de officiis ordinis* 13.3, ed. J. J. Berthier, *B. Humberti de Romanis ... Opera de uita regulari* 2 [Turin, 1956], p. 265). Cf. L. E. Boyle, *The Setting of the Summa theologiae of Saint Thomas* (Toronto, 1982), p. 15.

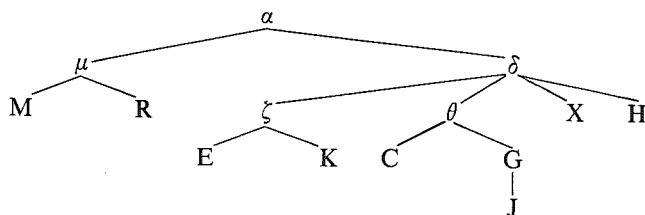
- (b) 61-64 totus ordo statuit quod omnes fratres in memoriam exempli sancti Domini-
ci uenerantes et dicentes, Miserere mei etc. ... recipent ... disciplinam.

uenerantes R is supported by *onrando lo* M, but the D manuscripts and T all read *essent orantes* and, with the probably accidental exception of K, they also add *et* before *recipent*. *essent orantes* is hardly convincing, but in R's text (as the Spanish translator realized) *uenerantes* needs an object. I conjecture that very early on in the tradition an original *memoriam* (object of *uenerantes*) was corrupted, easily enough, into *in memoriam* and that the trouble spread from there. In any case, it seems clear that the whole D tradition shares a common corruption and that RM have escaped it, which again shows the coherence of D and the independence of μ .

It is inevitable, when we are dealing with a short text like NW, that our conclusions have to be based on less evidence than we should desire. But nevertheless it does seem safe to conclude that RM represent a genuine tradition of NW as a separate work before it became attached to Dietrich, and that the absence from RM of the various phrases linking NW to the *Libellus* is original and not due to a process of editing them out; the D manuscripts, on the other hand, derive from a common archetype containing a particular text of NW.

For purposes of textual criticism, then, any agreement between the RM tradition and the D tradition is good evidence for the reading of their common ancestor, but, unfortunately, there is reason to believe that that ancestor may already have been at several removes from the author's original text. Where we are faced with a straightforward choice between RM and D we should not presume that RM necessarily have the better reading, even if they preserve the original form of NW better. It could well be that the archetype of D was in fact closer to the original than Bernard Gui's copy.

We are now in a position to construct at least the essential skeleton of a stemma, provided it is understood that some of the connections indicated may have passed through an indeterminate number of intermediaries, and that the archetype at the head of the stemma does not indicate the ultimate source of the whole tradition, the author's autograph:



We must now consider M and R in more detail. M differs from R, obviously, in being in a different language; but the translator often follows the Latin closely enough to enable us to use M as a check on the Latin text.

There are occasional additions, which appear to be original to the translator. Thus in M 15-16 a note is added to explain the purpose of the treatise, and the translator is also presumably responsible for the curious comment at the end of the Fourth Way (M 113-114), unless it is a reader's marginal comment which found its way into the text.

There are some eccentricities in M which appear to be due to a misunderstanding of the Latin original, though it is sometimes difficult to see what caused the trouble:

(a) Thus in M 11-14 the Spanish text, as it stands, is defective:

... por que el anima se ponga algunas vezes en la extasy de la contemplation
 commo sy estouiesse fuera del cuerpo assy commo san Paulo algunas vezes era
 arrebatado del cuerpo en la contemplation de la voluntad, segun que el propheta
 Dauid, segun la qual manera

segun que el propheta Dauid is an incomplete phrase. It is clear that M, like R, did not have *quandoque in agonia ut saluator*, and it is possible that the translator mistakenly took *quandoque in excessu mentis* to go with Paul rather than with David, leaving *ut Dauid propheta* dangling uselessly at the end.

(b) In M 53 *propitius* is rendered *çercano*, which suggests that the translator confused it in some way with *prope* or *propinquus*.

(c) In M 60, very mysteriously, *adhesit pauimento* has become *allego se al templo de dios*. I can only imagine that somehow *pau-* was overlooked, and *iēto* was misread as *templo*.

(d) In M 68 *apostoli* has turned into *angeles*, a mistake which might have occurred at any stage: M's Latin original, the translator or a copyist of the translation.

(e) M 125-126 is extremely puzzling. *stetit Finees et orauit* appears as *estudo enfiesto en silençio en pies*. *silençio en* is added in the margin, by the original scribe. There is perhaps nothing very mysterious about the loss of *et orauit*. *estudo enfiesto en pies* is probably intended simply as a translation of *stetit*, which tends to become a little bloated in the Spanish: in M 120 *stando* has become *star enfiesto*, and in M 147 *stans erectus* has become *estando enfiesto sobre los sus pies*. This means that the added *en silençio* must represent an attempt to cope with *fiēs*. The mistake presumably occurred in translating rather than copying, as it is slightly more plausible to misread the name as *silentio* in Latin than as *en silençio*. The fact that the extra words are written in the margin could mean that the translator at first simply omitted the unintelligible name and then returned to it later; or it could mean that a copyist accidentally omitted the words (slipping easily enough from the first *en* to the second) and then spotted the omission.

That we are in fact dealing with a copy and not with the translator's original manuscript is made clear by several passages. In M 190-191 the manuscript has, quite meaninglessly, *ganaua de dios por orden los dones que començo de*

spiritu santo; *que començo* and *los dones* have somehow been inverted, probably because in the original *que començo* had been omitted and then added in the margin. In M 295-296 *e contempla lo* is almost unintelligible and corresponds to nothing in the Latin, but in 295 there is no translation of *et contemplatione*; probably we should emend the Spanish text accordingly to read *e contemplation* in 295. In M 301 the words *que el diablo demostraua e escarnio* are pretty well senseless and correspond to nothing in the Latin; presumably they derive somehow from some kind of marginal note, summing up the exemplum as a story of an *escarnio* played by *el diablo*, possibly *Demostra un escarnio del diablo*.

In several places the text of M appears to contain alternative translations of a single Latin word, simply juxtaposed. Thus in M 170 *reuerendum* becomes *reuerendo, onroso*. In M 273 *a longe* is rendered *gran trecho, luenne*. In M 298 *temptas* appears as *tientas, prueuas*. There is a comparable juxtaposition in M 300 *fedor, olor*, though there the corresponding Latin (NW 248-249) does have *fetidam odore*. It is tempting to suppose that these unnecessary and unattractive reduplications are due to careless absorption into the text of what were meant to be alternative renderings.¹¹⁰ However, it does seem to be a trick of the translator's style to use two similar words for a single word in Latin, so it is necessary to be cautious. Thus in M 9 *el cuerpo e los mienbros del cuerpo*, M 15 *dezir e demostrar*, M 21 *caridad e buena voluntad*, M 73 *deuotion e oration*, M 76 *statuyo e ordeno*, etc.

There are three places where M differs from RD in such a way as to suggest the possibility of a genuine variant:

(a) In M 84-85 where the Latin has *ante altare siue in capitulo*, M reads *ante el altar en la iglesia o en el capitulo*; but this is probably an interpretative expansion of the text on the part of the translator.

(b) In M 154-155 the position is rather different. D 124-125 has *ut supra scriptum est*, which is clearly to be ascribed to the editor of δ . R omits the clause. M has *segun que en otra manera es escripto*. It is difficult to see what this is supposed to mean, but it must represent some misunderstood Latin original; the translator would not gratuitously have interpolated such an unintelligible phrase. I conjecture that the Latin read *ut alibi scriptum est*, and that *alí* was either miswritten or misread as *al'r* (*aliter*), though it is also possible that the Latin had *alias* and that the translator wrongly interpreted it to mean 'otherwise' rather than 'elsewhere'. As we shall see, it is characteristic of R to omit

¹¹⁰ We may recall Théry's theory about similar duplicates in Hilduin's translation of pseudo-Denis, that the translator was dictating as he translated, and that when he was trying out different ways of rendering a word the secretary misguidedly wrote down the whole process of fumbling (G. Théry, *Études dionysiennes*, vol. 1: *Hilduin, traducteur de Denys* [Études de philosophie médiévale 16; Paris, 1932], pp. 135-42).

phrases like this, so there is nothing to prevent us believing that something of the kind was contained in μ .

(c) In M 257-258 we find a text which corresponds neither to that of R nor to that of D. D 209-210 undoubtedly has the better text:

Mos enim iste propheticus uiro dei erat cito ex lectione superferri ad orationem

R's text is nonsense:

Mons enim iste propheticus mons dei erat. Cito

M shows no sign of either *mos* or *mons*:

E tan subito este prophetico sieruo de dios era leuantado de la lection a la oration

This suggests that M's Latin original may have had *iste propheticus uir dei*;¹¹¹ it certainly suggests that μ already had a defective text.

If there are few places where RD agree significantly against M, there are many places where MD agree significantly against R. Leaving out of account the problem of the precise length and form of direct quotations from scripture (where there is considerable variation between the manuscripts) and omitting cases where it is not possible to be sure of the exact Latin text underlying M, we still have an impressive list of passages where R is on its own against M and D: 4, 8, 18, 22, 27, 32, 38, 41, 44, 52, 53-54, 60, 64, 71, 83, 101, 104, 116-117, 121, 133 f., 136, 139, 143-144, 148, 149, 152, 156, 157, 158, 160, 162-163, 183, 187, 198, 204, 215, 217, 221-222. In addition, R omits the two exempla which form part of NW in M and D. It should also be noted that in many cases MD give us an obviously better text than R.

Most frequently the eccentricities of R can be accounted for by the ordinary accidents of textual transmission, though their nature and abundance warn us that we are dealing with a very unreliable tradition, whether the fault is to be attributed to the scribe of R or to his source. But in a few places it looks as if we are dealing with deliberate rewriting:

(a) In 116-117 and 121 the autobiographical touch has been eliminated: *sicut a uidente audiui auribus meis* and *sicut narrauit nobis*; in both cases, M agrees with D.

(b) In 38 *inclinando capud suum profunde uerbi gracia* is patently the result of editorial glossing, whether or not it was intended to become part of the text. If we take R in conjunction with M, there can be no doubt that μ read *inclinando profunde*. Presumably somebody felt the need of an object for *inclinando*.

(c) In 60 *ista continua cum precedentibus causa* R (for *ista de causa*) is again clearly due to glossing, and it is likely that what was originally a marginal comment got into the text by mistake.

¹¹¹ At the beginning of the Languedoc canonization process, §1 (Walz, 'Acta', 176) *uir dei* is translated *santo varon seruidor de dios* (fol. 74r).

- (d) In 131-133 there can be no doubt that MD have the correct reading:

Forte dixit illud uerbum Helye ... sicut etiam modum eius seruauit in orando. Sed fratres

R has:

Forte dixit illud uerbum Elie. ... Modum eius seruabant existentes in orando. Sed et fratres

There are two dots before *existentes* and a stroke after *orando*, apparently written in by the original scribe, and this is probably to be taken as a deletion sign. The trouble seems to stem from the misreading of *seruauit* as *seruabant*; the other variants seem to be due to someone's attempt to make sense of the resulting text. If the deletion of *existentes in orando* is due to the original scribe, presumably it must be he who is doing at least some of the editing here. But it is possible that the basic editing was done in R's source and that the edited text was meant to read *existentis in orando*, which would make more sense, so that R's role is to misread *existentis* and then, looking back over what he has written, to see that it does not make sense and delete it.

(e) In 144 *orator* has turned into *orationem*, and the scribe of R seems to have realized that this leaves a text which cannot be construed; he remedies the defect by adding *et* before *doctrinam* – after he had already written *doctrinam*. This strongly suggests that the text was already corrupt in R's source and that the scribe of R was himself not averse to editing.

(f) In 217 there is another evident gloss: *inclinabat .s. capud suum*; the motive, as in 38, is to supply an object.

(g) In 225 R has *in meditatione eius accendebatur, al' exardescet, ignis*. This is not a variant found anywhere else, and we may confidently surmise that it is not a true variant at all: the proposed alternative is designed to bring the text into line with Psalm 38:4 (*in meditatione mea exardescet ignis*).

That this bit of editing is due to the scribe of R himself is perhaps suggested by 186, where he originally wrote *et* (which is attested by M as well as by D) and then deleted it, thereby bringing the text into conformity with Psalm 27:2.

(h) In 207 a different editorial motive appears. Where all the other witnesses read *uidebatur*, R alone has *uisus fuisset* (which is not supported by M). R's reading is rather more natural grammar.

(i) In 208-209, as we have already seen, there seems to have been a muddle in μ . R's text shows all the signs of being an attempt to cope with an unintelligible source. The trouble may well have started with the reading *mons* for *mos* in 209. To provide some sort of context for this, R, or more likely his source, rewrote the previous sentence to prepare for this unwanted mountain. *mons dei erat* looks like a less successful attempt to use the mountain motif yet again to produce a sentence which at least looks as if it means something. But apparently the scribe of R was not satisfied, since he then marked the text with a sign which is probably to be taken as deleting *mons dei*.

So far we have seen little reason to trust R; its readings appear to be derivative and degenerate. However, there are two places where R receives support for a reading which is not found in M or D. At 52 R fills out the reference to the Magi with *et procidentes adorauerunt eum*, which is an exact quotation from Matthew 2:11. Antoninus (A 14) similarly has *qui procidentes adorauerunt puerum Yesum*.

Antoninus, it should be noticed, has considerably reduced this passage, omitting the later references to *adoremus* and *procidamus* as well as the earlier reference to *puerum*. R, on the other hand, as we have seen, does sometimes edit the text to bring it more into line with scripture, and at 208 we find another instance of a whole new phrase from scripture being interpolated. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the convergence of R and A really amounts to evidence of a tradition of NW independent of M and D.

In 210 M supports the reading of D:

cito ex lectione superferri ad orationem et ex meditatione ad contemplationem.

This is a thoroughly satisfactory text; the point of *superferri* is probably that Dominic in each case 'rides over' the middle term in the commonplace sequence *lectio, meditatio, oratio, contemplatio*.¹¹² Antoninus also has the same reading. R fills in the series, by adding *et ex oratione ad meditationem*. An almost identical addition is found in Taegio.

The reading of RT results in an eccentric sequence,¹¹³ and there is nothing in the description given earlier in the Eighth Way to suggest that Dominic is moving from prayer to meditation. The extra words in RT are surely an editorial interpolation, not a genuine variant representing an authentic tradition

¹¹² This classic sequence goes back to Guigo II, *Scala claustralium* 2, though it was anticipated by Hugh of St. Victor, *De meditatione* 2.1 and *Didascalicon de studio legendi* 5.9 (adding *operatio* between *oratio* and *contemplatio*), and by Guigo I, who has the sequence in descending order (*Meditationes*, §390.14-15, ed. Un Chartreux, *Guigues I^{er}, prieur de Chartreuse. Les Méditations* [Sources Chrétiennes 308; Paris, 1983], p. 254). See also J. Leclercq, *Études sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen âge* (Studia anselmiana 48; Rome, 1961), p. 138 nn. 45, 46. For the afterlife of Guigo's sequence, see for instance Bonaventure, *De triplici via*, prologue; Cavalca, *Frutti della lingua* 24; Rolle, *Emendatio vitae* 12; Hilton, *Scale of Perfection* 1.15; *Cloud of Unknowing* 35; Savonarola, *Expositio orationis dominicae*; idem, *Lettere*, ed. R. Ridolfi et al., *Le lettere di Girolamo Savonarola* (Rome, 1984), pp. 31.14-15, 53.13-14. P. S. Jolliffe, 'Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life', *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975) 92.

¹¹³ Rolle, *Incendium amoris* 32 perhaps implies a progression from prayer to meditation, and this is certainly present in *Emendatio vitae* 12 and in Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer abecedario espiritual* 13.1-3. Raymund of Capua, *Opuscula et litterae* (Rome, 1899), p. 87, 'legendo orando et sacris meditationibus animam muniendo', does not necessarily imply that there is any significance in the sequence, nor does *De imitatione Christi* 1.19.18, ed. T. Lupo (Vatican City, 1982), 'aut legens aut scribens aut orans aut meditans'. With Rolle and even more with Osuna we are moving into a rather different spiritual world.

of the text. How T comes to share such an interpolation with R is a problem we must consider later.

A single case of agreement between R and T and a doubtfully significant single case of agreement between R and A are not sufficient to overthrow the general conclusion which follows from our analysis so far: R belongs within the same family as M and is a very inferior witness to the tradition of that family. It is riddled with inaccuracies and has suffered from considerable editorial tampering, so that when it is on its own there is little reason to take it seriously. Its main value is that, in conjunction with M, it often enables us to reconstruct the Latin text of μ .

V

ST. ANTONINUS

St. Antoninus includes a précis of NW in chapter 2.1 of tit. xxiii of his *Chronica*,¹¹⁴ in the course of an extended demonstration that St. Dominic 'will be called great in the kingdom' of the various virtues. The material which is not pertinent to his immediate purpose is omitted, so, not surprisingly, little is taken from the prologue and nothing from the two exempla; and the Nine Ways themselves are considerably reduced.

The establishment of a text of A is, fortunately, not difficult since there are no serious differences in the three extant manuscripts.¹¹⁵

It is rather harder to answer the question whether or not A derives from a text of NW independent of Dietrich's *Libellus*. The most obvious hallmarks which differentiate μ from δ are all missing from A, thanks to Antoninus' ruthless compression of the text.

Dietrich is certainly an important source for Antoninus' life of Dominic,¹¹⁶ and the revealing detail that Guala had his vision of St. Dominic's assumption

¹¹⁴ *Chronicorum tertia pars* ... (Lyons, 1586), pp. 606-607. For convenience, I cite Antoninus by giving references to this edition, according to the page number, column, and section (thus, p. 611a α means page 611, first column, section α). However, my quotations from A are taken from the manuscripts rather than the printed text, which is not very reliable.

¹¹⁵ V follows S so closely that I suspect it is copied from S. U is a less accurate text, but it is plainly closer to the original in that it lacks the signs of editorial tampering found in SV. For instance, at p. 611a α (= Dietrich, *Libellus*, §65.16) *unam* has got lost from the text, leaving *qua* stranded; U still has *qua*, but SV turn *qua* into *quibus* and add *primam* after *transfigeret*. At p. 611b ρ (= Dietrich, §112.8) G omits *omnia* and this is followed in U, even though it leaves *tenerent* without a subject; SV add *fratres*. A few lines further down (p. 611b ϵ ; Dietrich, §113.4) G has *prostrans* instead of *prostratus*, and this is preserved in U, but SV 'correct' it to *se prostrans*. At p. 618b β (= Dietrich, §171.8) *impetu* is missing from the text of G, leaving *tanto* without a noun; U again follows G exactly, but SV add *sonitu*. U therefore has to be taken as the basis for any text of Antoninus, even though it often needs to be corrected by reference to SV.

¹¹⁶ J. B. Walker, *The Chronicles of Saint Antoninus. A Study in Historiography* (Studies in Medieval History 6; Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 93-94.

into glory *post orationem*¹¹⁷ can only come from the Italian recension of Dietrich.¹¹⁸ This means that Antoninus *could* have taken his text of NW from a manuscript of Dietrich, though it does not, of course, prove that he did. Dietrich is, after all, not his only source.

We can probably take a further step and identify the manuscript of Dietrich which Antoninus used. The *Chronica* were written almost entirely after 1446, while he was archbishop of Florence,¹¹⁹ so we may presume that he used a Florentine manuscript. The catalogue of the library of Antoninus' own community, San Marco, dating from c. 1500,¹²⁰ does not mention any life of St. Dominic. Is it not likely, then, that Antoninus used the copy of Dietrich which was in the library of the other great Dominican house, Santa Maria Novella?

Although Antoninus does not always follow his sources very closely, there are enough passages where he reproduces the text of Dietrich more or less verbatim to allow us to compare his readings with those of G and the other manuscripts of Dietrich. I have probably not identified all such passages, but I have examined the places where Antoninus takes over extended, continuous portions of text from Dietrich, and I have found no serious evidence that he had access to any readings other than those provided by G; and on the other hand the distinctive readings of CGJ habitually reappear in the text of Antoninus.¹²¹ There is no sign of the readings typical of X. So we can be certain that the manuscript used by Antoninus was one firmly within the CGJ tradition, and it may be considered likely that it was in fact G.

Our question, then, is whether A's text of NW is derived from G or from some independent source. The clues at our disposal are inevitably meagre, but I think they are sufficient to justify a conclusion.

First of all, it is quite clear that A does not derive from R. Neither R's lacuna at 27 nor its eccentric *erudiebat* in 41 recur in A, nor do any other major idio-

¹¹⁷ p. 630ab.

¹¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Walker, *The Chronicles of Saint Antoninus*, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁰ Printed in B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Medioevo e umanesimo 10; Padua, 1972), pp. 125-267.

¹²¹ A full presentation of the evidence would require a parallel critical edition of extended passages from Antoninus and Dietrich, which is beyond the scope of this article; unfortunately the printed editions of both authors are useless for the purposes of precise comparison. Suffice it then to indicate the passages in Antoninus which I have compared in detail with G's text of Dietrich: 611aa-f (Dietrich, §§65-67), 611bd-612bb (Dietrich, §§112-117), 618bb-619aa (Dietrich, §§171-175), 620ba-e (Dietrich, §§78-81), 621aa-f (Dietrich, §§89-91), 623ba-e (Dietrich, §§118-119), 624be-625ba (Dietrich, §§82-88), 625be-626ab (Dietrich, §§98-99), 626ac-bc (Dietrich, §§139-144), 627ac-bb (Dietrich, §§189-191), 627bc-d (Dietrich, §194), 629ap-630ac (Dietrich, §§232-241), 630bd-631aa (Dietrich, §§294-296.11).

synocrasies of R. The fact that A and R both have *disciplinas* at 64 must be fortuitous; it should be noticed that M does not support R at this point, and A is in any case paraphrasing the passage.

It also seems clear that A does not derive from the μ tradition. At 209, as we have seen, M and R are in a muddle, and the probability is that the muddle derives from their source, but A has a perfectly good text which accords with that in D. Also in 198 A has *solitudinis* with D, where R, backed by M, has *solus*.

A's addition of *sciens quia* in 27 (A 5) is plainly editorial, and it is a coincidence that M has a similar addition (*sabia el santo padre que ...*). R is defective at this point, so we cannot be sure what the reading of μ was, but there is no reason to suppose that the extra words in M are anything more than a translator's attempt to cope with what is, after all, a very jerky piece of Latin.

Similarly in 182 R and T, like A (A 54), have to reword the text slightly to cope with their suppression of the exemplum of the foolish sacristan. *Itaque* (182) in D is supported by M and must be the genuine reading, but it would be otiose once the exemplum has gone. There is therefore no special significance in the fact that R and A happen to opt for much the same way of adapting the relevant sentence.

In several places, where A is following the text of NW closely and there is no reason to suspect that Antoninus is rewriting, EK offer distinctive readings, sometimes with the support of H or T; in only two of them does A share their reading: at 63 A joins EHKXT in omitting *siue De profundis*, but this is an obvious excision for Antoninus to make in abbreviating the text, and in 223 A reads *solitudine* with EKT rather than *solitudinem*, but this is too trivial to be significant. Otherwise A follows the other manuscripts in reading *complosas* in 102, *sicut* in 103, *sacerdotis* in 103, *creditur* in 154, *aliquando* in 185, *socio* in 204, *abigeret* and *sepe* in 226 and *isto* in 227, against EK in each case.

In 97 A reads *oratione* with CGJ (and R) against EHKXT; in 118 A has *et rectus* with CGJ, against *stans erectus* RMEHKXT.

Of the texts known to us, then, CGJ and only CGJ can account for the readings of A, and it would be somewhat adventurous to refuse the obvious conclusion that Antoninus' knowledge of NW derives solely from his use of G. We have already considered the apparent convergence of R and A in NW 52, and concluded that it is of doubtful significance; it seems insufficient to justify any suggestion that A derives from an unknown manuscript of NW underlying both R and A, in view of the evidence linking R with M and A with CGJ.

The two exempla which A omits from NW are both found elsewhere in Antoninus, but in a form rather different from the text of NW:¹²²

¹²² pp. 605bf-606aa, 620aDE.

U, fol. 283r (S, fol. 306 [297]v; V, fol. 369v)

Cum quadam uice beatus Dominicus cum patribus tractaret de aliquo negotio Bononie, sacrista uocauit unum ex illis fratribus ad audiendum confessionem unius mulieris, ut creditur, dixitque ei, Una pulcra mulier petit uos, uenite cito. Et quamuis submisce dixerit, audiuit in spiritu pater sanctus et celo honestatis
 5 turbatus dixit sacriste, Confitere reatum tuum; deus fecit michi notum quod tu putabas occultum. Et ueniam petentem disciplinavit fortiter et diu, ita ut fratres mouerentur ad compassionem propter liuorem uerberum. Et ait, Vade fili, didicisti de cetero qualiter intuearis feminam ut de colore non iudices. Ora et tu ut deus te faciat pudicum.

4 pater sanctus] pater Dominicus *SV*

U, fol. 291r (S, fol. 314 [305]r; V, fol. 379v)

Cum beatus Dominicus esset Bononie diabolus in forma iuuenis lasciuu accessit ad conuentum predicatorum et petiit sibi a sacrista dari unum confessorem. Et adducti sunt successiue quinque fratres confessores. Et hec erat causa, quia ita affecit et inflammauit primum confessorem ex suis uerbis turpibus quod surrexit
 5 ab auditione confessionis et noluit audire usque in finem illas abhominaciones. Similiter fecit secundus, tertius, quartus et quintus. Silenter autem recedebant, nec causam dicebant ne confessionem reuelarent, quia ex parte eorum confessio sacramentalis erat, cum crederent hominem esse, sed non ex parte diaboli. Tunc sacrista acersitus beatum Dominicum, conquerente cum eo quod quinque fratres
 10 non potuerunt unum peccatorem audire, subdens, Scandalum magnum est, fratres predicant penitentiam et nolunt peccatoribus imponere penitentiam. Tunc beatus Dominicus recedens a lectione, oratione et contemplatione, accessit ad eum in ecclesiam, et ut uidit cognouit eum ipsique dixit, Cur maligne spiritus sub hac pietate temptas seruos dei? Et durissime increpauit eum, qui euanescens
 15 ecclesiam dimisit fetidam odore sulphuris. Placatusque est exinde sacrista contra confessores illos indignatus.

6 quartus et quintus] et quartus *SV*
 tiam imponere *SV*

11 imponere penitentiam] peniten-

VI

BARTHOLOMEW OF MODENA

Bartholomew of Modena completed his Italian *Vita di gli Frati Predicatori* in November 1470.¹²³ Until recently a copy of this work survived as 'cas. 3' in the Archivio del Convento Patriarcale di San Domenico, Bologna, but it is now missing. The text was never printed and, so far as I can discover, there is no

¹²³ Creytens, 'Deux écrivains du xv^e siècle', 388.

extant transcription of it nor have I been able to find any microfilm of it. This means that it is no longer possible to undertake the detailed study which might have permitted us to identify precisely the sources used by Bartholomew.

The second book of the *Vita di gli Frati Predicatori* was devoted to St. Dominic; according to Creytens, it was a 'composition personnelle de Barthélemy', derived principally from Dietrich and Peter Calo.¹²⁴ On fols. 37r-42r there was an account of Dominic's fourteen ways of prayer, the text of which was printed, as has already been mentioned, by Dupré-Theseider.

The fourteen ways contain material not found in NW, but nevertheless there can be no doubt of Bartholomew's dependence on NW. His prologue, for instance, is clearly derived from the prologue of NW. But, since he reworked the contents of NW fairly radically, it is difficult to make a sustained comparison of the two texts in order to determine where Bartholomew found NW and whether or not he had access to NW as an independent work. If Dietrich was one of his major sources, it is likely that that is also where Bartholomew found NW, but it would be nice to be sure.

The text of B is usually insufficiently close to the Latin original of NW to permit of any precise identification of what readings he found in NW; however, there are a few places where we can at least learn something.

Several times B has a good reading which part of the tradition of NW has lost, which allows us to exclude some manuscripts as possible sources. In NW 21 B is clearly following the text of NW fairly closely, and he reads *comuni* (B 13), which cannot come from the CGJ tradition, which has *omnes* instead of *comunes*. At NW 41 (B 26) *vergognoso* implies the presence of *erubescibat*, which R has lost, and similarly it may be presumed that *cento volte* at NW 71 (B 68) implies the presence of *centies*, where R has *pluries*. At NW 204 (B 111), where B is very close to NW, *compagno* clearly implies the reading *socio*, where EK have *sancto*.

At NW 118 (B 92) B has *stando*, where CGJ have lost *stans* from the text, but this could be accidental, as something like *stando* is needed in the Italian sentence. Similarly at NW 127 (B 94) *excepto quando* agrees with *nisi cum* RM, but B is not closely dependent on NW at this point and the Italian text need not be more than an intelligent interpretation of the DT reading, *sed cum*.

Only twice does B definitely attest an aberrant reading in NW. The most striking instance is at NW 89-90 (B 75-76), where B is closely following the Latin text:

... esso, come ad una sua arte et usancia e natura, e come ad uno suo singolare ministerio, reverente se esercitava in quelle (genuflexioni)

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, 392.

The only possible source for *reverente* is the aberrant reading *reuerenter* in CGJT, where all the other manuscripts make it clear that the proper reading is *reuerteretur*. B's *se esercitava* is added to make up for the loss of the verb.

At NW 214 (B 115) B's *da lo libro* could be due simply to the translator's desire to clarify the text, but it is nevertheless remarkable that H, X and T all read *a libro* here. The most plausible reading is *alio* CGJ, but the whole tradition is disturbed: R reads *pallio*, M has nothing equivalent, E reads *aliqua* and K simply has *a*. It is surely improbable that the agreement of B with HXT is fortuitous.

These are lamentably meagre pickings, but if we allow that the agreement of B with CGJT in the rather improbable reading *reuerenter* in 90 is more persuasive than the probably fortuitous agreement of B with RM at 127, then we are driven to a somewhat unexpected conclusion: the only known text of NW which can account for B is that offered by Taegio. Since T obviously cannot, as such, be the source of B, we must infer that B and T have a common source, unless indeed B is the source of T. We must therefore postpone further discussion of B until after we have considered the text of T.

VII

TAEGIO

It is largely thanks to the historical interests of successive Masters of the Dominican Order that we are today able to read the massive collection of Dominican *monumenta* which Ambrogio Taegio compiled in Milan in the first twenty years or so of the sixteenth century. His autograph, preserved in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan, until the middle of the eighteenth century, has since then never been heard of again; it is presumed that it no longer exists.¹²⁵

Thomas Ripoll, who had been put in charge of the preparation of the Dominican Bullarium by Master General Cloche, was himself elected Master General in 1725 and he called for a copy of Taegio to be made. By 1735 Innocenzo Antonio Natali, with a little help from Ludovik Obradovich, had completed at least the *Chronicae ampliores* and the *Chronica brevis*.¹²⁶ In 1748

¹²⁵ G. Odetto suggests the possibility that it was burned with the archives of the Inquisition in 1788 ('La cronaca maggiore dell'Ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma. Frammenti editi', AFP 10 [1940] 316 n. 84).

¹²⁶ The *Chronicae ampliores* ... fill AGOP XIV 51 and 52, written in 1733, according to a notice at the beginning of each volume. Obradovich only wrote the first 158 folios of XIV 52; the rest is the work of Natali. The *Chronica brevis* is in XIV 53, written in 1735, entirely by Natali.

Brémond, who had brought to fruition the publication of the Bullarium and embarked on a complete history of the Order, was elected to succeed Ripoll as Master General, and one of his first acts was to establish a group of Dominican historians in Rome.¹²⁷ In 1756 the first – and only – volume of the Dominican *Annales* was published, and the editors mention that they have four volumes of Taegio at their disposal in Rome.¹²⁸ It was presumably at their instigation that Master General Boxadors (elected in 1756) asked the librarian of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Vincenzo Maria Monti, for a copy of the rest of Taegio. On 22 March 1758, Monti apologized for still not being able to send the remaining two volumes, but assured the Master General that he and Natali were both making good progress; ¹²⁹ the first volume of *De insigniis*, in Natali's hand, is undated, but the second, written by Monti, was finished in July 1758.¹³⁰

The chronology of Taegio's works is not wholly clear. He is reported to have been still alive in 1525,¹³¹ but he is already credited with a *cronica Ordinis Praedicatorum valde prolixa* in 1516.¹³² By the time he had finished, there were six large volumes;¹³³ *De insigniis* seems to have occupied the first three volumes,¹³⁴ and we know that the *Chronica brevis* was in the sixth volume, apparently with the collection of documents that follows the *Chronica brevis* in AGOP XIV 53.¹³⁵

From the fact that the *Chronica brevis* came in the last volume, Odetto inferred that it was Taegio's last work,¹³⁶ but this is by no means certain. The

¹²⁷ A. Papillon, 'Le premier Collège Historique de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs', AFP 6 (1936) 10-11.

¹²⁸ T. M. Mamachi, *Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum volumen primum* (Rome, 1756), p. xxxviii.

¹²⁹ Monti's letter is in AGOP XIV lib. GGG, fol. 137r; he says that he is working on the sixth volume, while Natali finishes the fifth. This agrees with the reference to 'four volumes' in the *Annales*, but is puzzling since there are now only five volumes and there is no sign that there were ever more than five volumes.

¹³⁰ AGOP XIV 54 (in Natali's hand) and 55 (written by Monti; cf. fol. 235r).

¹³¹ Odetto, 'La cronaca maggiore', 315 n. 83.

¹³² Leandro Alberti, *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Bologna, 1517), fol. 153r; this work was being written in 1516 (see below, p. 64 n. 183).

¹³³ Antonius Senensis, *Bibliotheca Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Paris, 1585), p. 13; Giovanni P. Puricelli, *De SS. martyribus Nazario et Celso* (Milan, 1656), p. 550.

¹³⁴ The index to *De insigniis* is called 'Tabula prime partis monumentorum ordinis' (AGOP XIV 55, fol. 207v); Antonius Senensis, *ibid.*, p. 13, says that the life of Columba of Rieti was 'in 3 parte monumentorum ordinis', and this life forms part of book 3 of *De insigniis*. The 'chronica ordinis nostri in quatuor partes distincta' which Antonius Senensis says was 'in prima parte monumentorum ordinis' (*ibid.*, pp. 12-13) is puzzling, as it does not obviously fit any of Taegio's known works.

¹³⁵ Puricelli, who saw and used Taegio's works in Santa Maria delle Grazie, indicates that the 'sexta pars' began with the *Chronica brevis* (*De SS. martyribus*, p. 551) and that the excerpts from Galvano began on fol. 253 (*ibid.*, p. 553).

¹³⁶ Odetto, 'La cronaca maggiore', 317.

Chronicae ampliores continue to 1505¹³⁷ and conclude with a life of Osanna of Mantua, who died in 1505 and whose life was published later in the same year.¹³⁸ The *Chronica brevis* itself breaks off at 1313;¹³⁹ Natali indicates that there was then a *spazio*, and this is followed by a variety of documents, the most recent being the acts of the General Chapter of 1518,¹⁴⁰ though there are a few more pages after these acts, supplying material omitted earlier. The most recent date which I can discover in *De insigniis* comes toward the end of the life of Columba of Rieti; one of the appended miracles is dated to 1519.¹⁴¹ And it should be noted that there is a lot more in *De insigniis* after the life of Columba. This suggests that the traditional chronology may, after all, be correct, and that *De insigniis* is Taegio's last work,¹⁴² though he must surely have collected most of his material before he organized it into any of his three books.

NW is found, without the two exempla, in book 2 of *De insigniis*, which is devoted to the life of St. Dominic; it occupies half of fol. 45r and the whole of fols. 45v-46v.

Taegio's text of NW plainly derives, directly or indirectly, from a manuscript of Dietrich: it contains the connecting *ut supra* at 60 and 125; since Taegio was nowhere near the end of his own compilation, it is not surprising that he omits *ad operis terminationem* at 12-13.

We may presume that Taegio took the text of NW directly from a manuscript of Dietrich, since it is abundantly clear that Dietrich is a major source for book 2 of *De insigniis*. Dietrich does not feature among the named sources in the *Chronicae ampliores*¹⁴³ but even a cursory examination of the chapters published in Mothon's unfinished edition of book 2 of *De insigniis*¹⁴⁴ shows that Dietrich is very much among those present. Sections iii-viii of the first chapter are taken verbatim from the *reuelationes* in Dietrich, §§372-397, and the following table sets out the first few sections of chapter 2, with the corresponding paragraphs in Dietrich from which they are derived:

Taegio	Dietrich
i	10-11
ii-iii	12 (with other material)
iv-x	13-26

¹³⁷ AGOP XIV 52, fol. 244r.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, fols. 246v-252v. Francesco da Ferrara published a life of Osanna in 1505 (QE 2.60).

¹³⁹ AGOP XIV 53, fol. 91v.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 197v.

¹⁴¹ AGOP XIV 55, fol. 188v.

¹⁴² P. Mothon, *Chronica conventus bononiensis* (Rome, 1903), p. 302.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 299-302.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 303-630; this is a more convenient reissue of an edition scattered throughout ASOP 5 (1901-1902).

xi	27 (with other material)
xiib	28-29
xiii	29-32 (with other material)
xiv	33-38
xv	39-42 (with other material).

Is there any need to go on? It is evident that the text of Dietrich has been systematically pillaged by Taegio.

It is also evident that Taegio's text of Dietrich belongs to the δ tradition, since it contains readings distinctive of the Italian recension. On AGOP XIV 54, fol. 34r, for instance, we find:

... nisi cum ivit ad curiam et quando egressus visitavit quasdam terras Lombardie, videlicet Mediolanum, Bergomum et civitatem Venetiarum.

This is the 'Italian' text of Dietrich, §157.8-10. On fols. 47v-48r we read:

Guala Lombardus ex civitate Bergomensis, prior Brixie, postmodum ejusdem civitatis episcopus, levi depressus somno post orationem

This is the 'Italian' text of §240.8-9.

Taegio also shares the salient errors common to the manuscripts of the δ tradition. (In what follows I shall, for convenience, cite only those parts of book 2 contained in Mothon's edition, though I have corrected his text, where necessary, from the manuscript. Numbers in parentheses refer to paragraph and line in Dietrich, *Libellus*). In chapter i iii he shares with all the D manuscripts the omission of *sicut sonitus musicorum, sonitus mediarum alarum* and the consequent alteration of *sonitus rotarum* to *sonitus aliarum alarum* (377.15-19). A few lines further on, he shares the corruption of *mulierum et diuersarum bestiarum* to *multarum et diuersarum bestiarum* (378.2-3). He shares with CEGJKX the corruption of the rather strange *bestie dolum memores* to the quite incomprehensible *bestie domini memores* (H omits *dolum/ domini*) (379.13-14). In i iv he shares with all the D manuscripts the reading *sapientes* for *suscipientes* (385.22-23). Near the end of i vii he has the awkward D reading, *Dominico*, instead of *diuinitus* (394.9). In ii v he shares with EHX the impossible *ordinem imbibit*, where K alone of the D manuscripts, rather mysteriously, has the correct *odorem imbibit* (CGJ omit the offending words) (15.10-11). Towards the end of ii vii he reads *uarios* instead of *uanos*, in common with EK (CGHJX have the correct reading) (23.9). At the end of ii xi he reads, with the whole D tradition, *etheream domum* instead of *aream domini* (27.25-26).

There can be no doubt that Taegio is using an 'Italian' text of Dietrich. Further probing, however, reveals that he is not dependent on any of the D manuscripts or subfamilies with which we are familiar.

Taegio certainly takes some liberties with the text, and some of his 'good' readings may be due to his own intelligent rewriting; but it cannot be fortuitous that he systematically, as it were, picks his way through the various errors offered now by EK, now by CGJ, now by X or H, somehow divining the correct reading each time.

The situation at the beginning of chapter 2 seems to be typical. In 11 i Taegio has *innocentie*, which CGJ have lost (10.7), *hic studiis*, where EK have *hiis fultus* (10.10), *a domini*, where EK have *ad deum* (10.20), *ex Hispania*, where H has *in Hispania* (10.23), *sede Petri*, where H has *ecclesia et sede Petri* (11.1), *dei gratia viro suo*, where H inverts the two phrases (11.13), *in vita sua*, which CGJ omit (11.18); in 11 iv he has *adversarios terreat*, *luce tam radiosus ut*, which EK omit, and *peccatis*, which is corrupted in CGJ to *peccatores* (13.10-11). And so it goes on.

Where all the D manuscripts are wrong, Taegio is usually wrong too; it is clear that he is taking his text essentially from a δ manuscript. But he has some readings which the non-D manuscripts show to be correct, but which the D manuscripts have generally lost. Thus in 1 v he has *unitatis connexio*, where all the D manuscripts except X have *ueritatis* (389.19-20); in 11 x he has *pigmentis refertus odoriferis*, where the D manuscripts have *refectus* (26.15); in 11 xix he has *reaccenderet* and *perlustraret*, where the D manuscripts have the indicative instead of the subjunctive (51.18-20).

In some cases it is probable that Taegio has corrected the text of Dietrich from some other source; he was, after all, exceptionally well acquainted with Dominican sources and he was deliberately weaving different sources together to produce his own text. Towards the end of 11 xiii he clearly abandons Dietrich for a few clauses and turns to Humbert's *legenda* or some such source, no doubt for the same reasons that E's ancestor did (32.13-14). In 111 xviii, again like E, he has *letanias*, which comes from Dietrich's source, rather than Dietrich's own reading, *lectiones* (150.9). Occasionally this could lead, by a happy chance, to the restoration of a truer reading in Dietrich. In 11 xviii he lists the three bishoprics refused by Dominic, giving a text very similar to that found in OP; all the other manuscripts I have looked at omit *et Cozeranensis* (49.14).¹⁴⁵ Taegio was quite capable of supplying the missing see from some source other than Dietrich.

Sometimes, however, Taegio has a correct reading which he could not have drawn from any source other than a manuscript of Dietrich. In 111 x, for instance, he has the friends and relations of the nuns of *Sancta Maria Transiberim* (he does not correct the name) complaining that the nuns:

¹⁴⁵ Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 65, has the third see, but the text has clearly been reworked.

tam sollemnem locum deserere et ad aliam ecclesiam transmigrare disponent.

disponent has disappeared in all the D manuscripts (86.7), and could not have been restored from Cecilia, because she has *vellent*; ¹⁴⁶ nor is *disponent* by any means an obvious supplement. Some verb is certainly needed, but both H and Antoninus supply a form of *consentire*,¹⁴⁷ which is the verb used in the previous sentence.

One possibility which cannot be ruled out is that Taegio may occasionally have consulted some non-D manuscript, where his basic text was plainly defective. In the fourteenth century Galvano della Fiamma was apparently able to use such a manuscript. In general his citations from Dietrich are insufficiently precise to allow of any identification of the type of text he was using, but he quotes extensively from the revelation about Dominic and Francis which Dietrich cites *ex gestis sancti Ysidori* and, since he merges it with a brief text from Mechthild, I presume that his source is Dietrich. As has already been noted, all the D manuscripts (and Taegio) have a false reading in the passage about the noise made by the wings and wheels of the *similitudo*, but Galvano plainly has the correct text.¹⁴⁸ This implies that, presumably in Milan, he had access to a non-D manuscript, so conceivably Taegio could later use the same manuscript, though the 1494 catalogue of the library of Sant'Eustorgio makes no mention of any life of St. Dominic at all.¹⁴⁹ Maybe the copy used by Galvano had passed to the other convent, where Taegio was, Santa Maria delle Grazie, about whose library little is known.¹⁵⁰

Even if it is true that Taegio sometimes consulted a non-D manuscript, the constant occurrence of typical D readings shows that his basic text was a δ manuscript, while the accuracy of his text shows that it comes from a better manuscript than any of those which are extant today. It seems to me that the most likely explanation for the peculiarities of his text is that he was actually using δ , as I have argued that the scribe of H did. If Taegio was using Dietrich's own *uiles pecie* with their 'Italian' annotations, this could explain how he comes to share the readings characteristic of the D tradition and occasional

¹⁴⁶ Walz, '*Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia*', 42, 1. 17 (§14).

¹⁴⁷ Antoninus, p. 625a ϵ (cited above, n. 114). It is not impossible that the reading in H is due to Antoninus' influence (Antoninus' *Chronica* was certainly known in Germany; it was first published in Nuremberg in 1484).

¹⁴⁸ Reichert, '*Cronica*', 7-9.

¹⁴⁹ Edited in T. Kaeppli, '*La bibliothèque de Saint-Eustorge à Milan à la fin du xv^e siècle*', AFP 25 (1955) 21-69.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Kaeppli, '*Antiche biblioteche domenicane*', 28-29. Antonius Senensis used this library (*Bibliotheca*, p. 13), but there is nothing in his list of sources which could possibly be taken to refer to Dietrich's *Libellus* (*Chronicon fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* [Paris, 1585], pp. 345-46).

readings peculiar to some part of the D tradition, without being aligned in any systematic way with any of the subfamilies within D.

It is also possible on this basis to suggest an interpretation of the rather puzzling situation at NW 214, already adverted to in connection with B. The CGJ reading, *alio* (meaning 'elsewhither'), is almost certainly the correct one, but it has not fared well in the tradition.¹⁵¹ If R's *pallio* were a genuine μ variant, we should expect to find some trace of it in M, whereas M completely ignores the word (which, in the context, is a legitimate way of 'translating' *alio*). EK are plainly in trouble. Taegio joins HXB in reading *a libro*. It is most unlikely that four people should independently hit upon the same emendation (for that is what it is). Taegio obviously cannot be the source for the other three, and it is highly improbable that B or T depends on H or X. It does not seem that T was using B, since in his catalogue of Bartholomew's works Taegio does not list the *Vita*.¹⁵² Therefore they must all four derive from some common source. It is, of course, possible that all four were using some manuscript of which we otherwise know nothing; but since this manuscript would have to be close enough to δ to supply H, X and T with the good readings which they possess independently of CGJ and EK, it is more economical to suppose that their common source was δ itself, and that somebody had made one or two marginal corrections after the originals of CGJ and EK had been copied.¹⁵³ This tallies with the suggestion already offered to account for the convergence between X and H in Dietrich, *Libellus*, §§274 and 367.

¹⁵¹ It is perhaps significant that Trivet provides a gloss on *alio*: E. Franceschini, ed., *Il commento di Nicola Trevet al Tieste di Seneca* (Milan, 1938), p. 40.25 ('alio, id est ad aliam partem'); M. Palma, ed., *Commento alle 'Troades' di Seneca* (Rome, 1977), p. 39.14-15 ('hinc alio, id est ab isto loco ad alium').

¹⁵² The *Vita* is not listed among Bartholomew's works in AGOP XIV 52, fol. 197r or 54, fol. 177v.

¹⁵³ Since H contains the Berengarian *Miracula* of Dominic and Peter Martyr as well as Dietrich, it is likely that whoever copied Dietrich found all three works in the same place; the *Miracula* do not seem to have circulated widely, if indeed they circulated at all, so the most likely location would be either Bologna or Milan, which were the depositories for miracles of Dominic and Peter respectively (ed. Reichert, 'Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum ...', MOPH 4.73). There is no hint of any such collection, or of any life of Dominic, in the catalogue of Sant'Eustorgio, but Fabio Vigili, in his catalogue of San Domenico, Bologna, lists, rather vaguely, 'Dominici, Petri Martyris et Thomae Aquinatis sanctorum vitae et canonizationes per ordinem' (M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du xvi^e siècle* [Studi e testi 105; Vatican City, 1943], p. 94). There is no mention of Peter Martyr in the earlier catalogue, from between 1371 and 1386, but there is a 'liber vite beati Dominici' (ibid., p. 228) which could be δ . Taegio certainly worked in Bologna, where he used the *Chronica* of Borselli, and there is little reason to doubt that Bartholomew of Modena also availed himself of the library there. The date and place of issue of the Bull of Canonization in EK also suggests that the ancestor of the EK tradition may have been produced in Bologna.

The same hypothesis can also be invoked to explain other anomalies which link T with B. At NW 75 after *peccatum* T adds:

et sicut beatus Bartholomeus apostolus centies per diem et centies per noctem orabat Dominum.

In the corresponding Way in B we find (B 67-68):

orava geniculando ovvero moltiplicando le genuflessioni, non solo la nocte cento volte come leggemo di Bartholomeo apostolo

Bartholomew is, of course, a standard example of genuflecting; his *centies per dies et centies per noctem* features in the Dominican matins lectionary¹⁵⁴ and in James of Varazze¹⁵⁵ and it is also cited by Humbert of Romans.¹⁵⁶ It is more than likely that the mention of *centies* in NW 71 was prompted all along by the story of Bartholomew. But it is curious that both Bartholomew of Modena and Taegio actually interpolate the apostle into the text. The coincidence would be explained if both were inspired by a marginal note added to δ .

At NW 61 T fills out the quotation from Psalm 17 with an extra half verse, *Et disciplina tua ipsa me docebit*. The same words are also added at B 52-53 but B curiously has them in the wrong place, before instead of after *disciplina tua correxit me in finem*. If T and B both derive from a marginal note, this could explain why the extra words are misplaced in B.

Finally, in NW 183 T reads *in mundo* instead of *mundo*; similarly B 102 has *in questo mondo*.

A somewhat different kind of anomaly suggests, at first sight, a more direct relationship between T and B. In three places T indicates that the illustration is to go, not at the end of the section, as in RMGJ (the only manuscripts to contain illustrations or spaces for illustrations¹⁵⁷), but in the middle of the section (at NW 33, 41 and 227). B also has its illustrations in the middle of each section. But T's arrangement only actually coincides with B once, at 41, and it is unlikely that B had anything to do with it. I suspect that Taegio simply failed to

¹⁵⁴ AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 212v.

¹⁵⁵ *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea* ..., ed. J. G. T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850; rpt. Osnabrück, 1969), p. 541.

¹⁵⁶ Humbert, *Expositio super constitutiones Fratrum Praedicatorum* 2.55 (ed. Berthier, *Opera de vita regulari* 2.165 [cited above, n. 109]).

¹⁵⁷ It is not clear to what extent we can speak of a 'tradition' with regard to the illustrations of NW. Mamachi, *Annales*, p. 670 n. 4, indicates that the lost Carcassonne manuscript was illustrated, but it does not follow that the text sent by Gui to Spain also contained illustrations. The pictures in R, M and B seem to be independent of one another, the similarities being due to the fact that they are all illustrating an identical text. The artistic merit of the miniatures in R should not beguile us into supposing that they owe anything to the original author or the original illustrator of NW.

make any note of where the pictures were to go, when he first transcribed NW, and that when he copied the text into *De insigniis* he was just guessing. Ways 3 to 7 indicate clearly where the illustration goes, but this is not so of the other four Ways. In the First Way *ut descriptus est* (37) could be taken to imply that the *figura* has already been given, in which case 33 is a sensible place to locate it. There is no obviously right place in the Second Way, but 41 is as good as any. In the Eighth Way Taegio gets it right, and in the Ninth Way 227 is a reasonable place to choose, even if it is not in fact correct.

Basically, then, we can treat T as a witness to the text of δ , allowing for a certain amount of rewriting, whether deliberate or accidental, on the part of Taegio and, possibly, some interference from a well-meaning annotator in δ .

There are two places where T seems to be closer to M than to D, but neither of them is significant. In 114 and 218 both M and T draw attention to the illustration in a way which differs from R and D, but it is characteristic both of Taegio and of the Spanish translator to add this kind of comment (cf. the end of the Second Way in M, and the First and Ninth Ways in Taegio).

Much more striking is the appearance in T of a reading which is otherwise peculiar to R: as has already been mentioned, at 210 RT add *ex oratione ad meditationem*, against the consensus of M and D. If this is a genuine part of the tradition, then we must suppose that it got lost in M and in H and in X and in the originals of CGJ and EK, which is hardly likely. And, as I have argued above, the MD reading is inherently more convincing. So how does T come to have the reading of R?

Once this question is raised, it must also be enlarged to include other places where T agrees with R against D and in particular NW 43, where T conflates the reading of R, *reuerenter*, with that of D, *uerecunde*.

It seems unlikely that Taegio ever saw R, though it cannot be definitely excluded. In the fifteenth century R was in Carthusian hands in Valencia, which probably means that it belonged to Porta Caeli;¹⁵⁸ since de Rossi began accumulating his library within a few years of the suppression of Porta Caeli in 1835,¹⁵⁹ it seems reasonable to suppose that the manuscript passed almost immediately from the Charterhouse to the *bibliotheca Rossiana*, but this is only a conjecture.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ C. da Silva Tarouca, *Descriptio codicum graecorum necnon latinorum e codd. mss. Rossianis 1-200* (unpublished catalogue).

¹⁵⁹ A brief account of the history of the de Rossi library is given in J. Bignami-Odier, *Guide au Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican* (Paris, 1934), pp. 22-23 (also published as an article in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 51 [1934] 205-39).

¹⁶⁰ G. Bedouelle, *Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1982), p. 240, claims that R comes 'de la bibliothèque dominicaine de Bologne', but does not give any reason for this claim – which is, I notice, dropped in the German edition of this book prepared by H. Barth in collaboration with the author (*Dominikus* [Graz, 1984], p. 249).

It seems more likely that T's text is contaminated from some manuscript closely related to R. And this does not necessarily mean that there was an authentic tradition of NW independent of D, of which R and Taegio's source would be independent witnesses. It is far more probable that somebody had made a copy of R and brought it to Italy.

VIII

THE EXEMPLA

The combined testimony of M and D is sufficient to show that the two exempla are an integral part of NW; the reason for their omission in R, A, B and T is obvious enough.

Taegio, in fact, does include both exempla in all three of his works. In *De insigniis* they are found together in AGOP XIV 54, fols. 36v-37r; in the *Chronica ampliores* (T¹) they occur in the same context, but separated by three other stories, in AGOP XIV 51, fols. 21r and 21v. A comparison of the two versions shows that Taegio has taken them from two different sources: T is manifestly taken from the text of NW, while T¹ is very close to the version we have seen in Antoninus. The latter, according to Taegio, comes *ex vitis fratrum*.

T¹ (AGOP XIV 51, fol. 21r)

Diabolus in specie cuiusdam lascivi juvenis ad conventum fratrum veniens a sacrista unum sibi petiit dari confessorum. Adducti sunt successive quinque fratres quorum primum ita ex suis turpibus inflamavit verbis quod ex confessionis auditione exurgens reliquas abominationes audire noluit. Similiter reliqui recedentes causam penitus dicere nolebant ne sacramentalem confessionem propalare viderentur. Tunc sacrista coram beato Dominico conquestus est eo quod fratres quinque unum peccatorem audire nequirent, alegans scandalum; fratres enim penitentiam predicantes peccatoribus penitentiam imponere contemnunt. Beatus autem Dominicus hoc audiens a lectione orationeque ac contemplatione quibus tunc temporis vacabat, ad ecclesiam perexit, ipsumque cognoscens

T (AGOP XIV 54, fols. 36v-37r)

Semel accidit Bononie quod diabolus venit ad ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum in modum juvenis mores habentis varios (*lege* vanos) et lascivos, petiitque confessorem. Et adducti sunt alternatim quinque confessores, modo unus, modo alius; et hec fuit causa: quia ita affecit et male inflamavit primum confessorem ex verbis suis, quod surrexit ab auditione confessionis et usque ad finem audire noluit abominationes illas. Similiter fecit secundus, tertius, quartus et quintus. Silenter autem recedebant et nunquam voluerunt confessionem hanc revelare, quia ex parte illorum qui audierant sacramentalis erat a diabolo. Tunc pater sanctus Dominicus in conventu presens erat, qui a sacrista querulo contra sacerdotes accersitus eo quod quinque peccatorem audire non potuerunt, dixit hoc sancto patri et adiecit, Scandalum magnum: predicant fratres sacerdotes penitentiam et nolunt eam peccatoribus imponere. Et surrexit sanctus

dixit, Cur maligne spiritus hac pietatis specie temptas Dei servos? Et durissime eum increpans ipsum abire compulit. Qui statim evanescens ecclesiam odore sulphuris fetidam reliquit. Consolatusque est super hoc sacristam contra fratres illos indignatum.

fol. 21v

Cum die quadam beatus Dominicus Bononie cum patribus de aliquo negotio tractaret, sacrista unum ex hiis qui aderant ad audiendam cuiusdam mulieris confessionem vocavit dicens, Una pulcra mulier vos vocat, veniatis cito. Et quamvis submisce dixerit, beatum Dominicum minime latuit, Spiritu Dei revelante. Zelo autem honestatis turbatus sacriste dixit, Confitere peccatum tuum, Deus enim quod occultum credebatur palam fecit. Quem veniam petentem taliter disciplinavit quod fratres ad compassionem moti sunt ex livore verberum. Dixitque, Vade fili didicisti qualiter de cetero feminam intuearis ut de colore non iudices. Ora et tu ut Deus te pudicum faciat.

pater Dominicus a lectione vel oratione aut contemplatione puto negotii non ignarus et venit audire diaboli confessionem. Quam ergo intrasset ecclesiam, accessit eum diabolus quem statim sanctus pater cognovit et dixit ei, Cur maligne spiritus sub hac pietate tentas servos Dei? Et durissime eum increpavit. At diabolus statim ibidem evanuit. Dimisit odore sulphuris fetidam ecclesiam, et placatus est sacrista super indignatione contra fratres sacerdotes.

fol. 37r

Requisivit aliquando beatus Dominicus Bononie existens super quibusdam agendis secundum morem suum consilium seniorum, quia, ut dicebat, revelatur uni bonorum quod non revelatur alteri, ut in prophetis. Et tunc sacrista vocavit ad ecclesiam feminarum unum de assistantibus in illo consilio, ut puto gratia audiendi confessionem, et subintulit fatue, non tamen ita ut putaret a beato Dominico audiri, Una pulcra domina vocat vos, venite cito. Factus autem in spiritu beatus Dominicus agitabatur in se ipso et reveriti sunt consiliarii. Tunc precepit advenire sacristam et dixit ei, Quid dixistis? At ille, Petivi inquit sacristam (!) ad ecclesiam. Et pater sanctus, Increpa te ipsum et confitere peccatum tuum quod ad os usque tuum pervenit. Deus, qui fecit omnia, fecit quod me non laterent verba tua que putabas occulta. Et disciplinavit eum ibi fortiter et diu, ita ut astantes ad compassionem moverentur propter livores. Et ait, Vade fili didicisti de cetero qualiter intuearis aspectu fixo mulierem ut de cetero non iudices de colore. Ora et tu ut Deus in oculis tuis te pudicum faciat. Sic cognovit occultum, sic corripuit fatuum, sic docuit castigatum, sicut in oratione prevederat. Et admirati sunt fratres, sic dixit esse faciendum, et dixit sanctus magister, Nostre justitie divine justitie comparate immunditie sunt.

It is striking that in the T text (NW 178) T and M are the only manuscripts to have the correct reading, *ora et tu*, where CEGJKX have *sta* and H has what is patently an emendation, *insta et tu*. It is unlikely that Taegio alone was able to decipher δ correctly; presumably he was alerted to the corruption in the text by his knowledge of another version of the story which he had already copied from some other source.

Taegio also has the two stories in his *Chronica brevis* (T²: the text is edited below). Though they appear in the same context as in T¹, the text is much closer to T and is certainly taken from the same source. The differences between T and T² show that neither one of them is simply copied from the other, as T contains phrases omitted in T² and conversely T² restores correct readings which were corrupted in T. This means that Taegio had recourse either to δ each time or, more probably, to his own copy from δ . It proves that Taegio is capable of copying the same text twice in significantly different ways, which warns us not to take his fidelity to his sources too much for granted.¹⁶¹

The context for the two stories in T¹ is a list of Bologna miracles, all alleged to come *ex vitis fratrum*.¹⁶² The first is a tale of two students going to confession to Dominic and it is also found in Peter Calo;¹⁶³ no manuscript of Gerald de Frachet is known to contain it. Then follow four stories which do indeed come from Gerald, whose text is followed closely enough, though the order of the stories is different: *Vitae fratrum* 2.27, 2.26, 2.19b, 2.17. Then follows the story of the devil appearing in the form of an ape, which has not been found in any manuscript of Gerald. Cecilia has the same story, but her text is quite different and she locates the event in Rome, not in Bologna. Then comes the devil's confession, followed by three more stories from Gerald (2.22, 4.16.3, 4.16.1). Then comes the foolish sacristan, and the series concludes with *Vitae fratrum* 4.2.3 and 2.13.

Antoninus appears to be aware of something like the same text as Taegio. Apart from the two exempla of NW, he also quotes the story of the devil appearing in the form of an ape in almost exactly the same words as Taegio. A comparison between these two and Cecilia shows that we are dealing with two distinct lines of transmission:

Antoninus (U, fol. 290v;
S, fol. 313 [304]v; V, fol. 379r)

Taegio (AGOP XIV 51, fol. 21r)

Bononie autem cum quadam nocte uigilaret ad lumen candele aliqua legens, appa-

Alia nocte cum ad lumen candele aliqua legens vigilaret, apparuit coram eo inimi-

¹⁶¹ The same moral can be drawn from the two texts of the pseudo-Jordan text on the Translation of St. Dominic (cf. Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 82-88) in AGOP XIV 51, fols. 52r-53r and XIV 54, fols. 50v-51v.

¹⁶² AGOP XIV 51, fol. 21.

¹⁶³ Mamachi, *Annales*, Appendix, p. 344.

ruit coram eo inimicus in forma symie gestuans ad similitudinem actuum eius. Tunc beatus Dominicus candelam illam iussit illi manu tenere. Cumque circa finem esset consumptionis eius uoluit eam excutere a se, sed mandauit beatus uir firmiter illam tenere usque ad ultimam consumptionem. Ignisque flamma comburente manum eius cepit eiulare. At beatus pater baculo suo percutiens abire permisit.¹⁶⁴

cus in simie forma gestuans ad eius similitudinem. Tunc beatus Dominicus candellam iussit illi manu tenere. Dumque circa finem esset consumptionis eius eam excutere uoluit, sed mandauit uir sanctus firmiter illam tenere ad consumptionem ultimam. Ignis itaque flama eius manum comburente eiulare cepit. At pater sanctus baculo eum percutiens abire permisit.

Cecilia

Quadam vice cum adhuc fratres morarentur apud sanctum Syxtum nocte quadam beatus pater, cum diu in oratione pervigilasset, circa mediam noctem egressus ecclesiam ad lumen candelae in capite dormitorii sedebat et scribebat. Et ecce quidam demon in figura symie ante eum apparuit et cepit huc illucque coram eo deambulare et quosdam versus illusorios cum tortione vultus ante eum facere. Tunc beatus Dominicus innuit ei manu ut fixus staret. Et accipiens candelam accensam dedit ei, ut teneret eam coram se. At ille accepta candela stetit ac tenuit et iam dictos versus cum irrisione vultus ante beatum Dominicum faciebat. Interea finitur candela et accensus est digitus illius symie. Illa autem cepit se quasi pre dolore torquere et lamentare ac si is, qui in gehenna ignis eterni comburitur, ignem corporalem timeret. Beatus vero Dominicus innuit ei adhuc ut firmiter staret. Quid plura? Tamdiu stetit ac tenuit, donec digitus eius indicialis totus concrematus est usque ad iuncturam manus. At illa fortius se torquere et lamentare. Tunc beatus Dominicus accepit ferulam, quam semper secum portabat, et percussit eum fortiter dicens, Recede nequam. Insonuit autem percussio ac si feriisset utrem siccum vento repletum. Illa vero in parietem proximum se proiciens nusquam comparuit tantumque ibi fetorem reliquit, ut que symia fuerit indiciis evidentibus indicaret. Hoc factum ipse beatus pater audiente sorore Cecilia et vidente ab eo fieri gestus illius symie fratribus et sororibus indicavit.¹⁶⁵

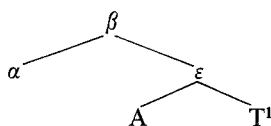
¹⁶⁴ Antoninus, *Chronica*, p. 619ap.

¹⁶⁵ Walz, *Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia*, 28.

Clearly Taegio's text is very close to that of Antoninus, but there is no reason to suppose that Taegio is dependent on Antoninus; when he is dependent on Antoninus in the *Chronicae ampliores* he says so. Here he claims to be using the *Vitae fratrum*. His collection of Bologna stories appears to derive from some sort of 'Bologna supplement' to the *Vitae fratrum*¹⁶⁶ and we may presume that Antoninus was using the same source.

What, then, is the relationship between the exempla in NW and the 'Bologna supplement'? The compiler of the 'supplement' may have used NW, but the author of NW claims to be selecting his exempla from a larger collection of material (162-164, 231), so it is more likely that he and the compiler of the 'supplement' both drew on some common source. And it is not unreasonable to assume that this source was the collection of miracles of St. Dominic which was assembled at Bologna on the orders of the General Chapter of 1255.¹⁶⁷

If this is correct, then A and T¹ provide indirect evidence for the text of the exempla in NW, inasmuch as they give us independent access to the source from which the exempla were taken. We can, in fact, construct a rudimentary stemma for the exempla:



IX

FLAMINIUS

In the annals of Italian humanism Giovan Antonio Flaminio¹⁶⁸ (1464-1536) (usually known as Flaminius) generally receives less attention than his better-known son, the poet Marco Antonio Flaminio;¹⁶⁹ but the Dominicans (in whose church he is buried in Bologna) owe him slightly more recognition, as was graciously acknowledged in 1744 by D. G. Capponi, O.P. in his edition of Flaminius' *Epistolae familiares*, to which he prefixed a rather adulatory biography.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Cf. P. Mothon, 'Acta S.P. Dominici', ASOP 5 (1901) 248 n. 1; Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, pp. 135-36.

¹⁶⁷ Ed. B.-M. Reichert, 'Acta capitulorum generalium ...', MOPH 3.76-77.

¹⁶⁸ His name is given in several different forms; this is the form found in *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice, 1568), fol. 322r, by his friend Leandro Alberti.

¹⁶⁹ There is the briefest possible account of 'Giannantonio', together with a minuscule bibliography, in *Dizionario enciclopedico della letteratura italiana* 2 (Bari, 1966), p. 484; cf. also A. C. Fiorato, *Bandello entre l'histoire et l'écriture* (Florence, 1979), p. 186.

¹⁷⁰ *Ioannis Antonii Flaminii forocorneliensis Epistolae familiares* (Bologna, 1744).

In 1516, to commemorate the third centenary of the founding of the Dominican Order,¹⁷¹ Leandro Alberti¹⁷² at rather short notice – he had only just returned from accompanying Master General Cajetan on his travels – set about compiling a substantial collection of Dominican biographies. He was not in fact able to publish it in 1516, but it was published in February 1517 under the title *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Some of the lives were taken from existing, fifteenth-century, biographies, and Alberti received some help from three of his confreres in Bologna, but his chief collaborator was Flaminio, at that time living in his native town of Imola. Not only did Flaminio write several biographies at considerable speed,¹⁷³ he was also expected to comment on Alberti's own contributions.¹⁷⁴ Flaminio's son, Marco Antonio, at that time an eighteen-year-old student in Bologna, was also pressed into service,¹⁷⁵ as was Flaminio's nephew, Sebastiano.¹⁷⁶

One of the reasons why a new set of Dominican lives was needed was that the literary taste of the humanists could no longer stomach the traditional kinds of hagiography and historiography;¹⁷⁷ and more modern, humanist, writers were usually unwilling to supply anything to take their place.¹⁷⁸ Flaminio, by

¹⁷¹ Alberti, *De viris illustribus*, fol. 5v (cited above, p. 50 n. 132).

¹⁷² For an excellent brief biography and bibliography of Alberti, see A. L. Redigonda in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 1 (Rome, 1960), pp. 699-702.

¹⁷³ On 12 February 1516, Flaminio wrote to Alberti: 'Quod ad vitam Magni Alberti attinet, nimium ab amico mille modis occupatissimo exigit, qui velis a me diebus quindecim condi ac per omnia absolvi' (*Epist. fam.*, p. 402); yet in *De viris illustribus* we find not only the life of Albert (fols. 105r-114v) but also the life of James of Venice (31 March, fols. 205r-217r), Vincent Ferrer (18 May, fols. 156r-174v), Venturino of Bergamo (20 June, fols. 238r-247r) and James of Ulm (1 August, fols. 262r-267r).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *Epist. fam.*, pp. 379, 400, 402; *De viris illustribus*, fol. 4r.

¹⁷⁵ *De viris illustribus*, fols. 217r-220v.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, fols. 230r-237v.

¹⁷⁷ 'Praeclarissima patrum nostrorum gesta hactenus aut non habuimus, aut eo stilo literis mandata, qui uiro uel mediocriter bonas literas docto, stomachum potius faceret quam uoluptatem' (*De viris illustribus*, fol. 3v).

¹⁷⁸ Flaminio, *Epist. fam.*, p. 375. The humanist distaste for hagiography is also alluded to by Giovanni Caroli (whose *Vitae fratrum S. Marie Novellae* was used by Alberti); cf. S. I. Camporeale, 'Giovanni Caroli e le "Vitae fratrum S. M. Novellae": umanesimo e crisi religiosa (1460-1480)', *Memorie domenicane* N. S. 12 (1981) 199-207 (comment by S. I. Camporeale), 250 (text). Another Dominican who was, for a time, engaged in humanist Dominican hagiography was Matteo Bandello; in addition to his surviving *Cattanei vita* printed in *Tutte le opere* ..., ed. F. Flora, 2 (Verona, 1972), pp. 1240-76, we know that he wrote a life of James of Ulm (*Cattanei vita*, p. 1264) and, later on, a life of his uncle, Master General Vincenzo Bandello, and other 'viri illustres' (Alberti, *De viris illustribus*, fol. 137v). Alberti saw some or all of these opuscula when he visited Santa Maria delle Grazie in 1508 (cf. Fiorato, *Bandello*, p. 164), and this is no doubt why Bandello features in one of the dialogues in *De viris illustribus* (fols. 135r-143v) and why Flaminio dedicates his life of James of Venice to him (*ibid.*, fol. 205r; cf. Fiorato, *Bandello*, p. 185 n. 257). Another humanist hagiographer in Bologna was the layman, Giovanni Garzoni (1419-1505), who was friendly with the Dominicans and was buried in their church (cf. Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna, parte terza* ..., ed. A. Sorbelli [Rerum

contrast, was eager to apply his talents to Dominican hagiography and wrote considerably more than was needed for the *De viris illustribus*.¹⁷⁹

As we should expect from a noted orator and educator, Flaminio was very conscious of the need to find an appropriate style. His aim was to write in such a way that there would be nothing to offend the most cultivated palate, but at the same time nothing to puzzle the *mediocriter eruditi*.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately for our purposes, this concern for acceptable Latinity led him to rewrite any documents he had occasion to cite.

In 1520 his friendship with Alberti prompted him to abandon a good position in Venice to move to Bologna.¹⁸¹ There he resumed his interest in Dominican hagiography and turned his mind to the composition of a life of St. Dominic, for which he used the resources of the library of San Domenico¹⁸² and also, very probably, material which Alberti had obtained or copied from Taegio, who had visited Bologna with his *cronica* in 1516.¹⁸³ The life of Dominic was evidently finished by the beginning of August 1524; on 5 August (St. Dominic's feast day¹⁸⁴) Flaminio was able to send a copy of it to the newly appointed cardinal protector of the Dominican Order, Lorenzo Pucci.¹⁸⁵ In 1529

italicarum scriptores 33.1; Città di Castello, 1912-32], p. 341); Savonarola was a student of his, although he later repudiated his kind of rhetoric, and after Savonarola's execution Garzoni was plainly embarrassed to be asked to write his life (a commission he does not seem to have accepted) (A. Gherardi, *Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola*, 2nd edition [Florence, 1887], pp. 38-39, 308-10). On Garzoni, cf. F. Banfi, 'Un umanista bolognese e i Domenicani', *Memorie domenicane* 52 (1935) 365-78 and 53 (1936) 14-25, 69-80. Alberti used his lives of Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas in *De viris illustribus*.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. the list of his works in *Epist. fam.*, pp. xxvii-xxxii; *De viris illustribus*, fol. 262r.

¹⁸⁰ *Epist. fam.*, pp. 402-403: 'Ego nullam orationem puto clariorem et magis apertam expositamque legenti, quam quae propriis et elegantibus verbis contextitur.' As a disciple and admirer of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (cf. *Epist. fam.*, p. 137), he favoured an eclectic Latin rather than the fanatical Ciceronianism preached by Bembo.

¹⁸¹ *Epist. fam.*, p. 385; for the date, *ibid.*, p. xi.

¹⁸² Alberti assures us that Flaminio used what was, rightly or wrongly, taken to be the original manuscript of the Bologna canonization process (see Koudelka, 'Le procès de canonisation', 52 n. 15). This is no doubt the 'examinatio testium super vita beati Dominici' listed in the fourteenth-century catalogue of the San Domenico library (Laurent, *Fabio Vigili*, p. 214).

¹⁸³ Alberti, *De viris illustribus*, fol. 153r, tells us that Taegio came to Bologna, together with his 'cronica valde prolixa', while the composition of *De viris illustribus* was in full swing (i.e., in 1516) and also that Taegio 'ex laboribus suis partem nobis subministravit.' Flaminio was not in Bologna then, but his text of pseudo-Jordan on the Translation of St. Dominic shows a definite affinity with that of Taegio (see below, n. 187), so we may presume that Alberti had received it from Taegio and passed it on to his friend. It is also possible that Alberti had already obtained some material from Taegio in 1508 (cf. above, n. 178). I hope to return to the text on the Translation another time and make a full study of it, with a critical edition.

¹⁸⁴ It was not until 1558 that the feast of St. Dominic was moved from 5 August to 4 August (A. Brémond, ed., *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum* 5 [Rome, 1733], p. 53).

¹⁸⁵ F², fol. 76v. See S. L. Forte, *The Cardinal-Protector of the Dominican Order* (Rome, 1959), p. 67 (but F² gives us an earlier date for Pucci's first appearance as protector than that listed by

it formed part of the *Vitae patrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* which Flamininus published in Bologna.

Because the 1529 text (F¹) contains the canonization process, whereas the 1524 text (F²) does not, Koudelka suggests that F¹ represents a newly expanded version of the life of Dominic.¹⁸⁶ However, even in 1524 Flamininus evidently had the text of the canonization process before him, and he omits the witnesses' accounts only 'cum plurima sint et longiore narratione indigeant' (fol. 72v). In the passage which concerns us, where NW is used, F² looks suspiciously like an abridged version of F¹. I suspect that the whole text was completed before August 1524, and F¹ and F² represent two different ways of editing it. A comparison of the two versions of the pseudo-Jordan text on the Translation leads to the same conclusion.¹⁸⁷

Flamininus shows clear signs of knowing a text of NW which includes the exempla; he explicitly cites the exemplum of the devil's confession, and it is possible that the mention of Dominic disclosing and punishing faults which their perpetrators were unwilling to confess is an allusion to the foolish sacristan in the other exemplum.

In the absence of a full study of Flamininus' sources, I have no wish to be dogmatic about where he obtained his knowledge of NW. But it seems reasonable to suppose that he either read NW in a manuscript of Dietrich (presumably δ) in the library of San Domenico, or, more likely, he received from Alberti a copy of Taegio's transcription of the text of NW from δ . Nothing in his text or in our own study of the tradition makes it likely that he had any access to NW as an independent work.

In any case, the nature of his language and the fact that he is not directly quoting NW make it impossible to use his text, except very occasionally, in the establishment of the text of NW; he is included here largely to complete our dossier.

X

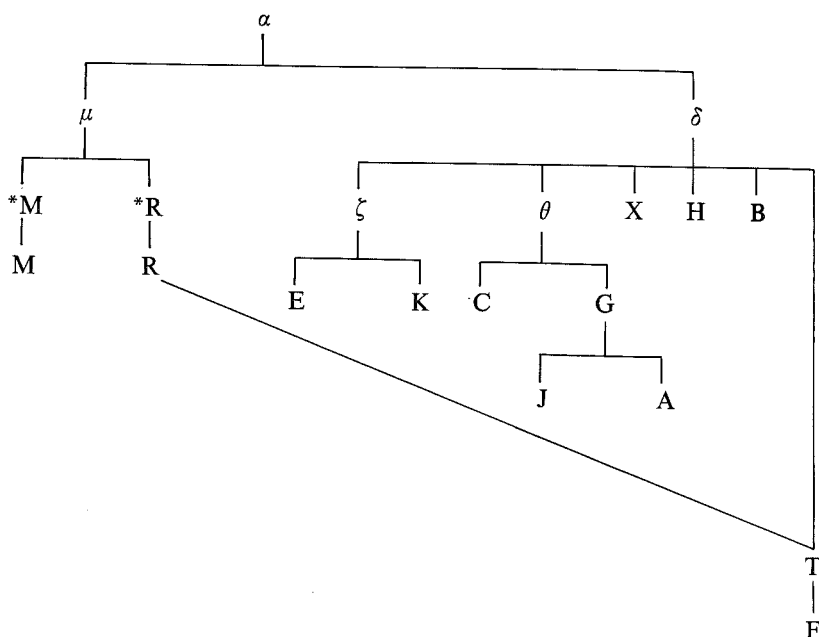
EDITING THE TEXT

We are now, at last, in a position to complete our stemma for the Latin text of NW, though we must still bear in mind that α may be at any number of removes from the ultimate original:

Forte). We do not know when Pucci was appointed, but his predecessor, Niccolò Fieschi, died on 14 June 1524.

¹⁸⁶ Koudelka, 'Le procès de canonisation', 52 n. 15.

¹⁸⁷ F¹, fols. LXIII^r-LXVI^r; F², fols. 68r-71v. F² abbreviates in one place; where the two texts differ, sometimes F¹ is closer to the original, sometimes F².



It is clear enough in general what principles must be followed in editing the text of NW. As far as possible we must adopt readings which account for both μ and δ . This means that any agreement of μ with some part of the D tradition against other D manuscripts, or of M with some part of the D tradition against R, is highly significant. R on its own is almost entirely without significance. Where we have a simple choice between μ and δ , each reading must stand or fall on its own merits. No part of the tradition is uniformly more reliable than the rest.

In the two exempla, where R is out of the running, evidence from A, T¹ and T², joined to the evidence of M, may be important in deciding on the true text of NW.

In matters of orthography I have basically followed E. Merely orthographical variants are not noted in the apparatus.

Otherwise I have given a nearly complete report of RCEGHJKX, omitting only the most trivial variants which are clearly due only to carelessness. The other witnesses are adduced only for particular purposes, since their texts are given in full here. T is regularly cited inasmuch as it is a witness to δ . M is adduced chiefly to comment on R, usually in the form of $M =$, $M \simeq$ and $M \neq$, meaning respectively: M almost certainly is a translation of the same text as ..., M in all essentials supports the text of ..., and M at least did not have the same text as

The punctuation is my own and follows modern practice.

The illustrations I have unfortunately not been able to reproduce. The famous and beautiful miniatures in R have been made available in a series of coloured postcards by Libri Liturgici, Santa Sabina, Rome.

There are still a few passages which need more particular consideration:

- (a) 27 oratio humiliantis se penetrabit nubes CGHJX
nubes penetrat EK
penetrat nubes A
penetrat celos T
traspasa las nuues M

R has a lacuna at this point. In principle the text is a quotation from Eccles 35:21, but the Vulgate has *nubes penetrabit*, which is about the only possible combination not found in the manuscripts of NW. The standard Vulgate text is certainly found in thirteenth-century writings,¹⁸⁸ but there appear to be proverbial forms existing alongside the Vulgate text and in these the verb is always in the present. Bonaventure can be cited in favour of *nubes penetrat*¹⁸⁹ and Anthony of Padua in support of *penetrat celos*.¹⁹⁰ It is also generally supposed that there is a link between the verse from Ecclesiasticus and the proverb made famous by *The Cloud of Unknowing*, 'Short prayer pierceth heaven'.¹⁹¹ If I am right in believing that A derives from G, then Antoninus has clearly 'proverbialized' the text,¹⁹² and the same must be true of Taegio, whose *celos* is not otherwise attested in the tradition. We may infer that the present tense in EK and in M is due to a similar process, in which case the reading of CGHJX is left in possession of the field; in the light of the evident pressure exercised by proverbial forms in the present

¹⁸⁸ e.g., Peraldus, *Summa aurea de virtutibus et vitiis* III tr. 5 p. 7 c. 8; Anthony of Padua, *Sermones dominicales et festivi*, ed. B. Costa et al., 2 (Padua, 1979), pp. 76, 576.

¹⁸⁹ *Regula novitiorum* 2.1 (in the ten-volume *Opera omnia* edition [Quaracchi, 1882-1902], 8.476); *Sermones dominicales* 36.7 (ed. J. G. Bougerol [Grottaferrata, 1977], p. 382). We may wonder whether *nubes penetrat* in Guigo II, *Scala claustralium* 2, is not an echo of the same text. *nubes penetrat* survives for centuries; cf. G. Pepin, *Sermones de imitatione sanctorum*, fol. 315v.

¹⁹⁰ Anthony of Padua, *Sermones dominicales*, 1.363.2.

¹⁹¹ P. Hodgson, ed., *The Cloud of Unknowing and Related Treatises on Contemplative Prayer* (Salzburg, 1982), p. 41.28. Hodgson's note draws attention to a Latin text from c. 1400: 'brevis oratio penetrat celum', which is also recorded by H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung* 7 (Göttingen, 1982), no. 313. The same text is quoted in Latin in Piers Plowman A 11.303a, C 12.296a. The proverb is used amusingly by the tempter in the Macro play, *Mankind* 558. It is also used by St. John of the Cross, *Llama de amor viva* 1.33.

¹⁹² Antoninus cites the same text with *penetrat nubes* in *Summa moralis*, book 4, tit. 5, chap. 8, §7 (ed. T. M. Mamachi and D. Remedellius [Florence, 1741-56]).

tense, the future tense, even if backed by the Vulgate, can be regarded as the *lectio difficilior*.

- (b) 38 inclinando capud suum profunde uerbi gracia R
 enclinando bien profunde M
 in declinando profunde CGJ
 in^{de} declinando profunde X
 et de inclinando profunde EK
 in inclinando profunde HT

We have already considered the reading of R and concluded that μ must have read *inclinando profunde. et* in EK is almost certainly due to a misreading of \bar{i} (*in*), which suggests an original, unintelligible, *in de inclinando*. X certainly suggests that there was some confusion in δ , and if we surmise that the deletion of the first two letters of *declinando* reflects the actual state of the original, we may conjecture that δ had something like *in deⁱⁿclinando*, in which case HT have deciphered it correctly and CGJ and EK have, in different ways, misinterpreted it; the scribe of X must have got into a muddle. If this is correct, we have to choose between *inclinando* and *in inclinando*. The construction *modus* + gerund, however inelegant, is identical with that which we find securely attested in 25 at the beginning of this Way, so it should probably be read here too at the end of the Way.

- (c) 70 summo intuitu REK
 con grande acatamiento M
 firmo intuitu CGHJXT

M can probably be taken as translating *summo*; at any rate it does not support *firmo*. So unless we are, after all, to suppose a direct link between μ and EK, either we must believe that at least two scribes independently misread *firmo* as *summo* or we must believe that CGJ, H, X and T all misread *summo* as *firmo*. Palaeographically the two words are fairly close to each other, so the mistake could have happened more than once in either direction. Since *summo* is the *lectio difficilior*, I have retained it, but without very much confidence.

- (d) 97 uidebatur tunc in oratione meditari eloquia dei RMCGJ
 uidebatur tunc in ore meditari eloquia dei EXT (HK)

H omits *dei* and K omits *eloquia dei*, but this must be accidental in both cases. *ore* seems to be sufficiently attested by EKHXT, so we may presume that this was the reading of δ , in which case the agreement of μ with CGJ must be accidental. A confusion between *ore* and *orōē* is not difficult¹⁹³ and in the context of a treatise on St. Dominic's prayer *ore*

¹⁹³ Precisely this mistake is found in Borselli's autograph *Chronica magistrorum generalium* (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1999), fol. 23r. There is an identical problem in Suso, *Horologium sapientiae* 1.15 (ed. P. Künzle [Spicilegium friburgense 23; Fribourg, 1977], p. 502.21), though Künzle's apparatus does not advert to it. Künzle's text, which reads *oratione*, is supported by the more or less equivalent German text, which has *dinem gebette* (K. Bihlmeyer, *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften* [Stuttgart, 1907; rpt. Frankfurt am M., 1961], p. 262.5), but the context and a similar passage in *Horologium sapientiae* 1.16 (Künzle, *ibid.*, p. 509.12-14) make *ore* an

would be particularly vulnerable. But the immediate context in NW, linking *meditari* with *legere* and *enarrare*, shows that *meditari* here retains its traditional sense of 'recite',¹⁹⁴ which was sustained in the Latin Church by texts like *Os iusti meditabitur sapientiam*. I therefore accept *ore* as the genuine reading.

- (e) 127 uir sanctus Dominicus RHK
el varon siervo de dios santo Domingo M
uir sanctus dei Dominicus CEGJX
vir Dei sanctus Dominicus T

M almost certainly represents an original *uir dei sanctus Dominicus*,¹⁹⁵ and in any case it attests the presence of *dei*, which must therefore be presumed to be a genuine part of the tradition, which RHK have edited out, deliberately or otherwise. The choice is thus a simple one between *uir dei sanctus* and *uir sanctus dei*. The agreement of CEGJX suggests that the latter was probably the reading of δ ; since we cannot be sure what μ had, it should probably be accepted into the text.

- (f) 144-145 poterat quilibet deuotus orator intelligere (R)CGJ
poterit quilibet deuotus orator intelligere EHXT

K omits *poterat*/*poterit*; M has *podiera*, which suggests *posset*. The agreement of EHXT is a powerful indication of the reading of δ . M is anomalous and could be taken as supporting either *poterat* or *poterit*. Either way we have to assume that the same mistake occurred more than once, and it would be an easy mistake in either direction. If we accept *poterat*, the author is telling us something about St. Dominic's contemporaries, as in NW 111-112, but 144-149 read more naturally as a message addressed to future readers; I therefore accept *poterit*.

- (g) 169-170 ita ut putaret audiri CGHJKXT
ita ut potuerit audiri E
assy que lo oyesse M

E's reading is attractive and appears to be mildly supported by M; but E can only be regarded as having any authority on the assumption that E's text is corrected, as elsewhere, on the basis of some source outside Dietrich. CGHJKXT leave us in no doubt

attractive variant. I have not made any systematic study of the immense number of manuscripts and printed editions, but I notice that the 1714 Cologne edition reads *ore* (p. 204); I have looked at the six manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the two in the British Library and the three in the Vatican Library, and most of these read *oratione*, but Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 405, fol. 50r, and one other Bodleian manuscript, Canon. misc. 553, fol. 60r, read *ore*.

¹⁹⁴ In older monastic texts *meditatio* means precisely 'recite', usually with a view to memorizing; *Regula magistri* 50.26, 43 equates it with *recensio* and 68.1-2 shows that it was expected to be audible. By the thirteenth century, the newer meaning, which enabled the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* to translate it as 'pinkynge' (ed. Hodgson, *The Cloud ... and Related Treatises*, p. 39.26), was firmly established, but it continued to be haunted by the earlier meaning; cf. J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. Misrahi (New York, 1961), pp. 24-26.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above, p. 41 n. 111.

about the reading of δ . Neither A nor T¹ confirms any reading *potuerit* in β , so we cannot be sure that this is what μ had. It seems most prudent to follow the majority.

- (h) 170 petit CGHJKXA
 requirit E
 vocat TT¹T²
 demanda M

It is impossible to tell which of the possible Latin words underlies M. Since Taegio is eccentric each time, the agreement of A and CGHJKX must be taken as a more reliable guide to the reading of β , and therefore we must once again conclude that E is simply aberrant.

- (i) 220 istum modum R
 istum talem modum etiam CGHJXT
 istum modum orandi EK
 este tal modo M

It has already been noted that *este tal* can be used either for *istum* or for *istum talem*, so we cannot know whether *talem* was present in μ or not. But it does seem clear that μ did not contain either *etiam* or *orandi*. The agreement of CGHJXT is sufficient to guarantee the reading of δ , so EK are aberrant. Since R is prone to such small omissions, it is best to suppose that μ did have *talem* in agreement with δ . *etiam* is perhaps supported by the similar use of the word at the beginning of the Second, Fifth and Sixth Ways; since in any case there is more reason to drop it than to add it, it seems best to retain it in the text.

- (j) 239 licet a dyabolo EHKX
 licet non a dyabolo CGJ
 sed non ex parte diaboli A
 a diabolo T (*om.* T¹T²)
 magera que el diablo la fazia M

M plainly supports EHKX and T at any rate does not support the addition of *non*. T¹T² suggest some embarrassment in ϵ , which might explain why A does have the negative: he has created his own text on the basis of the reading of NW which he found in G. EHKXM are clearly to be preferred.

XI

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

Any attempt to locate NW chronologically or geographically is impeded by the paucity of solid evidence.

The reference to Peraldus in 7 gives us a secure *terminus post quem* for the prologue: the *Summa de virtutibus* was completed by 1249.¹⁹⁶ This date can be

¹⁹⁶ A. Dondaine, 'Guillaume Peyraut. Vie et œuvres', AFP 18 (1948) 187; I have no notion

pushed forward a little bit, because the vague reference to the *libri* of Thomas and Albert must also be accommodated, but since no precise books are mentioned, no precise date can be inferred with any certainty.

We have a *terminus ante quem* for the material in the Sixth Way which our author obtained from an interview with Cecilia, who died in 1290. This date can probably be pushed back a few years, since the story of the resuscitation of Napoleon dictated by Cecilia in early 1288 at the very latest¹⁹⁷ differs in some regards from the story she told the author of NW and appears to have matured further in her mind. The dating of the interview does not, of course, necessarily fix the date of the composition of NW.

For the composition of the work as a whole, we have a safe *terminus ante quem* in the fact that Bernard Gui had a copy of it in 1314.

We now have to move on to less solid ground.

The reference to St. Thomas in 6 is entirely vague, but the most likely supposition is that our author was thinking primarily of the treatise on prayer in the 11th century completed in 1272.¹⁹⁸ We may also wonder whether St. Thomas could be referred to as *gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor* while he was still alive. M's *onrado* is much less fulsome, but the agreement between R and DT makes it clear that the more lavish encomium is genuine. If NW was written after Thomas' death, then we can move our *terminus post quem* forward to 1274.

There is no obvious text of St. Albert which our author might have had in mind. It is possible that he was in fact thinking of some popular compendium ascribed to Albert, but Hugh of Ripelin (whose very successful *Compendium* was sometimes ascribed to Albert) has nothing on prayer, nor does Albert of Brescia's popular *De instructione sacerdotis*.¹⁹⁹ It is probably best to assume that our author was thinking of St. Albert the Great, without intending to refer to any specific work.

why M.-H. Vicaire dates it to 1271 (V. Ferrua and M.-H. Vicaire, *San Domenico* [Turin, 1984], p. 71).

¹⁹⁷ M.-H. Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, 2 vols., 2nd edition (Paris, 1982), 2.270, suggests a much earlier date for the *Miracula*, though he does not offer much argument or propose any particular date.

¹⁹⁸ For the popularity of ST 2-2 see Boyle, *The Setting of the Summa*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁹⁹ I am grateful to Leonard E. Boyle, O.P. for the information about Albert of Brescia. G. G. Meersseman, *Introductio in Opera omnia B. Alberti Magni* (Bruges, 1931), p. 118, accepted the ascription to Albert of the *De forma orandi* edited by A. Wimmer (Regensburg, 1902); but Wimmer's arguments are unconvincing. QE 1.238-39 mentions two Victorine manuscripts of the same work, one of which ascribes it to Vincent of Beauvais. Since the *De forma orandi* closely follows Peraldus' doctrine on prayer, and often follows his *Summa aurea de virtutibus ... verbatim*, I am inclined to ascribe it to Peraldus, but in any case there is no justification for ascribing it to Albert and there is no evidence that it was ever ascribed to him in the Middle Ages; Peter of Prussia mentions that a treatise on the Lord's Prayer, supposedly by Albert, had been discovered in Italy (cf. QE 1.182a), but there is no evidence that such a treatise was known in the thirteenth century.

In 121 Cecilia is referred to as *illa deuota et sancta soror Cecilia*, with nothing to suggest that she is not still alive. We should not put too much weight on this, but it is perhaps an indication that NW was written before 1290.

In 124-125, especially if my text is correct, we seem to be referred to some account, presumably a publicly available account, of the miraculous rescue of the English pilgrims. The miracle was reported to the brethren in Cahors, who duly sent it to Bologna and Gerald de Frachet then included it in the *Vitae fratrum* in 1260.²⁰⁰ It was not taken over by James of Varazze, but Dietrich included it in his *Libellus*.²⁰¹ If we accept that NW antedates Cecilia's death, the reference must then be to the *Vitae fratrum*; if my reconstruction of the genesis of the Italian recension of Dietrich is correct, then in any case NW must antedate the publication of his *Libellus*, if indeed it is proper to speak of 'publication' at all.

162-164 implies that the first exemplum is taken from the *miracula*, in which Dominic's *mos propheticus* is documented; since the two exempla manifestly come from the same source, 231 can be taken to show that the *miracula* contained far more than our author has chosen to reproduce. No known collection quite fits our author's description of his source, and I have already argued (above, p. 62) that it is likely that he was rummaging in the *miracula* collected at Bologna in response to the General Chapter's decree in 1255.

But this raises the question why the two stories were not used by Gerald de Frachet. He claims to be reporting *omnia exempla*, omitting only those already contained in St. Dominic's *legenda*.²⁰² Both stories are just the kind of thing that he liked. We must assume that he did not include them in the *Vitae fratrum* because they were not yet there in the collection in 1260.

Humbert took the occasion of the publication of the *Vitae fratrum* to renew his appeal for stories about the brethren²⁰³ so it is more than likely that more stories were received in Bologna after 1260, and it is not unduly surprising that these should include stories about Bologna. There must have been many anecdotes going round the province about Bologna, and the two stories about the Bologna sacristan sound more like provincial gossip than genuine autobiographical reminiscences.

If this is correct, then the author of NW must have been collecting material in Bologna after 1260.

It does not seem to be possible to infer anything about the date of NW from the detail in 62-63 that the psalm accompanying the discipline after compline is

²⁰⁰ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 68-69.

²⁰¹ Dietrich, *Libellus*, §48.

²⁰² Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 2.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, 5.

either the *Miserere* or the *De Profundis*. Humbert's *Ordinarium* specifies only the *Miserere*²⁰⁴ and it is presumably because this was thereafter the normal usage that EKX, T and A omit the alternative psalm. But even after the promulgation of the *Ordinarium* Humbert himself says that, in certain circumstances, a shorter psalm may be used, such as the *Deus Misereatur* or the *De Profundis*;²⁰⁵ so even if it is true to say that NW 62-63 reflects an old-fashioned practice, it does not necessarily antedate the *Ordinarium*.

If we assume that NW was written up as a whole – and it may not have been – then we have some reason for supposing that it is later than 1274 and some reason for supposing that it is earlier than 1290. If we assume that it was written fairly soon after the interview with Cecilia, then we can also assume that it antedates the *Miracula* dictated to Angelica, but that does not help us much, since all we know about the date of the *Miracula* is that Conrad was able to take Dietrich a copy in May or June 1288. So even on all the assumptions suggested, it is still possible that NW was written in 1274 and the *Miracula* dictated some time thereafter, and it is equally possible that NW was written in 1287 or so, and the *Miracula* dictated only shortly before Conrad took a copy of them. We may, if we like, date NW to c. 1280, but the *circa* must be understood generously, and even so we may be quite wrong.

The author at some stage visited Cecilia in Bologna, but this does not mean that he necessarily lived in Bologna. From the fact that Conrad's researches there did not unearth NW in 1288 we should probably infer that the work was not then known there, which suggests that it had been written elsewhere. In or soon after 1297 a copy was available to the editor of the Italian recension of Dietrich, either because he found a copy in his own convent or because Boccasini gave him a copy; this suggests, though it cannot be proved, that the work was composed somewhere within the province of Lombardy. Conceivably it was written by someone who had previously been assigned to Bologna; this would explain the fact that he had rummaged among the local collection of *Miracula* as well as visiting Cecilia. Since all the evidence we have of NW is associated either with the Italian recension of Dietrich or with Bernard Gui, who lumps it together with material which manifestly comes from Bologna, we may cautiously conclude that NW was written somewhere in northern Italy.

Altaner, taking up a suggestion of Cuyper's, proposed that Konrad of Trebensee might be our elusive author,²⁰⁶ but any plausibility such an

²⁰⁴ F. M. Guerrini, *Ordinarium iuxta ritum S. O. Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1921), no. 482.

²⁰⁵ Humbert, *Expositio super constitutiones* 1.45 (ed. Berthier, *Opera de vita regulari* 2.145).

²⁰⁶ A.SS, p. 371; Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 189.

ascription might have depends on the assumption that NW became attached to Dietrich's *Libellus* in Germany, and we have found this to be untrue.

Recently Koudelka has come forward to champion the authorship of Aldobrandino of Toscanella: 'Der Text ... geht auf einen Dominikaner des 13. Jahrhunderts zurück, wahrscheinlich Aldobrandinus von Tuscanella'.²⁰⁷ Koudelka does not give his reasons, but he is obviously alluding to the ascription in C,²⁰⁸ which apparently claims the whole of Dietrich's *Libellus* for Aldobrandino. This almost certainly means that C is the eight-part life of St. Dominic ascribed to Aldobrandino which was reported to be in the library of Santa Maria in Gradi, Viterbo, in the seventeenth century, but which Echard was unable to find there in 1710.²⁰⁹ There can be no question of the ascription, as it stands, being correct. How it came to be suggested is not clear; the *Libellus* is anonymous throughout the D tradition, and so was vulnerable to false attribution of this kind. It is certainly possible that Aldobrandino was genuinely the author of NW and that the ascription was originally intended to apply only to NW and was added by someone who was in a position to know that Aldobrandino wrote NW. Aldobrandino's dates are compatible with authorship of NW,²¹⁰ and there is no reason why he should not have visited Bologna some time.

Apart from the sheer gratuitousness of the attribution in C, there does not seem to be anything to recommend Aldobrandino as the author of NW. A cursory examination of his writings reveals nothing remotely reminiscent of NW either in what he says about Dominic in his *Sermones de sanctis* or in what he says about prayer in his comments on the Decalogue and on the Lord's Prayer; the same is true of the passages I found in the *Sermones de tempore* which deal with prayer.²¹¹

We have to conclude, I fear, that we simply do not know who wrote NW.

XII

NW'S HISTORICAL VALUE

Since NW contains a certain amount of material about St. Dominic which is not attested elsewhere, the question has to be raised whether this material has any genuine historical value.

²⁰⁷ Koudelka, *Dominikus*, p. 109.

²⁰⁸ 'Explicit hoc opus compositum a fratre Aldobrandino de Toscanella ordinis predicatorum' (C, fol. 74v [p. 142]).

²⁰⁹ QE 1.527a.

²¹⁰ His *Scala fidei* is dated to 1280; cf. T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1970-80), 1.40-46.

²¹¹ Vatican Library Ottob. lat. 557, fols. 200v-202r, 204r-205r. The sermon on 'Omnes unanimes in oratione estote' (fol. 234) is on *concordia*, not prayer.

In the Sixth Way our author is explicitly dependent on Cecilia for the elaborate account of the raising of Napoleon from the dead. We can, to some extent, control this narrative, and the results are discouraging. The earliest report of this miracle is contained in Jordan, *Libellus* 100. The most authentic text of Jordan, in the lost Osma manuscript published by Cuyper,²¹² gives us a very sober account. Jordan's authority is Tancred, who was an eye-witness, and there are no dramatic details attached to the miracle; it is not even asserted that the young man was actually dead. And Dominic, far from putting on a public performance, has the young man taken away to a place where he can pray for him in secret. This is essentially the story which we find in Ferrandus 38 too. The 'revised' *Libellus* and Jean de Mailly²¹³ assert that the young man was definitely dead, and this appears to be presupposed already by the Office of St. Dominic.²¹⁴ Bartholomew of Trent claims to have heard the story from Napoleon's family, and their story, by the mid-1240s, is that he was certainly dead.²¹⁵ Constantine, apparently on the basis of a San Sisto tradition, adds the new detail that the body was taken to a room which, at the time of writing, was the nuns' *cellarium*.²¹⁶ If this is all that San Sisto has to contribute to the story, it is truly remarkable that Cecilia, who cannot possibly have seen all that much more than anyone else, has so much more information about the episode. The highly public miracle which she describes is quite incompatible with the earlier accounts, and her own two versions of the story are not entirely consistent even with each other.²¹⁷ Most strikingly, in NW we are told that nobody took in what Dominic said, so *nescimus quid dixerit*; in the *Miracula*, however, Cecilia tells us what he said. In NW the story is clearly inspired by 3 Kings 17:21, and there is perhaps some confusion between the raising of Napoleon and the story in Constantine, §39 about a quite different San Sisto miracle (which is modelled on Elisha, but there too *mensus* suggests Elijah rather than Elisha). The story in the *Miracula* is much more influenced by Luke 7:14, and Elijah is no longer in

²¹² A.SS, p. 555, no. 73 and see above, p. 26 n. 91. I hope eventually to publish a genuinely critical edition of Jordan's *Libellus*; in the meantime, on the textual problems, see S. Tugwell, *Jordan of Saxony. On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers* (Chicago, 1982), pp. xiii-xiv.

²¹³ For Jean de Mailly, see M. D. Chapotin, *Les Dominicains d'Auxerre* (Paris, 1892), p. 322.

²¹⁴ The Office, at least from an early stage, contained a responsory (no. 8) referring to Dominic raising two people from the dead (cf. A. Dirks, 'De tribus libris manu scriptis primaevae liturgiae dominicanae', AFP 49 [1979] 31), one of whom must surely be Napoleon. Pelagius Lusitanus cites this responsory in his ninth sermon on St. Dominic (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional Alcob. CXXX/5, fol. cxvii [124]^v) and explicitly identifies Napoleon as one of the *bini*.

²¹⁵ Edited by Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus*, p. 234.

²¹⁶ Constantine, §35 (ed. Scheeben, 'Legenda ... auctore Constantino', 311); cf. Altaner, *ibid.*, p. 63.

²¹⁷ NW 118 ff.; Walz, 'Miracula der Schwester Cäcilia', 23-25 (§2).

evidence. It is clear that in both cases the facts have largely been ousted by fanciful developments encouraged by different scriptural models.²¹⁸

For the rescue of the English pilgrims, our author is plainly dependent on Gerald de Frachet. For the two exempla I have argued that he was dependent on stories collected in Bologna some time after 1260. In all three cases we are dealing with stories designed to illustrate Dominic's supernatural prowess, which is typical of almost all the material added to the dossier over the years. It is difficult to know how much credence to give to these stories; presumably there may be a nucleus of truth in many of them, but they have probably often grown in the telling, just as we have seen the story of Napoleon grow.

The Bologna sacristan who is the anti-hero of the two exempla is a totally convincing character, whose modern counterparts can be met today in Dominican convents. The savagery with which Dominic beats him in the first exemplum is of a piece with the story in the *Vitae fratrum* about Reginald driving out a demon by just such a beating (and the example of St. Benedict is explicitly invoked).²¹⁹ We also have good evidence that Dominic himself punished offenders with considerable fierceness, though he accompanied the punishment with gentle words.²²⁰ That Dominic consulted with the brethren *super agendis* is attested for Bologna itself by the Chronicle of St. Agnes.²²¹ The story of the devil's confession is too redolent of fairy story to convince most modern readers, but it is all too easy to imagine the situation which gave rise to it. Sacristans in a bad temper because they cannot get priests to deal with would-be penitents are not unheard of, nor are penitents who are the very devil.

So much for the material whose sources are indicated in the text. What about the rest? It is noticeable that there is a difference of genre between the bulk of NW and the few passages for which sources are indicated. The latter are anecdotal and all quite typical of the accretions to the legend of St. Dominic in their penchant for the marvellous; the rest of the material is not anecdotal and not particularly marvellous or supernaturalistic. Either our author had access to a source of a very different kind, or he is using the available material with rare ingenuity and tact.

²¹⁸ Cf. the critique of the story by F. Lanzoni, 'Il miracolo di Napoleone Orsini nella vita di San Domenico di Fra Teodorico di Apolda' in *Miscellanea dominicana in memoriam VII anni saecularis ab obitu sancti patris S. P. Dominici (1221-1921)* (Rome, 1923), pp. 10-20. The response by T. Alfonsi, 'Intorno a un miracolo di S. Domenico', *Memorie domenicane* 40 (1923) 9-18, is hardly convincing.

²¹⁹ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 152-53.

²²⁰ Bologna canonization process §48 (ed. Walz, 'Acta', 166).

²²¹ M. G. Cambria, *Il monastero domenicano di S. Agnese in Bologna. Storia e documenti ...* (Bologna, 1973), p. 227.

It is, in fact, exceedingly unlikely that NW could have been created c. 1280 out of the sources which were available by then (and which are available to us today). The Sixth Way and the exempla show that our author by no means shared our modern distaste for glamorous marvels, and it was precisely marvels which were continually being added to or edited into the story of Dominic as the years went by. There seems to be a relentless movement away from the simplicity and austerity of the Dominic of the *Libellus*, and this affected the picture of Dominic's prayer too. Thus Constantine reports, on the authority of a Cistercian prior, that Dominic once claimed that he had never in his life failed to obtain from God anything that he prayed for.²²² The discreet suggestion in the *Libellus* that Dominic sometimes acted as if he knew the future and as if he received special prophetic enlightenment from God turns into a straightforward claim that he did know the future, and a list of anecdotes is produced to prove it.²²³ In the 1270s Salagnac contributes a flamboyant story of Dominic levitating in the church of St. Vincent in Castres, and this is alleged to be why Matthew of France joined the Order.²²⁴

If the author of NW was simply working over the dossier as it existed in his time, it is extremely unlikely that he would have given us such a sober account of the ways in which Dominic prayed. Nor does there appear to be any hagiographical convention governing this kind of literature.

It is most unlikely that the author of NW was working from material which he had collected himself; his enthusiasm over his source in the Sixth Way suggests that the material for which no source is indicated cannot have been received from anyone claiming to be an eye-witness (a fortiori it cannot be due to our author's own observation of Dominic).

We must infer, I think, that our author received most of his material from some document which contained an account of how Dominic prayed and how he taught others to pray, presented objectively with a minimum of drama. And such a document would be quite unlike anything we know to have been composed after the very earliest period of Dominican historiography. It takes us back to the Dominic of the *Libellus* and, even more, the Dominic of the canonization process.

²²² Constantine, §58 (ed. Scheeben, 'Legenda ... auctore Constantino', 326-27); from there it passed to Humbert, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, §58 (ed. Walz, 'Legenda ... auctore Humberto', 413-14), and to James of Varazze, *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse, p. 476 [cited above, p. 56 n. 155]) and to Dietrich, *Libellus*, §205. It is presumably to this that B 136-137 alludes.

²²³ Jordan, *Libellus*, §§46-47, 62 (ed. Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 47-48, 54); already less hesitant in Ferrandus, §§31, 41 (ed. Laurent, 'Legenda Petri Ferrandi', 231-32, 239-41). All hesitation is gone in Constantine, §§25-26, 50 ff. (ed. Scheeben, 'Legenda ... auctore Constantino', 304-305, 321 ff.).

²²⁴ Kaeppli, 'Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis' (cited above, n. 25), 12.

To postulate the existence of a written or unwritten tradition of Dominic's ways of prayer going back to the 1230s may seem rather adventurous. But it is not intrinsically improbable, and the alternatives all seem considerably more improbable. That Jordan should not have known of such a tradition is not surprising, as he is plainly not well informed about St. Dominic;²²⁵ we learn a great deal from the canonization process that we should never have surmised from the *Libellus*. That Humbert shows no signs of any tradition of Dominic's teaching on prayer in his own fairly extensive teaching on the subject²²⁶ is also not surprising, as he seems to be privy to almost no traditions about Dominic. It is one of the remarkable things about the thirteenth-century Dominicans that, unlike the Franciscans, they seem to have had in general very little knowledge of the person of their founder.

It is perhaps more puzzling that more is not heard about Dominic's ways of prayer in the canonization process, if they do indeed derive from a tradition going back to the 1230s. But we should bear in mind that the papal investigators did not interview all the people who had known Dominic (they did not interview Cecilia, for instance, or Guala), nor were they concerned with all the details of Dominic's life. For their purposes what was important was Dominic's fervour and assiduity in prayer, not the details of how he prayed.

That available information on Dominic's ways of prayer was not extracted thereafter is not surprising at all, because both in 1245 and in 1255 what the Order was expressly asking for was accounts of *miracula*²²⁷ and, as we have seen, the Order got what it was asking for.

What is truly puzzling is that, if there was a document in existence on the ways in which Dominic prayed, none of the biographers made use of it. But then none of them made any use of the Bologna canonization process until Dietrich of Apolda; none of them even bothered to quiz the people who gave evidence during the process.

It does seem possible, then, that a document from the 1230s on the ways of prayer of St. Dominic might have existed without any notice being taken of it in the Order's hagiographical tradition. And it is surely a *document* that we are looking for, because an oral tradition would not have been likely to survive intact for very long without succumbing to the prevailing lust for the marvellous.

The ultimate source for such a document would naturally have to be either someone who had watched St. Dominic at prayer and who had heard his

²²⁵ Cf. Tugwell, *Jordan of Saxony*, pp. viii, xi.

²²⁶ Humbert, *Expositio regulae beati Augustini* 43-57 and *Expositio super constitutiones* ... 2.52-56 (ed. Berthier, *Opera de vita regulari* 1.153-86 and 2.160-71).

²²⁷ Ed. Reichert, 'Acta capitulorum generalium ...' in MOPH 3.33, 76 f.

teaching about prayer, or someone who had collected information from people who had watched and heard St. Dominic.

That Dominic did offer some kind of instruction about prayer cannot be proved, but it can plausibly be inferred. We know that he was fairly insistent, both *viva voce* and in writing, on how he wanted his friars to comport themselves,²²⁸ and one of the things the novice master is directed to teach his novices is 'quomodo uel quid orent',²²⁹ so we may suppose that Dominic included this in his teaching too. The novice master is also, specifically, to teach his novices about *humilitas cordis et corporis*, the latter meaning bodily gestures of humility such as bowing. Humbert goes into considerable detail about the different kinds of inclination, genuflection and prostration to be practised in different situations,²³⁰ and it is unlikely that he created the whole complex observance *ab ovo*. It is quite possible that the First Way is essentially correct and that it was Dominic who taught the friars about bowing in prayer.²³¹

That at least some of Dominic's associates were interested in observing him at prayer we know from the canonization process,²³² and it is suggestive that Rudolph, who followed Dominic into church at night to associate himself with his prayer, says that he often saw him:

stantem in oratione in summitate pedum, et tenebat manus eleuatas quasi esset in oratione.²³³

This fits admirably with the Seventh Way and is, in fact, incorporated into it by Bartholomew of Modena (B 98).

From the Bologna and Languedoc processes we gather that the most striking quality about Dominic's prayer was its noisiness, a feature which is also attested elsewhere.²³⁴ The witnesses also frequently comment on how much Dominic used to weep both during Mass and the Office and in his private prayer.²³⁵ But at least some of the statements made in NW are to some extent substantiated,

²²⁸ Bologna canonization process §29 (ed. Walz, 'Acta', 146-47).

²²⁹ A. H. Thomas, *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen* (Louvain, 1965), p. 323.

²³⁰ Humbert, *Expositio super constitutiones* ... 2.52-55 (ed. Berthier, *Opera de vita regulari* 2.160-68).

²³¹ Cf. the instructions in Primitive Constitutions 1.1. (Thomas, *De oudste Constituties*, p. 313).

²³² Bologna canonization process §§20, 31 (ed. Walz, 'Acta', 138-39, 148-49).

²³³ *ibid.* §31 (*ibid.*, 148-49).

²³⁴ *ibid.* §§ 13, 20, 37 (*ibid.*, 134-35, 138-39, 155-56); Languedoc canonization process §§6, 18 (*ibid.*, 179, 182-84); Jordan, *Libellus*, §13 (ed. Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 32-33); Stephen of Bourbon, §119 (ed. A. Lecoy de La Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII^e siècle* [Société de l'histoire de France 185; Paris, 1877], pp. 102-103).

²³⁵ Bologna canonization process §§3, 21, 38 (ed. Walz, 'Acta', 124-25, 139-40, 146).

and none of them is contradicted. Thus we hear of Dominic lagging behind his travelling companions to pray, or telling them to go on ahead, saying, 'Let us think about our Saviour.'²³⁶ We hear of him kneeling in prayer,²³⁷ also of him standing up or lying prostrate.²³⁸ People could evidently tell from his appearance that he was engaged in prayer or contemplation,²³⁹ and he was apparently sufficiently rapt in his prayer not to notice disturbances or dangers.²⁴⁰

We also have good evidence that he prayed for the friars whom he sent out on various missions²⁴¹ and that novices were among those whom he sent out to preach.²⁴²

That he was believed to take the discipline a lot and to use a *catena ferrea* for the purpose is attested by John of Spain,²⁴³ and Humbert agrees that it was because of Dominic's example that the Order adopted the practice of taking the discipline after compline on ferial days.²⁴⁴

It is difficult to be sure of the value of evidence first found in the *Vitae fratrum*, but Gerald appears to give us some traditions going back to an earlier generation of friars. In connection with Bertrand of Garrigues we are told that one time when Dominic was travelling with him they recited psalms and litanies as they walked and that Dominic, wanting to communicate with some Germans who had joined their party, said to Bertrand:

Flexis genibus oremus dominum ut lingue ipsorum intellectum det nobis pariter et loquelam.²⁴⁵

Dominic is said also on one occasion to have told Bertrand to stop weeping for his own sins and to weep for the sins of others instead.²⁴⁶ Gerald also reports

²³⁶ *ibid.* §41 (Walz, *ibid.*, 161, prints *procedite*, but Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. IX 61 (3287) has *precedite* and this is certainly right); Languedoc canonization process §10 (ed. Walz, 'Acta', 179-80).

²³⁷ Languedoc canonization process, *ibid.*

²³⁸ *ibid.* §17 (*ibid.*, 182).

²³⁹ Bologna canonization process §22 (*ibid.*, 140-41).

²⁴⁰ *ibid.* §43 (*ibid.*, 162-63); Languedoc canonization process §10 (*ibid.*, 179-80).

²⁴¹ Jordan, *Libellus*, §62 (ed. Scheeben, 'Libellus ... auctore Iordano', 54); Salagnac (from Peter Selhan) (Kaeppli, 'Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis' [cited above, n. 25], 11).

²⁴² Bologna canonization process §24 (Walz, 'Acta', 142).

²⁴³ *ibid.* §25 (*ibid.*, 142-43). It is interesting that our author does not advert to the tradition that Dominic took the discipline three times each night for three different intentions, a tradition which first appears in Constantine, §61 (ed. Scheeben, 'Legenda ... auctore Constantino', 329-30) and is then taken up by Humbert (§60), James of Varazze (p. 477) and Dietrich (*Libellus*, §220).

²⁴⁴ Humbert, *Expositio super constitutiones* ... 1.45 (ed. Berthier, *Opera de vita regulari* 2.146).

²⁴⁵ Reichert, 'Vitae fratrum', 74.

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 80.

that someone, John of Bologna (†1235) according to some manuscripts, observed Dominic's nocturnal prayers every night for a week:

dixit ergo quod in oracione modo stans, modo ingeniculans, modo prostratus, in tantum perseverabat, quousque sompnus eum arripiebat. Qui cum evigilasset, statim visitabat altaria; et ita usque circa mediam noctem agebat.²⁴⁷

The evidence that we have, apart from NW, falls a long way short of corroborating the whole of NW, but it does, in my judgement, substantiate the possibility that our little treatise may be, with obvious exceptions, a reliable intermediary between ourselves and a good, early Dominican tradition.²⁴⁸

XIII

TEXTS

1. *The Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic* (= NW)

A sanctis doctoribus Augustino, Leone, Ambrosio, Gregorio, Ylario, Ysidoro, Iohanne Crisostomo et Iohanne Damasceno et Bernardo et aliis deuotissimis doctoribus, grecis et latinis, latissime dictum est de oratione, quantum ad eius commendationem, descriptionem, necessitatem, utilitatem et
5 modum et preparationem, insuper et impedimenta; sed et gloriosus et uenerabilis doctor frater Thomas de Aquino et Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris, et Guillelmus in tractatu de uirtutibus, nobiliter et scientificè et

7 Peraldus, *Summa de uirtutibus* 3.5.7.

De modo orandi corporaliter (almi confessoris *E*) sancti Dominici *CEGHJK*, De modo orandi beati Dominici *X*

1 Leone *om. RM* 2 Ysidoro *om. E* 3 deuotissimis] doctissimis *J* 4 utilitatem] et utilitatem *R* (*M=DT*) 5 et² *om. EK* 6 frater] sanctus *CEGJKXT* (*M=RH*) de Aquino *om. CGJ* 6-7 Albertus ... Guillelmus] Guillelmus et Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris *CGHJX*: fratres Guilielmus et Albertus de ordine predicatorum in suis libris *E*: Guillelmus et Albertus de ordinis fratrum predicatorum in suis libris *K*: frater Guilielmus et frater Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris *T* (*M≈R*) 7 scientificè] sancte *R* (*M=D*)

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 79.

²⁴⁸ I should like to express my gratitude once again to Hilarius Barth, O.P. for his kindness in allowing me to make use of his preliminary work on the text of Dietrich, and for commenting on this article; I should also like to thank Fabio Giardini, O.P. and Paul Parvis, O.P. for their comments. I am particularly gratified that they were able to use the material provided by my edition of the dossier to question some points in my exposition; I am aware of the sparseness of the evidence and I hope that my presentation of the material – and I have, to the best of my ability, presented all the pertinent material – will prompt other scholars to reexamine it and refine and maybe demolish some of my suggestions.

- deuote et pulcre prosecuti sunt. Tamen de modo orandi secundum quod anima exercet membra corporis ut ipsa deuotius feratur in deum, ut anima mouens
 10 corpus remoueretur a corpore et fiat quandoque in extasi ut Paulus, quandoque in agonia ut saluator, quandoque in excessu mentis ut Dauid propheta, secundum quem modum sepe beatus Dominicus orabat, hic aliquid est dicendum. Namque et sancti ueteris et noui testamenti inueniuntur taliter aliquando orasse. Talis enim modus orandi incitat deuotionem, alternatim ex
 15 anima in corpus et ex corpore in animam. Et iste modus faciebat sanctum Dominicum resolui uehementer in lacrimas, et accendebat feruorem bone uoluntatis in tantum ut mens cohibere non posset quin deuotionem membra corporis manifestarent certis inditiis. Vnde ipsa ui mentis orantis quandoque insurgebat in postulationes, obsecrationes, gratiarum actiones.
- 20 Modi autem orandi, preter illos modos quos habebat deuotissimos et comunes in celebratione misse et deprecatione psalmodie, ubi uidebatur subito sepe rapi supra se et confabulari cum deo et angelis in horis canonicis siue in choro siue in itinere, fuerunt isti.

PRIMVS MODVS ORANDI

- 25 Primus uidelicet humiliando se ante altare, ac si Christus per altare significatus realiter et personaliter esset ibi, non tantum in signo, iuxta illud, Oratio humiliantis se penetrabit nubes. Dicebat aliquando fratribus illud Iudith, Humilium et mansuetorum tibi semper placuit deprecatio. Humilitate optinuit Chananea quod uoluit, et filius prodigus. Sed et, Ego non sum dignus ut intres

10 2 Cor 12:2 ff. 11 Lc 22:43. Pss 30:23, 115:11. 19 Cf. 1 Tim 2:1. 27 Ecclus 35:21. 27-28 Judith 9:16. 28-29 Mt 15:22-28. 29 Lc 15:18-24. 29-30 Mt 8:8.

8 tamen] tantum (*sine interpunctione*) R: tandem K ($M=DT$) quod] quem R
 10 remoueretur] moueatur R: remoueat K ($M=R?$) extasi] extasim R 10-
 11 quandoque² ... saluator om. RM 11 quandoque om. CGJ propheta om. EK
 12 secundum quem modum] sed quemadmodum J beatus om. R (santo M) 12-13 est
 dicendum] dicendum est ad operis terminationem D: dicendum est T ($M \simeq R$) 13 namque]
 nam RKT et¹] om. R: viri T 14 aliquando om. CT(M) incitat (cf. B 4 incitassero)] excitat
 RT: exincitat K (ençiendo $M=?$) 16 resolui] resolue CGJ: resolui se T lacrimas] lacrimis
 H et om. K 17 mens cohibere] in eo cohiberi R ($M \neq R$) 18 certis] ceteris K ipsa ui
 mentis] ipsius mens R: ipsa in mentis K ($M=D$) 19 gratiarum] et gratiarum R: ac in gratiarum
 EK: ac gratiarum XT ($M=R$) 21 comunes] omnes CGJ deprecatione] decantatione DT
 ($M=R$) 22 sepe] frequenter EK: om. T confabulari] consuleuari R ($M=DT$)
 23 fuerunt isti om. EK 24 primus ... orandi om. X orandi] orandi sancti (beati K) Dominici
 HK 25 primus uidelicet humiliando] primum uidelicet humiliando E: primus uidelicet modus
 humiliando CGJ: primus modus orand < i > beati Dominici sic erat humiliabat K: primus modus
 fuit uidelicet quando humiliando T (la primera manera de orar de padre S.D. fue humillando M)
 26 et] ac K 27 oratio ... illud om. R ($M \neq R$) humiliantis se] humilitatis J penetrabit
 nubes] nubes penetrat EK: penetrat celos T: penetrat nubes A ($M \simeq EK$) 29 quod] que EK
 et¹] etiam X et² om. CGJ

- 30 sub tectum meum. Humilia domine ualde spiritum meum, nam domine ante te humiliatus sum usquequaque. Et sic pater sanctus erecto corpore inclinabat caput suum et renes humiliter capiti suo Christo, considerans seruilitatem suam et Christi excellentiam, et totum se dans in eius reuerentiam. Et hoc docebat fieri a fratribus dum transirent ante humiliationem crucifixi, ut Christus pro nobis humiliatus maxime uideret nos humiliatos sue maiestati. Item toti trinitati mandabat fratribus sic humiliari cum solemniter diceretur Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Et iste modus, ut descriptus est in figura, erat principium deuotionis eius, inclinando profunde.

SECUNDVS MODVS ORANDI

- 40 Orabat etiam sepe beatus Dominicus prohibiendo se totum ad terram pronum super faciem suam, et compungebatur in corde suo et erubescibat semetipsum et dicebat, aliquando ita alte ut etiam audiretur, illud euangelicum, Deus propitius esto michi peccatori. Et pie et uerecunde satis memorabat uerbum Daud dicentis, Ego sum qui peccaui et qui inique egi. Et flebat atque gemebat fortiter. Et postea dicebat, Non sum dignus uidere altitudinem celi pre multitudine iniquitatis mee, quoniam irritaui iram tuam et malum coram te feci. Et de illo psalmo, Deus auribus nostris audiuius, fortiter et deuote dicebat, Quoniam humiliata est in puluere anima nostra, adhesit in terra uenter noster. Et iterum, Adhesit pauimento anima mea, uiuifica me secundum uerbum tuum. Volens autem aliquando docere fratres quam reuerenter deberent orare, dicebat eis, Magi illi deuoti reges intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius; certum est autem quod inuenimus hominem deum cum Maria ancilla eius, uenite adoremus et procidamus ante deum, ploremus coram domino qui fecit nos. Iuuenes etiam hortabatur dicens, Si non potestis flere

30 Cf. Ecclus 7:19. 30-31 Cf. Ps 118:107. 42-43 Lc 18:13. 44 2 Reg 24:17. 45-46 Oratio Manassae 9-10. 48 Ps 43:25. 49 Ps 118:25. 51 Cf. Mt 2:11. 53-54 Ps 94:6.

31 pater sanctus] sanctus pater R 32 renes] respiciens R (M=DT) humiliter] om. EK: humi humiliter H: humi T 33 hoc om. R (esto M) 34 humiliationem] humilitatem K 35 maxime] mane EK uideret nos] nos uideret EK 37 principium] precipuus EHKXT 38 inclinando conieci (cf. M): inclinando caput suum R: in declinando CGJ: et de inclinando EK: in inclinando HT: in^{de} declinando X profunde] profunde uerbi gracia R: profunde sic GJ (M≠R) 39 orandi] orandi etc. H: orandi beati Dominici K: om. X 40 prohibendo] procidendo K 41 erubescibat] erudiebat R (M=DT) 42 etiam] ab eo R (M≠R) euangelicum] euangelicum uerbum EK 43 uerecunde] reuerenter R: reuerenter et uerecunde T 44 sum om. J et¹] ego K: om. T gemebat] tremebat R (M=DT) 45 dignus] dignus domine H 48 puluere] puluerem R terra] terram CGJX 49-50 uiuifica ... tuum om. T secundum uerbum tuum] om. R: secundum uerbum H (M=D) 50 autem] igitur K: om. T 51 magi] magi et H 52 eius] eius et procidentes adorauerunt eum R (cf. A 14) (M=DT) 53-54 ploremus coram domino om. R (M=DT) 54 iuuenes etiam] et iuuenes EK hortabatur] orabat R (M=DT) potestis] poteritis CGHJ

- 55 uestra peccata, quia non habetis, sunt tamen multi peccatores ordinabiles ad misericordiam et caritatem, propter quos prophete et apostoli gemuerunt, propter quos, uidens Iesus eos, fleuit amare, et sanctus Dauid similiter flebat dicens, Vidi preuaricantes et tabescebam.

TERTIVS MODVS ORANDI

- 60 Istā de causa recipiebat surgens de terra de cathena ferrea disciplinam dicens, Disciplina tua correxī me in finem. Vnde et totus ordo statuit quod omnes fratres memoriam exempli sancti Dominici uenerantes et dicentes, Miserere mei deus etc. siue De profundis etc. reciperent omnibus profestis diebus post completorium de uirgulis ligneis super dorso nudo disciplinam, siue pro suis
65 culpis propriis siue pro alienis, quorum de elemosinis uiuunt. Vnde ab hoc sancto exemplo nullus quantumcumque innocens debet se subtrahere. Cuius exempli figura talis est.

QVARTVS MODVS ORANDI

- Post hec sanctus Dominicus ante altare siue in capitulo, fixo uultu ad
70 crucifixum, summo intuitu respiciebat eum, genua flectens iterum atque iterum siue centies, immo quandoque a post completorium usque ad mediam noctem modo eleuabat se, modo genua flectebat, sicut Iacobus apostolus, sicut leprosus euangelicus qui dicebat genu flexo, Domine si uis potes me mundare, et sicut Stephanus positus genibus clamauit uoce magna dicens, Domine ne statuas illis
75 hoc peccatum. Et fiebat in sancto patre Dominico grandis fiducia de misericordia dei pro se et pro cunctis peccatoribus et pro conseruatione

57 Cf. Lc 19:41. 57-58 Ps 118:158. 61 Ps 17:36. 72 First Matins reading for SS. Philip and James (AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 198r), etc. 72-73 Mc 1:40. 74-75 Ac 7:59.

55 uestra peccata] peccata uestra *K* 56 et¹] et ad *E* propter quos] propinquos *EK* apostoli] amplius *K* 57 quos] quod *E* flebat] fleuit *H* 58 dicens] dum dicebat *R* (deziendo *M*) post tabescam] Unde stabat sic *CGJ* 59 orandi] orandi beati Dominici *HK*: *om. X* 60 ista] ista continua cum precedentibus *R* (*M* = *DT*) de³ *om. X* ferrea *om. E* post disciplinam] de qua supra dictum est *DT* (*M* = *R*) dicens *om. H* 61 et *om. R* 62 memoriam conieci: in memoriam *codd.* uenerantes] essent orantes *DT* (*M* = *R*) 63 etc.¹] *om. RM*: secundum etc. *K*: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam *T* (cf. *B*) siue ... etc.² *om. EHKXT(A)* etc.² *om. R(M)* reciperent] et reciperent *CEGHJXT* omnibus] in omnibus *R*: omnes in *EKX* 64 disciplinam] disciplinas *R* (cf. *A* 19) (*M* = *DT*) 65 propriis *om. H* de *om. R* 66-67 cuius ... est *om. C* 68 orandi] orandi beati Dominici *K*: *om. X* 69 siue *om. EK* 70 summo] firmo *CGHJXT* 71 centies] pluries *R* (*M* = *DT*) immo] ideo *R* (*M* ≠ *R*) 72 genua flectebat] flectebat *H*: genuflectebat se *K*: genuflectebat *T* sicut²] et sicut *E* 73 genu flexo *om. ET* et *om. X* 74 clamauit] clamabat *J* domine *om. R* (*M* = *DT*) 75 grandis] magna *K*

nouitiorum fratrum quos faciebat discurrere ad predicationem animarum. Et non poterat continere aliquando uocem suam, sed audiebatur a fratribus dicens, Ad te domine clamabo, ne sileas a me, ne quando taceas a me et assimilabor
 80 descendentibus in lacum, et quedam similia diuine scripture uerba. Quandoque autem loquebatur in corde suo et uox penitus non audiebatur, et quiescebat in genuflexione stupefactus animo, aliquando diu ualde. Et aliquando uidebatur in ipso modo aspectus eius intellectu penetrasse celum, atque cito uidebatur exilaratus gaudio et extergens lacrimas defluentes. Et fiebat in magno desiderio,
 85 quasi sitiens cum peruenerit ad fontem, et sicut peregrinus cum iam est prope patriam. Et preualebat et inualescebat et multum composite atque agiler mouebatur et sursum erigendo se et genuflectendo. Et in tantum assuefactus erat flectere genua ut in itinere et in hospitiiis post labores uiarum et in uiis etiam, aliis dormientibus et quiescentibus, quasi ad quandam suam artem et
 90 suum singulare ministerium reuerteretur ad genuflexiones. Et hoc exemplo plus faciens quam dicens docebat fratres, hoc modo.

QVINTVS MODVS ORANDI

Stabat etiam aliquando erectus sanctus pater Dominicus ante altare, cum esset in conuentu, toto corpore directus super pedes suos, non appodiatu nec
 95 herens alicui rei, habens aliquando ante pectus suum manus expansas ad modum libri aperti. Et ita se habebat in modo standi quasi ante deum legeret ualde reuerenter et deuote. Et uidebatur tunc in ore meditari eloquia dei et uelut sibi ipsi dulciter enarrare. Habituauerat enim sibi illum domini modum qui in Luca legitur, silicet, quod intrauit Iesus secundum consuetudinem suam die
 100 sabbati in sinagogam et surrexit legere. Et in psalmo dicitur, Stetit Finees et

79-80 Ps 27:1. 85 Cf. Ecclus 26:15. 99-100 Lc 4:16. 100-101 Ps 105:30.

77 animarum *om. J* et] et quandoque *EX^{corr.}* 78 poterat ... suam *om. K* 79 ne!] deus meus ne *ET* 79-80 ne² ... lacum] etc. *T* et ... lacum] etc. *R (M=D)* 80 uerba] uerba dicebat *R (uerba s.s.) (M=DT)* 81 autem *om. K* 83 intellectu] intellectum *R: om. T (M=D)* atque] aliquando *H* 85 quasi] sicut *R* peruenerit] peruenit *X* iam est] est iam *K* 86 et! *om. EK* atque] et *K* 87 in tantum] ita *R (tanto M)* 89 etiam] *om. R(M)* 90 reuerteretur] reuertetur *X: reuertebatur H: reuerenter CGJT* 92 quintus modus] modus quintus *X* orandi] orandi beati Dominici *HK: om. X* 93 etiam *om. R(M)* 94 nec] neque *R* 97 ore] oratione *RCGJ(M)* eloquia dei] eloquia *H: om. K* 98 qui] sibi *K* 99 legitur] quod legitur *K* die] in die *R* 100 sinagogam] synagoga *RK* dicitur] legitur *C: dicitur quod K*

77 The only parallel I know for the rather odd phrase *predicatio animarum* is a certainly wrong variant in Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, ed. Berthier, 2.431, 1. 10, where Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 773 and Segovia, Biblioteca de la Catedral Estanceria B 331 read *predicator animarum*, as does Bauça's *editio princeps* (Barcelona, 1607). Conceivably such phrases were a kind of preachers' slang.

orauit et cessauit quassatio. Et quandoque iungebat manus inuicem extendens fortiter ante oculos complosas, constringens semetipsum, et quandoque manus ad humeros, sicut moris est sacerdotis cum celebrat missam, ac si uellet aures figere ad aliquid diligentius percipiendum quod ab altero diceretur. Tunc
 105 extimasses, si uidisses deuotionem stantis erecti et orantis, uidere prophetam cum angelo uel cum deo modo loquentem, modo audientem, modo cogitantem silenter de hiis que sibi reuelata fuissent. Quod si quando erat in itinere furabatur latenter subito tempus orandi et tota mente stans subito intendebat in celum; et cito audisses eum dulcissime loquentem ac delicatissime aliquod
 110 suaue uerbum de medulla et adipe sacre scripture, quod uidebatur haurisse de fontibus saluatoris. Et hoc exemplo ualde fratres mouebantur in aspectu patris sui et magistri sui, et deuotiores optime instruebantur ad orandum reuerenter et continue, sicut oculi ancille in manibus domine sue et sicut oculi seruorum in manibus dominorum suorum, ut hic patet.

115

SEXTVS MODVS ORANDI

Visus est etiam aliquando orare sanctus pater Dominicus, sicut a uidente audiui auribus meis, manibus et ulnis expansis ad similitudinem crucis uehementer extensus, stans erectus secundum suam possibilitatem. Hoc modo orauit quando suscitauit deus oratione sua puerum Napoleon Rome in Sancto
 120 Sixto in loco sacristie et in ecclesia in celebratione misse, quando eleuatus est a terra, sicut narrauit nobis illa deuota et sancta soror Cecilia, que presens erat et uidit cum alia multitudine, sicut et Elyas quando suscitauit filium uidue

110-111 Cf. Is 12:3. 113-114 Ps 122:2. 122-123 3 Reg 17:21.

101 orauit] exorauit *R* inuicem] unione *R*: ad inuicem *EK* ($M \neq R$) extendens] stringens *R* ($M = DT$) 102 complosas] complexas *EK* 103 sicut] ut *EK* sacerdotis] sacerdoti *EHKX* 104 altero] alto *R* ($M = DT$) 105 extimasses] cogitasses *K* erecti *om.* *KT* uidere] quasi *E* 106 angelo] angelis *H* loquentem ... audientem] loquente ... audiente *EK* modo cogitantem] modo cogitante *K*: *om.* *E* 108 furabatur latenter *om.* *J* tempus] ad tempus *R* ($M \neq R$) mente] mens *EK* 109 dulcissime] dulciter *K* 110 haurisse] aurisse *R*: auxisse *CJ*: hausisse *H*: auxis *G*: habuisse uel haurisse *EK* (oya $M =$ audisse) 111 et] in *EK* ualde fratres] fratres ualde *H* 112 deuotiores] deuotiore *J* instruebantur] struebantur *GJ* 113 et *om.* *K* 114 ut hic patet] *om.* *R*: ut in infrascripta figura patet *T* ($M \simeq T$) 115 orandi] orandi beati Dominici *K*: *om.* *X* 116 etiam *om.* *C* aliquando] quandoque *E* 116-117 sicut ... meis *om.* *R* ($M = DT$) 116 a *om.* *X* 118 stans *om.* *CGJ* erectus] et rectus *CGHJX*: rectus *T* 119 suscitauit deus] deus suscitauit *H* Napoleon] nomine Napuleum *R*: Napoleon *J*: Neapoleonem *ET* ($M \simeq R$) 121 nobis *om.* *RT* ($M = D$) illa *om.* *R* ($M = DT$) soror *om.* *K* 122 cum] eum cum *E* sicut] sic *EH* et *om.* *R*

102-103 *manus ad humeros* is awkward without another verb, but it is solidly attested; for the gesture cf. the directive in the prototype of the Dominican liturgy: 'manuum eleuatio sic fieri debet ut altitudinem humerorum sacerdotis non excedat' (AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 393r).

- expandit se atque mensus est super puerum. Similiter orauit quando iuxta Tholosam liberauit peregrinos de Anglia de periculo submersionis fluminis, ut
 125 alibi scriptum est. Hoc modo orauit dominus pendens in cruce, silicet extensis manibus et ulnis, et cum clamore ualido et lacrimis exauditus est pro sua reuerentia. Nec istum modum frequentabat uir sanctus dei Dominicus nisi cum aliquid grande et mirabile fieri cognouisset inspiratus a deo uirtute orationis. Nec uero prohibebat fratres sic orare, nec etiam suadebat.
- 130 Et cum puerum illum suscitauit, orando silicet et stando expansis brachiis et manibus ad modum crucis, nescimus quid dixerit. Forte dixit illud uerbum Elye, Domine deus meus reuertatur obsecro anima pueri huius in uiscera eius, sicut etiam modum eius seruauit in orando. Sed fratres et sorores et domini cardinales et ceteri, attendentes ad modum orandi eis inconsuetum et
 135 mirabilem, non recolligerunt uerba que dixit, nec postea licuit eis interrogare de hiis sanctum illum et admirabilem Dominicum, quia in hoc facto ualde exhibuit se eis omnibus tremendum et reuerendum.

Illa uero uerba que in psalterio mentionem faciunt de isto modo orandi ponderose et grauitate et mature proferebat atque attente, uidelicet, Domine deus
 140 salutis mee, in die clamaui et nocte coram te, usque ibi, Clamaui ad te domine tota die, expandi ad te manus meas etc. usque ad finem. Item, Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam, in ueritate tua exaudi

123 Gerald de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum* 2.3. 126-127 Heb 5:7. 132 3 Reg 17:21. 139-141 Ps 87:2, 10. 141-144 Ps 142:1, 6-7.

124-125 ut ... est *om. R (M ≠ R)* 125 alibi *coniec.*: supra *DT* (en otra manera *M*) scriptum] dictum *T (M = D)* 126 clamore] dolore *EKX^{corr.}* est *om. K* sua] sui *R* 127 uir ... Dominicus] uir sanctus Dominicus *RHK*: uir dei sanctus Dominicus *T (M ≈ T)* nisi (*cf. B 95*) sed *DT (M = R)* 128 aliquid *om. K* 129 uero] *om. RT*: non *EK (M ≈ EK)* 130-131 brachiis et manibus] manibus et brachiis *EKT* 131 dixerit] dixit *H* 132 meus *om. KT* 133 sicut etiam] *om. RK*: sic enim *E (M ≠ R)* modum eius *om. K* seruauit] seruabant existentes *R (librarius tamen ipse, ut uid., postea deleuit existentes in orando) (M = DT)* sed] sed et *R* domini] dicti *EK* 134 attendentes] accedentes *R (M ≠ R)* eis] eis et *H*: eius *CT* 135 dixit] dixerat *E*: dixerim *K* nec postea] postea non *R*: neque postea *H*: uidelicet postea *X*: pro eo non *E*: pro eo *K*: neque ... postea *T* (despues *M = postea*) 136 quia] qui *RCGJ* (sed s.s. add. *R*) (*M = EHK*) facto *om. R (M ≠ R)* 139 et¹ *om. EKT* uidelicet] dicebat *R*: *om. T (M = R)* deus] deus meus *JK*: deus *męuș G* 140 in die ... te¹ *om. H* et *om. EKT* 140-141 usque ibi ... meas] totum illum psalmum *E* (sed *om.* etc. usque ad finem) 141 etc. ... finem *om. R(M)E* etc. *om. T* ad²] in *T* 142-143 meam² ... iustitia] etc. *RM*: reliquos uersos psalmi supplet *E*: in ueritate exaudi me in tua iustitia *G*: meam *H*: in ueritate tua exaudi me in tua iustitia etc. *T*

129 The textual embarrassment here perhaps reflects an uncertainty as to whether this mode of prayer was to be recommended or not (*cf. B 95-96*). Humbert categorically discourages it (*ed. Berthier, 2.230*).

me in tua iustitia, usque ibi, Expandi manus meas ad te, anima mea sicut terra
sine aqua tibi, uelociter exaudi me. Per hoc poterit quilibet deuotus orator
145 intelligere huius patris doctrinam in orando hoc modo cum uellet in deum
mirabiliter moueri uirtute orationis, uel potius cum sentiret ex occulta
inspiratione se a deo magnifice moueri ad singularem gratiam siue pro se siue
pro alio, fultus ex doctrina Daud, ex significatione Elye, ex caritate Christi, ex
deuotione Dominici, ut in hac figura patet.

150

SEPTIMVS MODVS ORANDI

Inueniebatur nichilominus sepe orando erigi totus ad celum per modum
sagitte electe de arcu extenso proiecte sursum in directum, eleuatis manibus
sursum supra caput fortiter extensis atque coniunctis inuicem, uel aliquantulum
ampliatas quasi ad aliquid recipiendum de celo. Et creditur quod augebatur ei
155 gratia tunc et rapiebatur et impetrabat a deo pro ordine quem inceperat dona
spiritus sancti et suauitates delectabiles in actibus beatitudinum sibi et fratribus,
ut in altissima paupertate, in amaro luctu, in graui persecutione, in multa esurie
et siti iustitie, in anxia misericordia quilibet reputaret se beatum, et ut in
seruandis preceptis, in perficiendis consiliis euangelicis, deuoti delectabiliter se
160 haberent. Videbatur tunc ingredi sanctus pater raptim in sancta sanctorum et in
tertium celum, unde et post illam orationem siue in corripiendo siue in
dispensando siue in predicando more prophetico se habebat, ut in miraculis
memoratum est.

Sed unum hic ponendum est breuiter ad hedificationem. Post talem
165 orationem sanctus magister Dominicus requisiiuit Bononie super quibusdam
agendis secundum morem suum consilium seniorum, quia, ut dicebat,

152 Cf. Is 49:2. 156 Cf. Mt 5:3-10. 160-161 Cf. 2 Cor 12:2.

143-144 anima ... tibi *om.* *R* (*M* = *DT*) 144 uelociter exaudi me] etc. uelociter exaudi me
domine *R*: uelociter exaudi me domine *E*: uelociter exaudi *H*: *om.* *M* hoc] istud *EK* poterit]
poterat *RCGJ*: *om.* *K* (podiera *M* = ?) orator] orationem *R* (*M* = *DT*) 145 ante doctrinam
add. s.s. et *R* 146 potius] peccati *E*: pco *K* occulta] occultata *EK* 148 fultus] affectus *R*
(*M* ≠ *R*) significatione] igne *R* (*M* = *R*) ex⁴] et ex *ET* 149 Dominici] dei *R* (*M* = *DT*)
ut ... patet *om.* *C* 150 orandi] orandi beati Dominici *HK*: *om.* *X* 151 per modum] sicut *K*
152 electe] erecte *R* (*M* = *DT*) sursum] supra siue *H* 152-153 in ... sursum *om.* *C*
153 post inuicem *add.* s.s. manibus *C* 154 ampliatas] amplians *K* creditur] crediderunt *EK*
155 pro ordine] per ordinem *E* 156 suauitates] suauitatem *R* (*M* ≠ *R*) delectabiles]
delectabilem *R*: et delectabiles *CGX*: et delectationes *T* (*M* ≠ *R*) 157 ut *om.* *R* (*M* = *DT*)
158 et¹ *om.* *HX* quilibet] qualiter *R* (*M* = *DT*) 159 delectabiliter] et delectabiliter *T* (*M* = *T*)
160 raptim] raptus *R*: raptum *K* (*M* ≠ *R*) 162 more] modo *R* ut] ut supra *EKT* 162-
163 ut ... est *om.* *R* (*M* = *CGHJ*) 164-181 *om.* *R* 166 secundum morem] sermonem *EK*
seniorum] sanctorum *H*

148 *significatio* = 'symbolism' (especially scriptural); cf. Humbert, *ibid.* 2.450.

reuelatur uni bonorum quod non reuelatur alteri, ut patet in prophetis. Et tunc
sacrista de assistantibus in illo consilio uocauit unum ad ecclesiam feminarum,
gratia, ut puto, audiende confessionis, et subintulit fatue, non tamen ita ut
170 putaret audiri a sancto magistro Dominico, Vna pulcra domina petit uos, uenite
cito. Factus autem in spiritu sanctus Dominicus agitabatur in seipso et reueriti
sunt eum consiliarii. Tunc precepit aduenire sacristam et dixit illi, Quid dixisti?
At ille, Petiui inquit sacerdotem ad ecclesiam. Et pater dixit, Increpa teipsum et
confitere reatum quod peruenit usque ad os tuum. Deus qui fecit omnia fecit
175 quod me non laterent uerba tua hec que putabas occulta. Et disciplinauit eum
ibi fortiter et diu, ita ut astantes mouerentur in compassionem propter liuores.
Et ait, Vade fili didicisti de cetero qualiter intuearis fixo aspectu feminam, ut de
colore non iudices. Ora et tu ut deus in oculis faciat te pudicum. Sic cognouit
occultum, sic corripuit fatuum, sic docuit castigatum, sicut in oratione
180 preuiderat. Et admirati sunt fratres quia sic dixit esse fiendum. Et dixit sanctus
magister, Iustitie nostre iustitie diuine comparete immunditie sunt.

Itaque sanctus pater in illo modo orandi non diu stabat, sed reuertebatur in
seipsum, quasi de longinquo ueniens et uelut peregrinus mundo uidebatur,
quod faciliter perpendi poterat in aspectu eius et moribus. Verumtamen orans
185 clare aliquando auditus est a fratribus ita dicens, ut propheta dicebat, Exaudi
uocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te et dum extollo manus meas ad
templum sanctum tuum. Et docebat uerbo et exemplo sanctus magister fratres
sic orare, dicens illud psalmi, Ecce nunc benedicite dominum omnes serui
domini, in noctibus extollite manus uestras in sancta et benedicite dominum. Et
190 illud, Domine clamaui ad te, exaudi me, intende uoci mee cum clamaui ad te,
eleuatio manuum mearum sacrificium uespertinum. Quod ut melius intelligatur,
subscripta figura docet.

177 Cf. Rule of St. Augustine. 181 Cf. Is 64:6. 185-187 Ps 27:2. 188-189 Ps 133:1-2.
190-191 Ps 140:1-2.

167 prophetis] prophetiis *EK* 168 illo consilio] consilio illo *H* 169 audiende
confessionis] audiendi confessionem *H*: audiendum confessionis *X* 170 putaret] potuerit *E*
(*M* = *E*?) petit] requirit *E*: vocat *TT¹T²* (*A* = *CGHJKX*) 171 seipso] semetipso *HK*
174 reatum] reatum tuum *K*: peccatum *TT¹T²* (*A* = *D*) 175 occulta] occulte *K* 176 in] ad
EK 178 ora] sta *CEGJKX*: insta *H* (*MT¹T²A* = *T*) oculis] oculis tuis *EK* cognouit] agnouit
K 179 corripuit] corripit *GJ* 180 sunt *om. C* fiendum] faciendum *TT²* 182 itaque ...
orandi] in illo modo orandi sanctus pater *R* (*M* ≠ *R*) 183 seipsum] semeipsum *K* mundo]
modo *R*: in mundo *T* (*M* = *D*, *B* = *T*) 184 quod] et *K* (*M* = *K*) 185 aliquando] quandoque
EK exaudi] exaudi domine *RE* (cf. *MB*) 186 et *R*, sed. del.: *om. T* 187 sanctus magister]
sancto iugiter *R* (*M* ≠ *R*) 188 psalmi] psalmiste *CGJ*: ps. *HK* 189 domini] domini etc.
usque ibi *R*: domini qui statis in domo domini in atriis domus dei nostri *T* (*M* = *D*) et
benedicite dominum *om. R* (*M* = *DT*) 190 exaudi ... te² *om. X* cum] dum *DT* post te²
add. etc. usque ibi *R*, dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo *M* 191 sacrificium
uespertinum *om. R* (*M* = *DT*) 191-192 quod ... docet *om. C* 192 subscripta] perspecta
EGHJX: perfecta *K* (*M* = *RT*) figura docet] signa docent *EK*

OCTAVVS MODVS ORANDI

Erat nempe sancto patri Dominico et alius orandi modus pulcer et deuotus et
 195 gratus. Post horas quippe canonicas et post gratiarum actiones que comuniter
 post sumptionem cibi fiunt, sobrius et delibutus pater spiritu deuotionis, quem
 spiritum hauserat ex diuinis uerbis que cantabantur in choro seu in refectione,
 cito ponebat se ad locum aliquem solitudinis, in cella uel alibi, ut legeret uel
 oraret, consistendo secum et stando cum deo. Et sedebat quietus et expandebat
 200 librum aliquem ante faciem suam, munitus signo crucis; et legebat et
 afficiebatur mente dulciter ac si audiret dominum loquentem, sicut dicitur in
 psalmo, Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus deus, quoniam loquetur pacem
 in plebem suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui conuertuntur ad cor. Et quasi
 cum socio disputaret nutibus et mente, modo impatiens uidebatur, modo
 205 quietus auditor, disceptare et luctari et arridere simul et flere, et figere intuitum
 et submittere et iterum loqui silenter et tundere pectus. Si aliquis curiosus
 uoluisset eum uidere latenter, uidebatur sibi sanctus pater Dominicus sicut
 Moyses qui intrasset ad interiora deserti et conspiceret rubum ardentem et
 dominum loquentem et se humiliantem. Mos enim iste propheticus uiro dei erat
 210 cito ex lectione superferri ad orationem et ex meditatione ad contemplationem.
 Et cum sic solitarius legeret, uenerabatur librum et inclinabat libro et
 osculabatur quandoque librum, maxime si erat codex euangelicus uel si legeret
 uerba que Christus ore suo protulerat. Quandoque uero faciem abscondebat et
 auertebat alio, uel deponebat faciem in manibus suis aut modicum uelabat eam

202-203 Ps 84:9. 208-209 Cf. Ex 3:1 ff.

193 octauus ... orandi *om. X* orandi] orandi sancti (beati *K*) Dominici *HK* 194 patri
 Dominico] Dominico patri *R* et¹ *om. R* et² *om. H* 196 delibutus] deuotus *E(M)*
 197 hauserat] habuerat *H* 198 ponebat se] se ponebat *R* solitudinis] solus *R(M)*:
 sollicitudinis *K (F 57 ≈ DT)* 199 cum deo *om. H* 202-203 quoniam ... cor] etc. *R (M = DT)*
 203 suos ... cor] etc. *K* 204 socio] sancto *EK* nutibus] uocibus *R* modo²] et modo *C*
 205 disceptare] disputare *R: om. M* arridere] ridere *R (reir M, ridendo B 112)*
 207 uidere latenter] latenter uidere *K* uidebatur] uisus fuisset *R (M = DT)* sanctus pater]
 pater sanctus *C* pater Dominicus] Dominicus pater *H* 208 post deserti *add.* et uenisset ad
 montem dei Oreb *R (M ≠ R)* rubum] rubrum *RJK* 209 mos] mons *R*: mox *K* (tan subito
M = mox?) enim *om. K* uiro] mons *R (sed postea delere uoluisset uidetur)* (este propheticus
 sieruo de dios *M = iste propheticus uir dei?*) 210 lectione] repletionem *E*: pletione *K post*
 orationem *add.* et ex oratione ad meditationem *R*, ex oratione ad meditationem *T (M = D)*
 211 libro] librum *R*: se libro *TA* 212 codex *om. C* 213 uero *om. K* 214 auertebat]
 aduertebat *EK* alio] pallio *R*: aliqua *E*: a *K*: a libro *HXT(B) (M ≠ RHXT)* aut] ac *R(M)* 214-
 215 eam ... fiebat *om. X*

206 loqui silenter probably means 'speak quietly'; cf. the Dominican Primitive Constitutions
 (Thomas, *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen* 1.17 and AGOP XIV 53, fol. 14v [below,
 p. 116, l. 21]).

- 215 caputio suo. Et etiam tunc fiebat totus anxius et plenus desiderio, et etiam quasi redderet gratias persone excellenti de receptis beneficiis modicum reuerenter assurgebat et inclinabat; et totus refectus et factus quietus in seipso iterum legebat in libro.

NONVS MODVS ORANDI

- 220 Istum talem modum etiam eundo de patria ad patriam seruabat, maxime cum esset in aliqua solitudine, et ludebat cum meditationibus suis in contemplatione sua, et dicebat aliquando sociis in itinere, Scriptum est in Osee, Ducam eam in solitudinem et loquar ad cor eius. Vnde aliquando a socio declinabat uel preibat uel potius sequebatur a longe, et uadens seorsum orabat et ambulabat, et in
225 meditatione eius accendebatur ignis. Et hoc inerat ei in tali oratione, hoc est, ac si abigeret fauillas aut muscas a facie sua, et propter hoc muniebat se sepe signo crucis. Putabant autem fratres quod in isto modo orandi adeptus sit sanctus plenitudinem sacre scripture et medullam intelligentie eloquiorum diuinorum et potestatem audacem feruenter predicandi et occultam familiaritatem spiritus
230 sancti in cognoscendis occultis.

- Vnde semel accidit, ut unum adducamus de multis que obmissa sunt, quod dyabolus uenit ad ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum Bononie in modum iuuenis habentis mores uanos et lasciuos et petiit confessorem. Et adducti sunt ei alternatim quinque sacerdotes, modo unus, modo alius. Et fuit hec causa, quia
235 ita affecit et male inflammauit primum confessorem ex suis uerbis quod surrexit ab auditione confessionis et noluit audire usque in finem illas abhominaciones. Similiter fecit secundus et tertius et quartus et quintus. Silenter

222-223 Os 2:14. 225 Cf. Ps 38:4.

215 tunc] cum *K* fiebat] flebat *R* (*M* = *DT*) etiam² *om. X* 217 inclinabat] inclinabat .s. capud suum *R* (*MB* = *DT*) refectus] refertus *CGHJXT* seipso] seipsum *CGJK* 218 libro] libro ut plenius patet in hac figura *T* (*M* = *T*) 219 orandi] orandi beati Dominici *HK*: *om. X* 220 talem *om. REK* (tal *M* sed cf. *M* 20 est tal = iste) etiam] *om. R*(*M*): orandi *EK* ad] in *H* maxime] et maxime *EK*: *om. J* 221 cum] in *H* suis] sunt *X* 221-222 suis in contemplatione sua] .s. in contemplatione *R* (*M* = *DT*) 222 sociis] socio *R* (*MF* = *DT*) Osee] Osee propheta *C*(*M*) eam] eum *EK* 223 solitudinem] solitudine *EKTA* preibat] preteribat *E* 224 potius] post *EX*: *om. T* 225 accendebatur] accendebatur al' exardescebat *R* (*M* ≠ *R*) hoc¹] istud *EK* hoc² est *om. EK* 226 abigeret (cf. *F. 62*) abiceret *EKT*: ambigeret *J* aut] ac *R* (*M* = *DT*) sepe *om. EK* 227 isto *om. EK* 230 cognoscendis occultis] occultis cognoscendis *EKT* 231-249 *om. R* 234 hec] ista *EK* (*om. T*¹) 235 suis uerbis] uerbis suis *H* 236-237 illas abhominaciones] illam abhominacionem *EK*: abhominaciones illas *TT*²: reliquas abominaciones *T*¹ (*MA* = *CGHJX*) 237 et tertius et] et tertius *C*: tertius *EKTT*²: *om. T*¹: tertius et *A*

215 *caputium* = 'scapular'; for parallels, see Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, p. 119 n. 185. B 116 clearly appreciated this, but M 263 is at least misleading.

autem recedebant et numquam uoluerunt hanc confessionem reuelare, quia ex parte illorum qui audierant confessio illa sacramentalis erat, licet a dyabolo.

240 Tunc sanctus Dominicus in conuentu presens, accersitus a sacrista querulo contra sacerdotes eo quod quinque non potuerunt unum peccatorem audire; dixit hoc sancto patri et adiecit, Scandalum magnum est, predicant sacerdotes fratres penitentiam et nolunt imponere peccatoribus penitentiam. Et surrexit sanctus pater Dominicus a lectione et oratione et contemplatione, puto negotii

245 non ignarus, et uenit audire confessionem dyaboli. Cum ergo intrasset ecclesiam, accessit ad eum dyabolus, et statim cognouit eum sanctus pater et dixit ei, Cur maligne spiritus sub hac pietate temptas seruos dei? Et durissime increpauit eum. Et dyabolus ibidem statim euanuit, et dimisit ecclesiam fetidam odore sulphuris. Et placatus est sacrista super indignatione contra sacerdotes.

238 hanc] istam *EK* 239 licet] licet non *CGJ(A)*: *om. T* (licet ... dyabolo *om. T¹T²*) 240 in conuentu presens] presens in conuentu *H* 242 hoc *om. EK* 243 et ... penitentiam *om. EK* imponere peccatoribus] peccatoribus imponere *X* 245 et *om. EK* 246 accessit *om. K* 247 hac *om. K*

2. The Castilian Translation (=M)

My aim in editing this text is to get as close as possible to the original form of the translation (as found in M), not to correct it. Where I am convinced that the copyist is at fault and that it is possible to see what his source probably had, I have ventured to make some simple emendations. Where it is equally likely that the fault goes back to the translator, I have not emended.

I have expanded all contractions without comment. Where the full form is also found, I have expanded in accordance with it (thus *santo*, *gracia*). Where the abbreviation suggests a Latin form, I have expanded accordingly: thus I have expanded the termination *-tōn* as *-tion* (*deuotion*, *lection* etc.) and, for reasons of consistency, I have similarly expanded *orōn* as *oration*; and I have expanded *aīa* as *anima*, and *bedcto* as *benedicto*, in spite of the presence elsewhere of *alma* and *bendito*. However, I have expanded both *scō* and *sīo* invariably as *santo*. The 'and' sign I have always printed as *e*, although both *e* and *et* are found in the manuscript (both forms are used indiscriminately whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant).

The bar indicating *m* or *n* I have always expanded as such, even where the modern equivalent would be a tilde (thus *sennor*, *ensennar*). Where *m* and *n* are written in full, the scribe's practice is not entirely consistent, and we find *enxienplo* and *enxiemplo*, *onbro* and *ombro*. Since *n* is more common, I have

usually interpreted the bar as such, but I have preferred *contemplation* and *costumbre*. *coñmo* I have printed as *commo*; where the bar is missing, *como*.

mucho I have printed as *mucho*, although *muncho* is found in full several times; the scribe habitually adds a bar to *ch*, even where no *n* could possibly be required.

I have retained the manuscript distinction between *b*, *u* and *v*. Initial *rr*, which is more common in the manuscript than single *r*, I have always reduced to a single *r*, but otherwise I have not eliminated inconsistencies between the two spellings, so, for example, *arebatado* and *arreatado* have both been retained.

A particular problem is posed by *ss* and *s*. It is clear that the older systematic distinction has already collapsed; the manuscript is not consistent in its practice and several words which should etymologically have the single letter are sometimes found with the double letter (e.g., *desseo*, *possada*, *Ossee*). It is often impossible to be sure, at least from the photographs I have, whether the scribe intended a single or a double letter, as his thick single *s* and his double *s* merge into one another. Circumstances prevented me from seeing the actual manuscript for more than a very short time, and it was only afterwards that I was able to obtain photographs, so I did not have the opportunity to check whether it is possible in fact to decide in each case whether single or double *s* is intended. In my edition I have always opted for initial single *s*, regardless of the manuscript, and I have standardized endings (thus always *-esse* etc. and *-oso*), and I have always printed *assy*. Otherwise I have tried to follow the manuscript, even where it is inconsistent.

Pronominal suffixes I have always treated as separate, which is the more common practice in the manuscript.

In two places a later hand has written words into the text, and these I have printed in italics, but it seems safe to assume that they replace words which were becoming illegible, and in both cases they appear to be correct. The same hand has added a title to the work and a few annotations.

In my edition I have indicated all emendations, even the most trivial. [] indicates letters which should, in my view, be deleted; < > indicates letters which I think should be added.

The punctuation I have supplied myself, more or less in accordance with modern usage.

I am extremely grateful to the nuns of Santo Domingo el Real, Madrid for permitting me to use their manuscript, and to Carlos Junquera, O.P. for obtaining photographs of the manuscript for me. I am also very grateful to Mr. F. W. Hodcroft, of the University of Oxford, for his expert advice on mediaeval Spanish.

(f. 79r) Copiosa mente e abastada mente fue dicho e conpuesto de los santos doctores Agustin, Ambrosio, Yllario, Gregorio,¹ Ysidoro, Iohan Crisostomo e Iohan Damasceno e Bernardo e de otros doctores e deuotos varones, assy griegos commo latinos, de la santa oration, quanto a la su encomendation, 5 declaration,² prouecho, manera e aparaamiento, e mas de los sus inpedimentos. Mas los onrados doctores fray Thomas de Aquino e fray Alberto en los sus libros e fray Guillem en el tractado de las uirtudes muchas cosas [cosas] proseguieron de la oration deuota mente e con mucha sçiençia. Mas de la manera de orar segun que el alma posee el cuerpo e los mienbros del cuerpo, 10 por que mas deuota mente sea leuada a dios, por que el anima mueua el cuerpo e sea movida del cuerpo, e por que el anima se ponga algunas vezes en la extasy de contemplation commo sy estouiesse fuera del cuerpo assy commo san Paulo algunas vezes era arrebatado del cuerpo en la contemplation de la voluntad, segun que el propheta Daud,³ segun la qual manera muchas vegadas santo 15 Domingo oraua, algunas cosas auemos de dezir e demostrar para aquellos que le quisieren remede[er] e con deuota voluntad vsar.⁴

Cierto los santos del vieio testamento e del nuevo testame<n>to son fallados orar en tales maneras, ca la tal manera de orar ençienda la deuotion, assy vno a otro algunas vezes el anima despertaua el cuerpo e algunas vezes el 20 cuerpo despertaua el anima; e este tal modo fazia a santo Domingo enboluer se en lagrimas, e le en(f. 79v)cendia en feruor de caridad e buena voluntad, en tanto que non se podiesse *contener* que los mienbros del cuerpo non manifestassen la deuotion por çiertas⁵ sennales. E por la fuerça de la voluntad que oraua, algunas vegadas se leuantaua en petiçiones, ruegos e dando graçias.

25 Los modos de orar son estos, sin otros modos que tenia muy deuotos e comunes en la çelebration de la missa e en el ruego de la psalmodia de Daud, a do era muchas vezes arrabado⁶ subita mente sobre sy e fablar con dios era visto e con los angeles en las horas canonicas o en el choro o en el camino. Estos que se siguen son:

¹ M reverses the order of the Latin *Gregorio, Yllario*.

² M omits *necessitatem*.

³ See above, p. 39.

⁴ *para...vsar* corresponds to nothing in the Latin text.

⁵ We should expect *ciertas*, but the manuscript is not entirely clear; elsewhere *as* is written with the two letters quite separate, while *os* is sometimes written with the *o* leaning on the *s*. Masculine *sennal* is found in other dialects, but it is already feminine in Castilian in the thirteenth century (I am indebted to Mr. Hodcroft for drawing my attention to this).

⁶ The Academia Española *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1933) vouches for mediaeval *arrabar* = *robar*, so I have retained the reading here and in 190, although elsewhere *arrebatado* is the word used.

30 La primera manera de orar de padre santo Domingo fue humillando se
 delante el altar assy commo sy Iesu Cristo significado por el altar uerdadera
 mente estodiesse ally e personal mente, e non sola mente en sennal. Sabia el
 santo padre que la oration del que se humilla traspassa las nuues. Dezia algunas
 35 vezes a los frayres aquel dicho de la prophetissa e santa muger Judich, O sennor
 dios, sienpre te plogo el ruego de los mansuetos e humildes. Por humildad
 acanço la Cananea lo que quiso e demando, e el fijo desgastador con el su padre,
 e el que dixo, Sennor non soy digno que tu entres en la mi casa. Sennor humilla
 mucho el mi spiritu,⁷ ca sennor delante ty soy humillado fasta agora. E assy el
 padre bendito santo Domingo leuanta(f. 80r)do el cuerpo enclinaua la su cabeça
 40 e las renes muy humil mente a la su cabeça Iesu Cristo, consyderando la obra
 seruil a que es obligado e la exçelencia de Iesu Cristo, e todo se daua a la su
 reuerencia. E esto ensennaua fazer a los frayres, quando passassen ante la
 humiliation del cruçifixo, por que el sennor Iesu Cristo por nos humillado
 mayor mente nos viesse humillados a la su magestad. Item mandaua a los
 45 frayres humillar se assy a toda la trinidad quando se dixiesse sollenpne mente
 Gloria Patri et Filio et Spirituy Sancto. E este modo commo aqui esta figurado
 en esta seguinte figura era comienço de la su deuotion, enclinando bien
 profundo como paresçe en esta demonstration: (*Illustration*).

El segundo modo de orar. Oraua muchas vezes santo Domingo lançando se
 50 todo en la tierra, enclinado sobre la su cara, e conpungia se en su coraçon e
 envergonçaua s<e> a sy mesmo e (f. 80v) dezia algunas vegadas assy alto
 tanto que le oyan aquellas palabras del santo euangelio, Deus propicius esto
 michi peccatori, Sennor sey çercano⁸ a mi peccador. E piadosa mente e con
 reuerencia aremenbraua las palabras del propheta Daud, Yo so el que peque e
 55 fiz mal. E lloraua e gemia fuerte mente e dezia, Non soy digno de ver la altura
 del çielo por la mucha copia de los mis peccados, ca yo exçite la tu yra et malum
 coram te feçi, e fiz mal delante ty. E de aquel psalmo, Deus auribus nostris etc.,
 fuerte e deuota mente dezia, Quoniam humiliata, por que es humillada en el
 poluo la nuestra anima, allego se a la tierra el nuestro vientre. E mas, Adhesit
 60 pavimento etc., allego se al tenplo de dios⁹ la mi anima, da me spiritu de vida
 sennor segun la tu palabra. Queriendo algunas vezes ensennar a los f<r> ayres
 con quanta reuerencia deuen orar, dezia, Aquellos magos, reyes deuotos,

⁷ There are three other survivals of the Latin fourth declension, which evidently support each other's genuineness, so I have retained them all; cf. *uultu* (85), *gestu* (101) and *luctu* (193).

⁸ Evidently *propitius* has been misread or misunderstood as *propinquus*.

⁹ See above, p. 39.

entrando en la casa fallaron el moço con Maria su madre; cierto es que fallamos h < o > mbre dios con Maria su sierua, venid e adoremos e lançemos < nos >
 65 en prostration delante dios e lloremos ante el sennor que nos fizo. Amonestaua los mançebos e dezia, Si non podedes llorar los vuestros peccados, que non los tenedes, muchos son peccadores para ordenar los a misericordia e karidad, por los quales gemieron los prophetas e los angeles,¹⁰ por los quales quando los vio Iesu Cristo lloro amargosa mente, e el santo Daud assy lloraua deziendo, Vi los
 70 traspassadores de la ley e començe me a podreçer, (f. 81r) Vidi preuaricantes et tabesçebam. Este tal modo de prostration en suelo ante el altar paresce en esta figura: (*Illustration*).

El tercero modo de deuotion e oration de padro santo Domingo. Por esta razon santo Domingo se leuantaua de tierra e daua se disçiplina con vna cadena
 75 de fierro, diziendo, Disciplina tua correxist me in finem, la tu disçiplina me corregio por sienpre.¹¹ E de ally toda la orden statuyo e ordeno que todos los frayres en memoria del enxienplo de santo Domingo onrando lo e diziendo el psalmo, Miserere mei deus, o De profundis, reçiessiessen en todos los dias feriales despues de completas con vergetas de minbres sobre el ombro desnudo
 80 disciplina por las sus culpas propias o por las agenas de cuyas elimosinas biuen. E de este santo enxienplo non se deue nenguno arredrar por innoçente que sea. E de este enxienplo e de manera deste santo, esta es la demonstration e figura: (f. 81v) (*Illustration*).

El quarto modo de orar. Despues de esto santo Domingo ante el altar en la
 85 eglesia¹² o en el capitulo enclinado el uultu al crucifixo con grande acatamiento oteaua al crucifixo, fincados los ynoios, otra e otra ves e çient vezes, e bien algunas vezes desde completorio fasta la media noche, agora leuantando se, agora genollando se, assy commo san Paulo¹³ apostolo e assy commo el leproso del euangelio que dezia, el genollo fincado, Domine sy vis potes me mundare,
 90 Sennor si quieres puedes me alinpiar, e assy commo sant Esteuan, puestos los genollos en tierra, llamo con gran voz e dixo, Sennor non le¹⁴ cuentas este

¹⁰ Latin: *apostoli*.

¹¹ For this translation of *in finem*, cf. B 53.

¹² *en la eglesia* is added by M.

¹³ Latin: *Iacobus*. The translator or copyist may have been thinking of Eph 3:14.

¹⁴ This should probably be emended to *les*, though plural *le*, Mr. Hodcroft informs me, is possible in 'substandard Spanish'.

peccado. Estaua en santo Domingo padre grande fiuza de la misericordia de dios por sy e por todos los peccadores e por conseruation de los frayres nouiçios los quales enbiaua a predicar palabra de salud e a salud de las animas e conuersion. E non podia (f. 82r) algunas vegadas detener la voz, mas oyan la los frayles quando dezia, A ty sennor llamare, non calles a mi, que quando callaras de mi, parescere a los que desçenden en el lago, Ad te domine clamabo, ne sileas a me etc., e otras palabras de la santa scriptura. Algunas vezes fablaua en el su coraçon e la voz non la oyan. E folgaua en aquel star de ynoios maravillado en el coraçon algunas vezes prolongado tienpo. E algunas vezes en aquella manera de orar paresçia en el su gestu que con el coraçon passaua los çielos, e luego paresçia spaçioso en gozo e allinpiando se las lagrimas que le corrian. Paresçia como se ponía en gran desseo alegre assy commo el que viene con muy gran sed quando viene a la fuente, e assy commo el peregrino quando viene açerca de la posada e quando allega a la su tierra. E conualesçia e esforçaua se e mucho conpuesta mente açerca de la honestidad¹⁵ se movia, leuantando se contra suso e genollando se. E tanto era acostumbrado genollar, fincar los ynoios, que en el camino e en las possadas despues de los trabajos de los caminos e quando los otros dormian en el camino e folgauan assy commo acostumbrado a la su arte e al su singular ofiçio se tornaua a las enclinationes e genollationes. Con este enxiemplo ensennaua los frayres mas por obra que por palabra, en esta manera que aqui esta por figura que se sigue.

Este es el mas comun modo de orar que padre santo Domingo fazia e mas deuoto, e que mas los santos usaron sin peligro corporal e sin cansat < i > on:¹⁶ (f. 82v) (*Illustration*).

El quinto modo de orar. Estaua algunas vezes padre santo Domingo delante el altar quando estaua en el convento, todo el cuerpo enfiesto sobre los sus pies, non arrimado nin allegado a otra cosa, teniendo algu < n > as vezes las manos tendidas ante los sus pechos en ma < nera > de libro abierto e assy se auia en la manera star enfiesto assy commo si leyese ante el sennor dios con gran reuerençia e deuota mente. Parescia entonçe que en la oration pensaua las palabras de dios e assy commo sy a sy mesmo dulce mente las contasse.

¹⁵ *açerca de la honestidad* must be a gloss on *conpuesta mente*; *agiliter* has therefore dropped out. For the connection between *compositio* and *honestas*, cf. Hugh of Digne, *Expositio Regule*, ed. D. Flood (Grottaferrata, 1979), p. 111.32 (*forensi quadam honestate compositi*); Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* 31, ed. A. Steiner (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), especially ll. 165-168.

¹⁶ These two lines are peculiar to M.

Acostumbro en sy bien aquella manera del sennor que se lee en Luchas, silicet quod intrauit, entro Iesu Cristo segun la su costumbre vn día sabbado en la
 125 sinoga e leuanto se leer. E en el psalmo se lee, Estudio enfiesto en silençio en pies¹⁷ e çesso la ira e furor. Algunas vezes juntaua las manos, tendiendo las ante los oios fuerte mente restringidas constringendo a sy mesmo. Algunas vezes las manos e los onbros leuantaua segun que es costumbre al (f. 83r) sacerdote quando dize la missa, assy commo sy quisiesse fincar las oreias a entender con
 130 mas diligençia alguna cosa que otro dixiesse. Estonçe pensarias si viesses la deuotion del que esta en pies orando al çielo derecho, pensarias veer el propheta con el angel o con dios, quando fablando, agora oyendo, agora cuydando en silençio de estas cosas que le fuessen reueladas. E sy quando estaua en el camino, furtaua algun tienpo ascondida mente para orar, stando en sus pies con
 135 toda uoluntad subita mente oraua en el çielo, e luego le oyrias fablar tan dulce mente e muy delicada mente alguna palabra de la medulla del dulçor de la santa scriptura, que paresçia que las oya¹⁸ de la fuente del saluador. E con este enxienplo los frayres mucho eran amonestados e movidos¹⁹ ante la faz de su padre e su maestro, e mas deuotos muy bien se enformauan a orar con
 140 reuerençia e continua mente, sicut occuli ançille in manibus domine sue, assy commo los oios de la seruidora en las manos de la su sennora, e assy commo los oios de los seruidores en las manos de los sus sennores. Estas cosas pareçen segun que aqui esta figurado: (*Illustration*).

(f. 83v) La sexta manera de orar. Algunas vezes fue visto estar orando padre
 145 santo Domingo segun que oy a aquel que lo vio con las mis oreias, que estando el bendito padre santo Domingo los braços tendidos e las palmas a semeiança de cruz mucho intenso estando enfiesto sobre los sus pies quanto el podia. En esta manera oraua quando susçito dios por su oration el moço de Neapol en Roma en Santo Sixto en la sacristania e en la yglesia en la çelebration de la missa,
 150 quando fue leuantado de la tierra en el ayre. Assy nos lo conto aquella deuota e santa soror Çeçilia que estaua present e lo vio con otra mucha gente. Assy commo Helias quando susçito el fijo de la biuda, extendio se e puso se sobre el moço. En esta manera orava quando açerca de Tholossa libro los peregrinos de Inglesa terra del peligro quando ovieran de morir en el rio, segun que en otra

¹⁷ See above, p. 39.

¹⁸ Latin: (*h*)aurisse. M presupposes *audisse*.

¹⁹ Latin: *moueabantur*. The translator apparently could not decide whether to read this or *monebantur*.

155 manera²⁰ es escripto. En esta manera oraua el muy noble dulce Iesu estando en la cruz, silicet tendidas²¹ los braços e las manos e las palmas e con valiente clamor e con lagrimas fue oydo por su reuerençia. Este modo non lo frequentaua muchas vezes el varon siervo de dios santo Domingo, saluo quando conosçia por virtud de la oration e con spiritu diuino que se fazia alguna
 160 cosa grande e maravillosa. E non dexaua a los frayres assy orar nin gelo conseiaua.

E quando susçito aquel moço orando e stando leuantado tendidos los braços²² e las manos en manera de cruz, non sabemos que cosas dixo. Por ventura dixo aquellas palabras del propheta Helias, O sennor dios mio, torne (f. 84r) yo
 165 te ruego el anima de este moço en las sus entranas, assy commo guardo su manera en orar. Mas los frayres e las sorores e los sennores cardenales e los otros que vieron el modo de oration non acostumbrado a ellos e maravilloso non pararon mientes nin aprendieron las palabras que dixo. Despues²³ convenia les preguntar de ellas a santo Domingo, ca en este fecho mucho se demostro a
 170 ellos todos temeroso e reuerendo, onroso. Mas aquellas palabras que en el psalterio fazen mençion de este modo de orar pesada ment e graue mente e madura mente las dezia e con discreçion, e son estas: Domine deus salutis mee in die clamaui ad te et nocte coram te, Sennor dios de la mi salud, llame a ty en el dia e en la noche delante ty, faste en este logar, Clamaui ad te domine tota die
 175 expandi ad te manus meas, Llame a ti sennor todo el dia, tendi a ti las mis manos. Item, Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus perçipe obsecrationem etc., fasta do dize, Expandi manus meas ad te, anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi. Por estas palabras podiera qualquier deuoto orador entender la doctrina de este padre en orando con este modo quando se quisesse mouer a dios
 180 maravillosa mente por virtud de la oration, o mayor mente quando sintiesse [a] con alguna spiration occulta de dios mouimiento en sy a alguna singular graçia o por sy or por otro alguno, ensennado de la doctrina de David, del fuego de Helias, de la caridad de Iesu Cristo, de la deuotion de santo Domingo, segun que pareçe en esta figura siguiente: (f. 84v) (*Illustration*).

185 El septimo modo de orar. Fallauan lo muchas vezes orando todo leuantado al cielo en manera de saeta electa lançada del arco tendido contra arriba derecha;

²⁰ See above, pp. 40-41.

²¹ Perhaps this should be emended to *tendidos*, or perhaps the translator was already thinking ahead to the feminine nouns to come.

²² *bracos* MS.

²³ See above, p. 36.

- assy estaua leuantadas las manos suso sobre la cabeça bien extendidas e aiuntadas en vno o algun tanto las manos abiertas tendidas de ancho, assy commo para rezebir alguna cosa del çielo. E creyen que le acreçentaua dios la
- 190 graçia e era arrabado en spiritu e ganaua de dios por < la > orden que començo los dones²⁴ de < l > spiritu santo, e quietos e delectables en los fechos de santidad a sy e a los f < r > ayres, por que con la muy alta pobreza cada vno se touiesse por bien aventurado, en amargoso luctu, en graue persecution, en mucha fambre e sed de iusticia,²⁵ en triste misericordia, e fuessen deuotos e
- 195 delectosos en guardar los preceptos, en acabar e conplir los conseios santos del euangelio. Pareçia entonçe santo Domingo padre que entraua arebatada mente en el logar santo de los santos e en el terçero cielo, ca despues de aquella oration en corregir, en dispen(f. 85r)sar, en predicar, manera de propheta tenia, segun que en los miraculos fue arremenbrado.
- 200 Mas vna cosa es aqui de poner breue mente para hedification. Despues de tal oration el santo maestro Domingo demando conseio de los frayres sobre algunas cosas que auia de fazer en Bolonia, segun la su costumbre. Ca segun que dezia, alguna cosa es reuelado a vno que non es a otro reuelado entre los santos ombres, segun que pareçe en los prophetas. E assy estando en el conseio,
- 205 vino el sacristan, llamo vno de los que estauan en el conseio a la eglesia de las fenbras, pienso que a oyr confessiones. E llamo lo loqua mente, mas no lo llamo assy que lo oyesse el benedicto maestro santo Domingo. Llamo lo assy: Vna fermosa fenbra uos demanda, venid ayna. Movido en el spiritu santo Domingo affligia se en sy mesmo e fizieron le reuerençia los consejeros.
- 210 Entonçe mando venir al sacristan e dixo le, ¿Que dexiste? Respondio el, Demande el sacerdote a la eglesia. E el padre dixo, Accusa te a ti mesmo e confiessa tu culpa, la qual vino fasta la tu boca. Cuydaste que era occulto; dios que fizo todas las cosas fizo que non se me ascondiessen las tus palabras que tu cuydauas tener ascondidas. E disçiplino lo ally muy fuerte e gran pieça, fasta
- 215 que los que hy estauan fueron movidos a compassion por los a[c]çotes. E dixo le, Anda fijo aprendisti ya commo mires fincando el oio en la fenbra, por que non juzges del color. Ora tu que dios te faga casto en los oios tuyos. Assy conosçio la cosa occulta, (f. 85v) assy corregio al loco, ensenno al que avia castigado,²⁶ assy commo auia visto en la oration. E maravillaron se los frayres commo assy dixo
- 220 que era de fazer. E dixo el santo maestro, La nuestra justiçia co < n > parada es a la justiçia diuina assy commo suziedad al oro.

Assy es que el santo padre non tardaua mucho en aquel modo de orar, mas tornaua se en sy mesmo, assy commo sy veniesse de luenga tierra e assy

²⁴ *los dones que començo* MS.

²⁵ *iusticie* MS.

²⁶ *castigago* MS.

commo peregrino paresçia al mundo. E ligera mente se podia entender en el su
 225 gesto e en las costumbres. Mas algunas vezes quando oraua clara mente le oyan
 los frayres que dezia commo el propheta, Exaudi voçem deprecationis mee dum
 oro ad te et dum extollo manus meas al tu santo tenplo, oy sennor la voz de la
 mi oration quando yo oro a ty e quando alço las manos al tu santo tenplo. E
 ensennaua con palabra e con enxiemplo a los frayres assy orar, diziendo, Ecce
 230 nunc benedicite dominum omnes serui domini, in noctibus extollite manus
 vestras in sancta et benedicite dominum, Ecce uos agora bendezid al sennor,
 todos los sieruos del sennor, en las noches alçad las vuestras manos en el logar
 santo e bendezid al sennor. E dezia aquel salmo, Domine clamaui ad te, exaudi
 me, intende voçi mee cum clamauero ad te, dirigatur oratio mea sicut inçensum
 235 in conspectu tuo, eleuatio manuum mearum sacrificium uespertinum, Sennor
 llame a ti, oy me, para mientes a la mi voz quando clamare a ti, guiada sea la mi
 oration assy commo ençienso a la tu cara e el alçamiento de las mis manos
 commo sacrificio de la tarde. E por que esto sea mejor entendido, esta figura lo
 ensenna: (f. 86r) (*Illustration*).

240 El octauo modo de orar. Era otro modo de orar a nuestro padre santo
 Domingo fermoso e deuoto e grato. Despues de las horas canonicas e despues
 de las graçias que se fazen comun mente despues de comer, el mesurado e
 deuoto padre con spiritu de deuotion, el qual spiritu tomara de las palabras de
 dios que se cantauan en el choro o en el refectorio, luego se ponía en algun
 245 logar solo en la çella o en otro logar para leer o orar fablando²⁷ consigo e stando
 con dios. E posaua se tan quieto e abria algun libro ante la su cara e signaua se
 del signo de la cruz, e leya e aconsolaua se en la su uoluntad muy dulce mente,
 assy commo sy oyesse al sennor dios fablar, assy commo se dize en el psalmo,
 Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus deus, ca fablara paçem in plebem suam,
 250 Oyre lo que fablara en mi el sennor dios, ca fablara paz en el su pueblo e sobre
 los sus santos e en aquellos que se tornan al su coraçon. E assy commo sy
 dispu(f. 86v)tasse con otro conpannero con gesto e con voluntad agora paresçia
 con furia, agora quieto e oydor sannoso, e luchar e reir e llorar e aguzar la cara
 e fincar los oios²⁸ e amansar e luego fablar en silençio e ferir en los pechos. Sy
 255 alguno curasse de lo ver occulta mente, pareçia le padre santo Domingo assy
 commo Moyses quando entraua al medio del desierto e mirasse la çarça arder e

²⁷ Latin: *consistendo*.

²⁸ The difficult phrase *aguzar la cara* appears to be a doublet of the more straightforward *fincar los oios*.

al sennor fablar e a sy mesmo humillar.²⁹ E tan subito este propheticio sieruo de dios³⁰ era leuantado de la lection a la oration e de la oration a la contemplation. E leyendo assy solo, onraua el libro e enclinaua se al libro e bessaua el libro
 260 algunas vezes, mayor mente sy era codigo de los euangelios o sy leya las palabras que el sennor Iesu Cristo por su boca dezia. Algunas vezes tornaua la cara e ascondia la. Algunas vezes ponía la cara en las sus manos e cobria la vn poco colgando la capiella sobre los oios. E entonçe se fazia todo affligido e pleno de desseo e assy commo que daua graçias a la exçellente persona de los
 265 benefiços reçevidos, e leuantaua se vn poco con reuerençia e enclinaua e todo aconsolado e quieto en sy mesmo, otra vez tornaua <a> leer en el libro, segun paresçe en esta figura: (f. 87r) (*Illustration*).

El nono modo de orar. Este tal modo guardaua padre santo Domingo mudando se de tierra en tierra e mayor mente quando estaua en algun yermo e
 270 jugaua con sus meditationes en la su contemplation, e dezia algunas vezes a los sus conpanneros en el camino, Scripto es en el propheta Ossee, Traher la he al yermo e fablare al su coraçon. E algunas vezes se apartaua del conpan <n> e-ro, o se yua delante o se quedaua las mas vezes detras gran trecho, luenne, e yendo oraua contra suso e andaua e en la su meditation ençendia se fuego. E
 275 esto le venia en tal oration, assy [sy]³¹ commo sy *sacudiese* las sçentellas o las moscas de la su cara, e por esso se signaua muchas vezes con el signo de la cruz. Cuydauan los frayres que en este modo de orar gano el santo pad<r> e conplimiento de santa scriptura e la miel e el grano del su entendimiento e la occulta familiaridad del spiritu santo en conosçer las cosas ascondidas e
 280 occ(f. 87v)ultas.

Vna vegada contecio, que trayamos vna cosa de muchas que dexamos, el diablo vino a la iglesia de los frayres predicadores en Bolonia en manera de mançebo <que> tenia costumbres vanas e [locas] loçanas e demandando vn confessor. E traxieron le vno a vno fasta çinco sacerdotes, agora vno e agora
 285 otro. E fue esta la razon, ca assy ensuzio e enflamo e enoio al primero con sus palabras que leuanto se de la confession e non le quiso oyr fasta el fin aquellas abhominaciones. E assy fizo el segundo e el terçero e el quarto e el quinto. Callando se yuan e nunca quisieron reuelar esta confession, por que de la parte de los confessores que oyan aquella confession sacramental era, magera que el
 290 diablo la fazia. Entonçe santo Domingo era en el convento presente. Allego se a

²⁹ The translator seems not to have realized that *se* refers to Moses.

³⁰ See above, p. 41.

³¹ This word is crossed out in the manuscript but, I think, by a later hand.

el el sacristan, querellando se contra los sacerdotes, porque çinco non pudieron
 oyr vn peccador. Dixo al bendito padre santo Domingo e dixo le, Mas grande
 scandalo es; predican los frayres sacerdotes penitencia e non quieren a los
 peccadores poner penitencia. E leuanto se padre Domingo de la lection e
 295 oration < e contemplation >, pienso que sabidor ya de aquel negoçio, [e
 contemplaua lo] ³² e vino oyr la confession del diablo. E como entro en la
 yglesia, allego se a el el diablo e luego lo conosçio el santo padre e dixo le, O
 maligno spiritu, ¿por que tientas, prueuas, los sieruos de dios con esta enfingida
 piadad? E maltraxe lo muy dura mente, e el diablo alli luego desaparesçio e
 300 dexo la eglesia con gran (f. 88r) fedor, olor de piedra sufre. E luego fue aplacado
 el sacristan sobre el desden [que el diablo demostraua e escarnio] ³³ contra los
 sacerdotes. (*Illustration*)

³² See above, p. 40.

³³ See above, p. 40.

3. *St. Antoninus (= A)*

Variants which are peculiar to A in passages where A is following the text of NW closely are indicated in the text below by italics; for the editorial principles followed here, see above, p. 44 n. 115.

Licet autem quasi tota uita beati Dominici posset dici oratio, tamen extra
 horas canonicas nouem modos seruabat orandi exterioribus actibus ad
 interiorem deuotionem excitandam. Horum primus erat inclinando se ante
 altare profunde capite et renibus, ac si per altare significaretur Christus, ante
 5 quem se humiliari ostendebat, sciens quia oratio humiliantis se *penetrat nubes*.
 Sic et fratres admonebat inclinari, cum transiret ante ymaginem crucifixi
 humiliati pro nobis.

Secundus modus orandi exterior erat prostratus totus in terram super faciem
 suam, sicut et Christus in orto orans procidit in faciem suam, cum sanguineum
 10 sudorem emisit. Et in corde suo compunctus ac seipsum erubescens, aliquando

1 quasi tota] tota U (quasi *postea a librario post tota additum*) 3 excitandam] extimandam U
 5 humiliantis] humilitatis U 6 transiret sic codd., sed *potius legendum est* transirent

4 *profunde*: cf. B 17. This interpretation of *humiliando* is in accordance with the Dominican rubrics requiring a profound inclination before the altar and at the Gloria (Humbert's edition of the Dominican constitutions I 2, AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 37r; Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order* [cited above, p. 10 n. 35], p. 206).

Christus: Antoninus seems to have misunderstood NW at this point.

9-10 Mt 26:39; Lc 22:44. Not in NW.

etiam alte dicebat, Deus propitius esto michi peccatori. Et iterum in psalmo, Quoniam humiliata est in puluere anima nostra, conglutinator est in terra uenter noster. Et ad hunc fratres exhortans modum inducebat exemplum magorum, qui procidentes adorauerunt puerum Yesum, adiciens quod et si ipsi
 15 peccata non haberent, pro aliis reducibilibus ad penitentiam exorarent.

Tertius modus erat stando erectus et cum disciplina se in spatulis cum cathena percutiendo dicens, Disciplina tua correxit me in finem etc. Et in memoriam et imitationem aliqualem huius exempli statuit ordo in profestis diebus disciplinas dari uirgulis ligneis cum psalmo Miserere pro peccatis suis et
 20 alienis pro elemosinis eis collatis.

Quartus modus erat genuflectendi seu genuflexiones frequentandi, sicut leprosus euangelicus secundum Marcum genuflexus ante Yesum dicebat, Domine si uis potes me mundare. Et Stephanus positus genibus in terram orabat dicens, Domine Yesu, suscipe spiritum meum et ne statuas illis hoc peccatum.
 25 Et non poterat continere aliquando uocem suam sed audiebatur a fratribus dicens, Ad te domine *clamaui*, deus meus ne sileas a me etc. Quandoque loquebatur in corde et uox penitus non audiebatur, et quiescebat in genuflexione stupefactus animo aliquando diu ualde. Et aliquando uidebatur in ipso modo aspectus eius intellectu penetrasse celum, atque cito uidebatur
 30 exhilaratus gaudio et extergens lacrimas defluentes, et multum compositae atque agiler mouebatur *etiam* sursum erigendo se et genuflectendo.

Quintus modus orandi est quia stabat aliquando erectus ante altare toto corpore super pedes suos non appodiat nec herens alicui rei, habens aliquando ante pectus suum manus expansas ad modum libri aperti. Et ita se
 35 habebat in modo standi quasi ante deum legeret ualde reuerenter et deuote. Et uidebatur tunc in oratione meditari eloquia dei et uelut sibi ipsi dulciter enarrare. Ad quod facit illud psalmi exemplum, Stetit Finees et orauit et cessauit quassatio. Quandoque iungebat manus inuicem extendens fortiter ante oculos complosas, constringens seipsum, et *aliquando* manus ad humeros sicut moris
 40 est sacerdotis cum celebrat missam, ac si uellet aures figere ad aliquid *percipiendum diligentius*.

14 quod] quin *U* 22-24 dicebat ... Yesu *om. U* 24 peccatum] peccatum. Actis. *U*
 25 continere ... suam] continere aliquando uocem suam continere *U* 32 aliquando erectus]
 erectus aliquando *V*

12 A restores the Vulgate reading here, against NW.

16 *erectus*: this detail is added by A, presumably as an interpretation of NW *surgens de terra*. The usual Dominican practice was to receive the discipline *prostratus* (AGOP XIV L 1, fol. 8r; F. M. Guerrini, ed., *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* [Rome, 1921], §482) – i.e., kneeling down and bending forwards (Humbert of Romans, ed. Berthier, 2.161).

Sextus modus est quod aliquando manibus et ulnis expansis ad similitudinem crucis uehementer extensus et rectus secundum *possibilitatem suam*; quo modo orauit quando suscitauit Neapoleonem *a mortuis* Rome in ecclesia sancti Sixti.
 45 Eleuatus etiam a terra fuit ab astantibus uisus. Hoc modo Christus orauerat, quando pendens in cruce cum lacrimis et clamore ualido secundum apostolum ad Hebreos exauditus est pro sua reuerentia. Et illud psalmi, Tota die expandi ad te manus meas.

Septimus modus erat quod aliquando orando totus erigebatur ad celum per
 50 modum sagitte electe de archu extenso proiecte sursum in directum, eleuatis manibus sursum supra caput fortiter extensis atque coniunctis inuicem, uel aliquantulum ampliatis quasi ad aliquid recipiendum de celo. Et creditur quod augebatur *tunc ei gratia* et rapiebatur et impetrabat a deo pro ordine dona et gratias. In illo autem modo orandi sanctus pater non diu stabat, sed reuertebatur
 55 in seipsum quasi de longinquo ueniens et uelut peregrinus mundo uidebatur. Orans autem sic aliquando auditus est a fratribus dicens, Exaudi uocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te, dum extollo manus meas ad templum sanctum tuum.

Octauus modus erat quod post horas canonicas uel sumptionem cibi et gratias
 60 delibutus spiritu deuotionis quem hauserat ex diuinis uerbis dictis in horis uel in lectione mense cito ponebat se ad locum aliquem solitudinis in cella uel alibi ut legeret uel oraret, et sedebat quietus et expandebat librum aliquem ante faciem suam munitus signo crucis et legebat, et afficiebatur mente dulciter ac si audiret dominum loquentem sicut *in psalmo dicitur*, Audiam quid loquatur in me
 65 dominus deus. Et quasi cum sotio disputaret, nutibus et mente, modo impatiens uidebatur, modo quietus auditor, disceptare et luctari et arridere simul et flere et *intuitum figere* et submittere et iterum loqui silenter et pectus tundere. Mos iste erat uiro dei ex lectione superferri ad orationem et ex meditatione ad contemplationem. Et cum solitarius legeret, uenerabatur librum, inclinabat se
 70 libro, et aliquando obsculabatur, precipue euangelia. Aliquando ponebat faciem in manibus, quandoque caputio uelabat.

Nonus modus est quando discurrebat de patria ad patriam, maxime in locis solitariis, ludebat cum meditationibus suis, dicens aliquando sotiis, Scriptum est in Osee, ducam eam in solitudine et loquar ad cor eius. Unde et a sotio
 75 declinabat uel preibat uel potius sequebatur eum a longe. Et *mos erat* ei in tali oratione *et meditatione* ac si abigeret fauillas *uel* muscas a facie sua et muniebat sepe se signo crucis. Et putabant fratres quod in isto modo orandi pater sanctus adeptus sit medullam intelligentie sacrorum eloquiorum.

Ex hiis modis orandiprehenditur quia uere hic homo iustus erat. Multum
 80 autem ualet oratio iusti, inquit Iacobus, quinto capitulo, assidua.

44 suscitauit] resuscitauit SV (sed cf. NW 119) 77 se om. U 80 quinto capitulo] capitulo quinto V assidua om. U

4. *Bartholomew of Modena* (=B)

In the absence of the manuscript, I have simply reproduced the text of E. Dupré Theseider (cf. above, p. 2 n. 3). In the apparatus fontium I indicate passages drawn from or related to NW, scriptural citations not drawn from NW and, where I have been able to do so, I have suggested likely sources for B's extra material.

Ma avvenga gli sancti doctores pongano e diffiniscano altamente di la oratione, nondimeno non specificano i diversi acti gli quali po' l'omo fare in essa oratione gli quali usava questo santo, a lui specialmente concessi da lo omnipotente Iddio particolarmente. Gli quali acti se non incitassero a divotione
 5 non gli haveria trovato mai sancto Dominico. Dico questi acti divoti esteriori hanno molto a muovere l'animo di lo orante. Negli quali era questo santo tanto assiduo e frequente, che non poteva refrenare che non dimostrasse per gli membri esteriori lo fervore e magno impeto di lo spirito suo. Unde gli fu
 10 tanto erano gli forti pianti e gli cordiali mugiti che gettava, dagli quali non se poteva abstenire, sì come anche non poteva per questo in quello tempo celebrare.

Oltra dunque gli acti che haveva lo beato Dominico comuni ne la messa, gli quali erano di summa devotione, orava non dimeno secretamente in diversi
 15 modi, gli quali modi furono saputi dagli primi frati gli quali curiosamente observavano quello, ovvero anche furono soi compagni.

Lo primo modo dunque era che orava inclinato alquanto profondo con le mani cancellate sopra le ginocchia in questo modo: (*Illustration*) lo quale anche modo servava quando se dice in choro a la sacratissima Trinitade, Gloria Patri
 20 et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Et insegnava questo nondimeno agli frati soi, inducendo quello dicto di Iudith, Sempre piacque a te, O Signore, la oratione degli humili e la preghiera degli mansueti.

Lo secondo era che orava prosternato longo disteso in terra con le braccia aperte e con lo capo similmente ovvero la fronte in terra, quasi indigno di
 25 vedere lo cielo ovvero la imagine di Iddio in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Et come

1-8 NW 1-19. 8-12 Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* 30.112. 13-15 NW 20-23. 15-16 Bologna canon. proc. §§20, 31; MOPH 1.79. 17-22 NW 25-37. 23-36 NW 40-50.

17-18 Perhaps Bartholomew was thinking of the Dominican inclination *usque ad genua* (cf. Humbert of Romans, ed. Berthier, 2.160).

vergognoso verso la divina maestade insieme con lo publicano diceva
 humilmente, Sii, O Iddio, a me propitio, lo quale sono magno peccatore. Et
 anche diceva con David, Io sono quello lo quale ha peccato, niuno ha offeso più
 di me, io solo merito esser punito, io solo ho commesso la iniquitate. E poi
 30 sottogiungeva, Io non sono digno vedere l'altitudine di lo cielo per la
 moltitudine di la iniquitate mia, perchè io ho provocato l'ira tua et ho mal
 operato ne lo tuo conspecto. Et anche diceva, Gli è umiliata in terra ovvero ne
 la polverè l'anima nostra, e lo ventre nostro è accostato a la terra. L'anima mia
 s'è accostata a lo pavimento; dammi vita O Signore secundo lo verbo tuo. Et in
 35 questa oratione sì come quasi in tutte le altre piangeva fortemente, lo quale
 haveva facto di li occhi suoi uno torrente di comune lacrime.

Lo terzo modo era che orava ingenocchiato et inclinato tenendo giunte le
 mani e lo volto in questo modo: (*Illustration*) e diceva quello psalmo di David,
 Venite, exultemo a lo Signore, iubilemo a lo Iddio salvatore nostro, e copriamo
 40 ovvero occupiamo la faccia di quello in confessione, e negli psalmi iubilemo a
 quello, perocchè Iddio è magno signore ed è re magno sopra gli dii. Insegnando
 etiam questo agli frati soi, che orassero similmente a Cristo come fecero gli
 magi.

Lo quarto è che orava stando dritto con le mani aperte. Et allora risguardava
 45 fisso ne lo Crucifisso in questo modo: (*Illustration*) e diceva con David, Illumina
 O Signore gli occhi miei, a ciò mai io non dorma ne la morte, e non dica lo
 inimico mio, Io ho avuto finalmente victoria contro di costui.

Lo quinto è che tre volte ogni notte se desponeva nudo, e con una catena di
 ferro se flagellava duramente: una volta per gli peccati soi, l'altra per gli
 50 peccatori di questo mondo, la terza per le anime di purgatorio, avvenga anche
 non di meno portasse di continuo a la carne una catena di ferro cinta, in questo
 modo: (*Illustration*) Et allora diceva quelle davidiche parole, La disciplina tua, O
 Signore, mi ammagistrerà, la tua disciplina mi correggerà finalmente; avvenga
 questo glorioso santo, quanto ho potuto diligentemente comprendere,
 55 trascorrendo la sua leggenda e con sollecitudine intendendo quella, mai non
 facesse uno grave peccato veniale, però che dagli mortali fu sempre alieno.

Lo sesto è che orava stando ingenocchiato inclinando lo volto sopra la terra
 con le braccia anche aperte, facendo allora con massima fatica molta violentia a

34-36 Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* 30.112. 38-43 NW 50-54. 39-41 Ps 94:1-3.
 44-45 NW 69-70. 46-47 Ps 12:4-5. 48-49 NW 60. 49-50 Dietrich, *Libellus*, §220.
 51 Bologna canon. proc. §31. 52-53 NW 61. 53 Cf. T 60-61. 55-56 Bologna canon.
 proc. §§5 etc.

37-38 Cf. the Dominican *genuflexio proclivis* (ibid. 2.161).

tutte le sue forze e potentie de lo suo corpo, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Et allora diceva, Io ho chiamato a te, O Signore, essendo negli profondi; exaudisci, O Signore, la oratione mea, siano le tue orecchie attente ne la voce de la mia preghiera. Se tu, O Signore, riserverai la iniquitate, chi potrà da poi sostenere?

Lo septimo è che orava stando tutto dritto levando alquanto gli occhi verso lo cielo, come quando fece vedere lo dimonio in forma di uno magno gatto, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Ma non potevano li compagni allora comprendere ciò che dicesse, excepto che stava con molta gravitate.

L'octavo modo è che orava geniculando ovvero moltiplicando le genuflexioni, non solo la nocte cento volte come leggemo di Bartholomeo apostolo, ma durava alcuna volta da la sera sino a la mezza nocte, ora levandosi ora ingenuocchiandose, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Alguna volta non di meno ingenuocchiato riposava, e stava per lungo spacio quasi attonito e stupefacto, e pareva uno cherubino lo quale havesse penetrato lo cielo, rimanendo tutto ilarato e pieno di gaudio. Et allora ricreato da Iddio ritornava a le genuflexioni. Ne le quali hebbe tanta consuetudine e continuo exercicio, che quando gli compagni si riposavano ne lo cammino, esso, come ad una sua arte et usancia e natura, e come ad uno suo singolare ministerio, reverente se esercitava in quelle e diceva, A te, O Signore, ho levato gli occhi miei lo quale habiti in cielo, ecco l'anima mia ha in te confidentia, O Signore; e simili altre devotioni.

Lo nono è che orava tenendo le mani expante avante lo petto, quasi in modo di uno libro aperto, ed alcuna volta congiungeva le mani in modo come comunemente se dipinge la Madre di Dio, la quale piange lo figliolo crucifisso appresso la croce, et alcuna volta le mane expante agli omeri, li quali tre modi appaiono in queste tre figure: (*Illustration*) E stava tutto ammirativo come se aspectasse responsione di la sua richiesta, ovvero come fanno quegli, gli quali parlano e rispondano insieme. Unde chi havesse veduto allora questo santo, secundo che riferiscono gli soi santi compagni, gli pareva vedere uno propheta a cui rivelasse Iddio occultamente magni secreti, ovvero anche havesse parlato con un angelo di alcuno misterio. Lo quale alcuna volta furava lo tempo ed anche lo luogo per potersi exercitare, quando era in cammino, negli dicti modi. E da poi se accompagnava con gli compagni, e parlava altissimamente quasi come un altro degli facti e conditione di Dio.

Lo decimo modo è che orava stando tutto dritto con lo corpo tenendo le braccia aperte come sta lo Salvatore su la croce in questo modo: (*Illustration*) lo quale modo non usava non di meno, excepto quando richiedeva a Dio magne cose. E persuadendo agli altri che non orassero in quello modo, excepto per

60-62 Ps 129:1-3. 64-65 Dietrich, *Libellus*, §44. 65-66 NW 131. 67-78 NW 69-90.
68 Cf. above, p. 56. 77 Ps 122:1. 77-78 Ps 56:2. 79-90 NW 93-108. 92-97 NW 116-118, 127-129, 140-141.

cose quali fossero difficili. E diceva allora con David, Io ho chiamato a te, O Signore, tutto lo giorno, ho espanto a te le mie mani, e simile.

Lo undecimo è che orava levandose su le sommità degli piedi tenendo le mani levate e giunte sopra lo capo, quasi come sagitta la quale fusse con impeto
 100 gettata in cielo, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Ne lo qual modo non molto dimorava, ma dopo alquanto ritornava in sè, come fusse venuto di longa via e di paese longinquo, e come cittadino celestiale peregrino in questo mundo. Et era udito ne lo dicto modo che diceva, Exaudisci Signore la voce di la mia oratione di mentre ch'io oro a te, di mentre ch'io levo le mie mani a lo tuo santo
 105 tempio; et entri ne lo tuo cospetto la mia oratione e la levatione di le mie mani sia a te sacrificio vespertino.

Lo duodecimo è che orava tenendo uno libro davante, segnandose con lo signo de la croce con grande reverentia, et in quello leggeva come se havesse parlato con Iddio con grande attentione, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) e diceva,
 110 Udirò quello che parlerà in me lo Signore Iddio. Da poi pareva che disputasse con uno compagno, interrogando e rispondendo a quello, mò alterato, mò quêtato, mò ridendo, mò piangendo, mò firmando lo suo aspecto ne lo libro, mò rimuovendo quello, mò percotendose lo petto, mò silentemente parlando. E molto anche venerava lo libro, unde inclinandose quello basava. Et alcuna volta
 115 ascondeva la faccia da lo libro, et alcuna volta se la poneva ne le mani ovvero ne l'asta de lo scapolario. E poi come pieno di affecto, lo quale rendesse grazie ad una persona eccellente di benefici ricevuti, con reverentia se levava da lo libro. Da poi si inclinava a quello come in sè facto quieto, e da capo leggeva ne lo libro.

120 Lo tertidecimo modo è che orava ingenocchiato, avvenga pare non fusse molte volte, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) Et allora era udito che diceva, Exaudisci Signore la mia oratione quando ti prego e libera l'anima mia dal timore degli inimici. E come fusse exaudito tutto ilarato sottogiungeva, Tu m'ai defensato da la congregatione degli maligni, e dalla moltitudine di quegli i quali
 125 sono operatori de la iniquitate.

Lo quartodecimo modo è che orava spogliato nudo et ingenocchiato, e facevasi disciplinare ad uno frate, secundo che si crede nominato Ispano, lo quale fu uno degli examinatori ovvero de' delegati di lo papa sopra la sanctitade

98-106 NW 151-153, 182-191. 98 Bologna canon. proc. §31. 107-119 NW 194-218. 122-125 Ps 63:2-3. 126-129 Bologna canon. proc. §25.

126-132 This is evidently a very garbled account of the testimony of John of Spain, who was one of the witnesses, not one of the papal delegates, and who expressly denies ever having beaten Dominic; he merely reports that he has heard from others that Dominic had made them beat him.

- di questo santo, in questo modo: (*Illustration*) lo quale frate referì questo, dicendo che di mentre era disciplinato, che orava tenendo le braccia cortese (?) dicendo quello psalmo, Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. E credo per questo sia introducto in questo ordine consuetudine, che certi tempi uno frate disciplina tutti gli altri insieme congregati, a ciò almeno possano per alcuno modo partecipare de le discipline di lo suo padre. Ma se debbe molto
 130 notare, che in tutti li predicti modi li quali usava santo Dominico ne la oratione, sempre piangeva e spargeva abundantia di lacrime, et etiam impetrava ciò che dimandava. Lo quale neanche se moveva da quella per qualunque impedimento ovvero turbatione.
 135

131-134 NW 60-64. 136-137 Dietrich, *Libellus*, §§205, 219. 137-138 Bologna canon. proc. §43; Dietrich, *Libellus*, §171.

5. Taegio (= T)

The text of NW, as found in Taegio, *De insigniis* (AGOP XIV 54), is given here in full. Variants which have not already featured in the apparatus criticus (i.e., which appear to be simply aberrations in T) are italicized; Taegio's omissions are marked with an asterisk (*), and his additions are indicated by {}. To complete the dossier, I also give the text of the two exempla from the *Chronica brevis* (AGOP XIV 53, fols. 14v-15r).

AGOP XIV 54

- (f. 45r) A sanctis doctoribus *Ambrosio, Augustino, Leone*, Gregorio, Hilario, Isidoro, Joanne Chrisostomo, (*) Joanne Damasceno (*) et aliis *doctoribus devotissimis*, grecis et latinis, (*) dictum est de oratione, quantum ad eius comendationem, descriptionem, necessitatem, utilitatem, (*) modum et preparationem, insuper et impedimenta. Sed et gloriosus ac venerabilis doctor sanctus Thomas de Aquino, frater Gulielmus et frater Albertus ordinis predicatorum in suis libris in tractatu de virtutibus *notabiliter* et scientifice, (*) devote et pulcre prosecuti sunt. Tamen de modo orandi secundum quod anima exercet membra corporis ut ipsa devotius feratur in Deum, ut anima movens (*)
 5 removeretur a corpore et fiat quandoque in extasi ut Paulus, quandoque in agonia ut Salvator, quandoque in excessu mentis ut David propheta, secundum quem modum sepe b < e > atus Dominicus orabat, hic aliquid dicendum est. Nam {viri} sancti veteris (*) testamenti inveniuntur taliter orasse. Talis (*)
 10 modus orandi excitat devotionem alternatim ex anima in corpus et ex corpore

15 in animam. Et iste modus faciebat *beatum* Dominicum resolvi {se} in *lachrimas vehementer* et accendebat fervorem bone voluntatis in tantum ut mens cohibere non posset quin devotionem membra corporis {non} manifestarent certis inditiis. Unde ipsa vi mentis orantis quandoque surgebat in postulationes, obsecrationes ac gratiarum actiones.

20 Modi autem orandi preter illos modos quos habebat devotissimos et communes in celebratione misse et decantatione psalmodie, ubi videbatur subito (*) rapi supra (*) et confabulari cum Deo et angelis in horis canonicis sive in choro sive in itinere, fuerunt isti.

Primus modus fuit videlicet {quando} humiliando se *coram* altare, ac si
 25 Christus per altare *significans* realiter et personaliter *ibi esset*, non *tamen* in signo, iuxta illud, Oratio humiliantis se penetrat *celos*. Dicebat aliquando fratribus illud Judith, Humilium et mansuetorum *semper tibi* placuit deprecatio. Humilitate obtinuit Cananea quod voluit et filius prodigus. Sed et, Ego non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum. Humilia (*) valde spiritum meum, nam (*)
 30 ante te humiliatus sum usquequaque. Et sic pater sanctus erecto corpore inclinabat caput suum et renes humi capiti suo (*), considerans servilitatem suam et Christi excellentiam, (*) totum se dans in eius reverentiam {ut hic figuratur. (Locus figure)} Et hoc docebat *a fratribus fieri* dum transirent ante humiliationem Crucifixi, ut Christus pro nobis humiliatus maxime videret nos
 35 humiliatos sue majestati. Item toti Trinitati mandabat (*) *se* humiliari cum solemniter diceretur Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto {in divino officio}. Et iste modus ut (f. 45v) descriptus (*) in {prescripta} figura erat precipuus devotionis eius {modus} in inclinando profunde.

Secundus modus {hic erat}. Orabat (*) sepe {Christi confessor et doctor
 40 sanctus} beatus {pater noster} Dominicus *in terram se proiciendo* pronum super faciem suam {ut hic figuratur (locus + figure)} et *erubescibat semetipsum et compungebatur in corde suo* et dicebat, aliquando ita alte ut etiam audiretur, illud evangelicum, Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori. Et pie *ac* reverenter et verecunde satis memorabat *illud* David dicentis, Ego sum qui peccavi, (*) qui
 45 inique egi. Et flebat atque gemebat fortiter. Et postea dicebat, Non sum dignus videre altitudinem celi pre multitudine iniquitatis mee, quoniam irritavi iram tuam et malum coram te feci. Et de (*) psalmo, Deus auribus nostris audivimus, fortiter et devote dicebat, Quoniam humiliata est in pulvere anima nostra, adhesit in terra venter noster. Et iterum, Adhesit pavimento anima mea (*).
 50 Volens (*) aliquando docere fratres *quod* reverenter deberent orare dicebat eis, Magi illi devoti reges intrantes domum invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius; certum est (*) quod invenimus *Deum hominem* cum Maria ancilla eius, venite adoremus et procidamus ante Deum, ploremus coram Domino qui fecit nos. Juvenes etiam hortabatur dicens, Si non potestis flere *pro peccatis vestris*
 55 quia non habetis, sunt tamen multi peccatores ordinabiles ad misericordiam et

charitatem, propter quos prophete et apostoli gemuerunt, propter quod videns eos *Jesus* flevit amare, et sanctus David (*) flebat dicens, Vidi prevaricantes et tabescebam {quia mandata tua non custodierunt}.

Ista de causa *surgens de terra recipiebat* de cathena ferrea disciplinam de qua
 60 supra dictum est dicens, Disciplina tua correxit me in finem {et disciplina tua ipsa me docebit}. Unde et totus {predicatorum} ordo statuit *ut* omnes fratres in memoriam exempli sancti {patris nostri} Dominici essent orantes et dicentes {psalmum} Miserere mei Deus {secundum magnam misericordiam tuam} et reciperent omnibus profestis diebus post completorium de virgulis ligneis super
 65 dorso nudo {unam} disciplinam (*) pro suis culpis propriis sive pro alienis *de quorum* elemosinis vivunt. Unde ab hoc sancto exemplo nullus quantumcumque innocens *se absentare debet*. Cuius *figura exempli* {gratia} *hec* est. (Locus + figure)

Post hec sanctus {pater} Dominicus ante altare sive in capitulo, fixo vultu ad
 70 Crucifixum, firmo intuitu *aspiciebat in* eum genua flectens iterum atque iterum sive centies, immo quandoque (*) post completorium usque ad mediam noctem, modo elevabat se, modo genuflectebat, sicut *apostolus Jacobus*, sicut leprosus evangelicus qui dicebat, Domine si vis potes me mundare, et sicut {beatus} Stephanus positus genibus clamavit voce magna dicens, Domine ne statuas illis
 75 hoc peccatum, {et sicut beatus Bartholomeus apostolus centies per diem et centies per noctem orabat Dominum}. Et fiebat in sancto patre Dominico {tunc} grandis fiducia de misericordia Dei pro se et pro cunctis peccatoribus et (*) conservatione novitiorum fratrum quos *discurrere faciebat* ad predicationem animarum. Et non poterat continere aliquando vocem suam, sed audiebatur a
 80 fratribus dicens, Ad te Domine clamabo, Deus meus ne sileas a me etc., et quedam similia *verba divine scripture*. Quandoque *etiam* loquebatur in corde (*) et vox penitus non audiebatur et quiescebat in genuflexione *stupens* animo aliquando diu valde. Et aliquando videbatur in ipso modo aspectus (*) *penetrare celos* atque cito videbatur exhilaratus gaudio et extergens lachrimas defluentes.
 85 Et *flebat* in magno desiderio quasi {cervus} sitiens cum *pervenit* ad fontem et sicut peregrinus cum iam est prope patriam. Et prevalebat et invalescebat et multum composite atque agiliter movebatur (*) sursum erigendo se, (*) genuflectendo, et in tantum *assuetus* erat *genuflectere* ut in itinere in hospitibusque post labores viarum, (*) in viis etiam aliis *quiescentibus et*
 90 *dormientibus* quasi ad quandam *artem suam* et suum singulare ministerium reverenter ad genuflexiones {recurrebat}. Et hoc exemplo plus faciens quam *docens* docebat fratres hoc modo. (Locus + figure)

Stabat etiam aliquando erectus sanctus pater Dominicus ante altare cum esset in conventu, *errectus toto corpore* super pedes suos non apodiatu nec
 95 erens alicui rei, habens aliquando ante pectus suum manus *extensas* ad modum libri aperti. Et ita se habebat in modo standi quasi ante *Dominum* legeret valde

reverenter et devote. Et videbatur tunc in ore meditari eloquia Dei et velut sibi ipsi dulciter enarrare. Habituaverat enim sibi illum Domini modum qui in Luca legitur, scilicet quod intravit Jesus secundum consuetudinem suam die sabbati
 100 in sinagogam et surrexit legere. Et in psalmo dicitur, Stetit Phinees et oravit et cessavit quassatio. Et quandoque jungebat manus invicem extendens fortiter ante oculos complosas (f. 46r) constringens *se ipsum*, et quandoque manus ad humeros sicut moris est sacerdotis *quando* celebrat missam, ac si vellet aures
 105 existimasses, si vidisses devotionem stantis et orantis, videre prophetam cum angelo vel cum Deo modo loquentem, modo audientem, modo cogitantem silenter de hiis que sibi revelata fuissent. *Et* si quando erat in itinere furabatur latenter subito tempus orandi *totaque* mente stans subito intendebat in celum; et cito audisses eum dulcissime loquentem ac delicatissime aliquod suave verbum
 110 de medula et adipe sacre scripture, quod *hausisse videbatur* de fontibus Salvatoris. Et hoc exemplo valde fratres movebantur (*) aspectu patris sui et magistri (*) *devotionis* optime {et} instruebantur ad orandum reverenter et continue, sicut oculi ancille in manibus domine sue et sicut oculi servorum in manibus dominorum suorum, ut *in infrascripta figura* patet. (Locus + figure)
 115 Visus est *aliquando etiam* orare sanctus pater Dominicus, sicut a vidente audiivi auribus meis, manibus et ulnis expansis ad similitudinem crucis vehementer *extensis*, stans rectus secundum suam possibilitatem. Hoc modo oravit quando suscitavit Deus oratione sua puerum Neapoleonem Rome in Sancto Sixto in loco sacristie et in ecclesia in celebratione misse, quando
 120 elevatus est a terra, sicut narravit illa devota et sancta soror Cecilia, que presens erat et vidit cum alia multitudine, sicut et Helias quando suscitavit filium vidue expandit se *et* mensus est super puerum. Similiter oravit quando juxta Tholosam liberavit peregrinos de Anglia de *submersionis periculo* fluminis, ut supra dictum est. Hoc modo oravit Dominus pendens in cruce, scilicet *expansis*
 125 manibus et ulnis (*) cum clamore valido et lachrimis {et} exauditus est pro sua reverentia. Nec istum modum frequentabat vir Dei sanctus Dominicus, sed cum aliquid grande et mirabile fieri cognovisset inspiratus a Deo virtute orationis. Nec prohibebat fratres {suos} sic orare nec (*) suadebat.

Et cum puerum illum suscitavit orando *sic* et stando expansis manibus et
 130 brachiis *in* modum crucis, nescimus quid dixerit. Forte dixit illud verbum Helie, Domine Deus revertatur obsecro anima pueri huius in viscera eius, sicut etiam modum eius servavit in orando. Sed fratres et sorores et domini cardinales *ceterique* attendentes ad modum orandi eius inconsuetum et mirabile
 135 {aliquid} *de hiis interrogare* sanctum illum et admirabilem Dominicum, quia in hoc facto valde exhibuit se eis *mirabilem* tremendum{que} *ac* venerandum.

- Illa vero verba *de quibus* in psalterio *fit mentio* de isto modo orandi ponderose, graviter et mature proferrebat atque attente: (*) Domine Deus salutis mee, in die clamavi et nocte coram te, usque ibi, Clamavi ad te, (*) tota die expandi ad te manus meas, usque *in finem*. Et iterum, Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem, in veritate tua exaudi me in tua justitia etc., usque ibi, Expandi *ad te manus*, anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi etc. Per hoc poterit quilibet *orator devotus* intelligere hujus {sancti} patris doctrinam in orando hoc modo cum vellet in Deum *moveri mirabiliter* virtute orationis, vel potius cum sentiret ex occulta inspiratione se a Deo magnifice moveri ad singularem gratiam sive pro se sive pro alio, fultus ex doctrina David {sancti}, ex significatione Helie {prophete}, ex charitate {Domini nostri Jesu} Christi et ex devotione {sancti patris nostri} Dominici, ut in hac *patet figura*. (Locus + figure)
- 150 Inveniebatur nihilominus sepe orando erigi totus ad celum per modum sagite electe de archu extenso projecte sursum in directum, elevatis manibus sursum *super* caput fortiter {manibus} extensis atque conjunctis invicem, vel aliquantulum ampliatis quasi ad aliquid *accipiendum* de celo. Et creditur quod *ei tunc augebatur gratia* et rapiebatur et impetrabat a Deo pro ordine quem
- 155 inceperat dona Spiritus Sancti et suavitates et delectationes in actibus beatitudinum sibi et fratribus, ut in altissima paupertate, in amaro luctu, in gravi persecutione, in multa esurie et siti justitie, in anxia misericordia quilibet reputaret se beatum, et ut in servandis preceptis, in perficiendis *evangelicis consiliis* devoti {et} delectabiliter se haberent. Videbatur tunc ingredi sanctus
- 160 pater raptim in sancta sanctorum et in tertium celum, unde et post illam orationem sive in corripiendo sive in dispensando sive in predicando more prof(f. 46v)phetico se habebat, ut supra in *miraculis est memoratum*.
- Non diu stabat sanctus pater in illo orandi modo*, se < d > revertebatur in seipsum, quasi de longinquo veniens et velut peregrinus {in} mundo videbatur,
- 165 quod faciliter perpendi poterat in aspectu eius et moribus. Veruntamen orans clare aliquando auditus est a fratribus ita dicens ut propheta dicebat, Exaudi vocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te, dum extollo manus meas ad templum sanctum tuum. Et docebat verbo et exemplo sanctus magister fratres {suos} sic orare, dicens illud psalmi, Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum omnes servi
- 170 Domini, {qui statis in domo Domini, in atriis domus Dei nostri,} in noctibus extollite manus vestras in sancta et benedicite Dominum. Et illud, Domine clamavi ad te, exaudi me, intende voci {orationis} mee dum clamavero ad te, elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Quod ut melius intelligatur {hoc} subscripta figura docet. (Locus + figure)
- 175 Erat nempe sancto patri Dominico et alius orandi modus pulcher, devotus {et sanctus} *ac* gratus. Post horas quippe canonicas et post gratiarum actiones que communiter post *cibi sumptionem* fiunt, sobrius et delibutus {sanctus} pater spiritu

devotionis, quem spiritum hauserat ex divinis verbis que cantabantur in choro seu (*) refectione, cito ponebat se ad locum aliquem solitudinis in cella vel alibi
 180 ut legeret vel oraret consistendo secum et stando cum Deo. Et sedebat quietus expandebatque librum aliquem ante faciem suam signo crucis munitus et legebat et afficiebatur mente {valde} dulciter, ac si audiret Dominum loquentem {sibi} sicut dicitur in psalmo, Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus, quoniam loquetur pacem in plebem suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui
 185 convertuntur ad cor. Et quasi cum sotio disputaret nutibus et (*) modo inpatiens videbatur, modus quietus auditor, disceptare et luctari et arridere simul et flere et figere intuitum et submittere et iterum loqui silenter et tundere pectus. Si aliquis curiosus voluisset eum videre latenter, videbatur (*) sanctus pater Dominicus sicut Moyses qui intrasset in interiora deserti et conspiceret rubum
 190 ardentem et Deum loquentem et se humiliantem. Mos enim propheticus iste viro Dei erat cito ex lectione superferri ad orationem, ex oratione ad meditationem et ex meditatione ad contemplationem. Etiam quum sic solitarius legeret, venerabatur librum et inclinabat {se} libro et osculabatur (*) librum, maxime si erat codex evangelii vel si legeret verba que Christus ore suo
 195 protulerat. Quandoque vero fatiem abscondebat et avertebat a libro vel deponebat fatiem in manibus suis aut modicum velabat cum caputio suo. Et etiam tunc fiebat totus anxius et plenus desiderio et etiam quasi redderet gratias persone excellenti de receptis beneficiis modicum reverenter assurgendo et inclinando totusque refertus et quietus factus in se ipso iterum {sedebat et}
 200 legebat in libro, {ut plenius patet in hac figura}. (Locus + figure)

Istum talem modum etiam eundo de patria ad patriam servabat, maxime quum in aliqua esset solitudine et ludebat cum cogitationibus suis in contemplatione sua, et dicebat aliquando sotiis in itinere, Scriptum est in Osee, Ducam eam in solitudine et loquar ad cor eius. Unde aliquando a sotiis
 205 declinabat vel preibat vel (*) sequebatur a longe, et vadens seorsum orabat et ambulabat, et in meditatione ipsius accendebatur ignis. Et hoc inerat ei in tali oratione, hoc est, (*) si abiceret favillas aut muscas a fatie sua, et propter hoc muniebat se sepe signo {sancte} crucis, {prout plenius patet in infrascripta figura. (Locus + figure)} Putabant autem fratres quod (*) isto orandi modo adeptus sit
 210 {pater} sanctus plenitudinem sacre scripture et medullam intelligentie eloquiorum divinorum et potestatem audacem ferventer predicandi et occultam familiaritatem Spiritus Sancti in occultis cognoscendis, {de quibus omnibus satis diffuse in superioribus dictum est locis suis congruentibus}.

AGOP XIV 53

(f. 14v) Per idem tempus accidit Bononie quod diabolus venit ad conventum fratrum in modum juvenis habentis mores lascivos et vanos et petiit confessorem. Et adducti sunt alternatim quinque confessores, modo unus,

modo alius. Et fuit hec causa, quia ita fecit et male inflammavit primum ex suis
 5 verbis, qui surrexit ab auditione confessionis et noluit audire usque in finem
 abominationes illas. Similiter fecit secundus, tertius, quartus et quintus. Silenter
 autem recedebant et numquam voluerunt hanc confessionem revelare quia ex
 parte illorum qui audierant sacramentalis erat. Tunc beatus Dominicus a
 10 sacrista accersitus querulo contra sacerdotes eo quod quinque unum non
 potuerunt audire penitentem; et adiecit, Scandalum magnum, predicant fratres
 sacerdotes penitentiam et eam peccatoribus imponere nolunt. Et surrexit pater
 sanctus a lectione, puto negotii non ignarus, et venit audire confessionem
 diaboli. Cum ergo intrasset ecclesiam, accessit ad eum diabolus; et statim
 cognovit eum pater sanctus et dixit, Cur sub hac pietate maligne spiritus
 15 temptas servos dei? Et durissime increpavit eum. Et diabolus ibidem statim
 evanuit, dimmisitque ecclesiam odore sulphuris fetidam. Et placatus est sacrista
 super indignatione contra sacerdotes.

Eodem etiam tempore in eodem conventu Bononiensi beatus Dominicus
 cum senioribus super quibusdam agendis consilium habuit. Tunc sacrista unum
 20 ex consiliariis ad ecclesiam feminarum advocavit gratia confessionis audiende,
 et dixit silenter, Una pulcra domina vocat vos, venite cito. Factus in spiritu
 beatus Dominicus agitabatur in se ipso et reveriti sunt eum consilarii. Tunc
 precepit advocari sacristam (f. 15r) et dixit illi, Quid dixisti? At ille, Petivi inquit
 sacerdotem ad ecclesiam. Et dixit, Increpa te ipsum et confitere peccatum tuum
 25 quod pervenit ad os tuum. Deus qui fecit omnia fecit quod me non laterent
 verba tua hec que putabas occulta. Et disciplinavit eum fortiter et diu, ita ut
 astantes moverentur ad compassionem. Et ait, Vade fili didicisti de cetero
 qualiter feminam intuearis fixo aspectu ut de colore non iudices. Ora et tu ut
 deus in oculis tuis faciat te pudicum. Sic cogit (!) occultum, sic corripuit fatuum,
 30 sic docuit castigatum, sicut in oratione previderat. Et admirati sunt fratres quia
 sic dixit esse faciendum.

6. *Flaminius* (= F)

The text is reproduced essentially from the printed edition of 1529, fols. LVI^v-LVII^v (cited above, pp. 5-6). I have not attempted to identify the sources, except for NW. Variants from F² are given in the apparatus (1 = F¹, 2 = F²).

Tempus et actiones suas Beatus Dominicus ita diuidebat ut partem diei daret hominibus, deo noctem, sicut nos psalmus admonet, Præcepit in die deus

1-5 tempus ... laudem *om.* 2

- misericordiam suam, idest procurationem conuersionis peccatorum per quam assequi misericordiam possent, per noctem uero Canticum suum, hoc est dei laudem. Cum hominibus autem sic uersabatur, ut nemo magis illo communis esset, nemo utilior. In uigiiliis et orationibus caeteros antecedeat. In sacrificio autem eucharistiae mira illi contingebant, cum inenarrabilem clementiam et charitatem nostri redemptoris ac benignitatem tota mente et quanta potest adhiberi cogitatione ad memoriam redigebat. Ex quo illi tanta dulcedo, tanta suaui-
 10 tas ingenerabatur, quantam neque uerbis quisquam neque cogitatione consequi posset. Quare, quando uel ipse uel se praesente alius sacrosanctam attollebat hostiam corporeis plerumque sensibus auferebatur. Adeo autem suauis erat illi Dominicae orationis prolatio, ut quicumque aderat facile intell-
 15 crebro etiam quando horas canonicas et psalmodiam celebrabat lachrymis illius facies madebat. Praeter caetera laboriosae admodum erant et lachrymosae, uerum infatigabiles, illius | uigiliae. Maximam noctis partem ducebat in-somnem. Quando autem aliquid erat quieti dandum, uel ante aliquod altare uel subiecto capiti lapide imitatus Iacob uel in funebri lecto paululum quiescebat.
 20 Postmodum expectatus altaria circuibat et sanctos illos quibus dicata erant tanquam praeceptos patronos suppliciter inuocabat. Dein uero in Cubitorium ueniebat ut dormientes coenobitas reuideret, et si quos inueniebat detectos operiebat illisque signo crucis benedicebat. Post in ecclesiam redibat ibique usque ad nocturnum officium pernoctabat, ad quod suas extendebat uigilias, et
 25 uel genibus flexis uel totus humi prostratus orabat et tanquam se non dignum putaret qui oculos attolleret aut coelum intueretur crebro dicebat, Domine propitius esto mihi peccatori, ac illud de Euangelio (!), Ego sum qui peccaui et iniquitatem feci. Hic multos daemonum patiebatur incursus atque ludibria, de quibus tamen uictoriam semper reportauit. Contra uero non deerant illi
 30 supernae illustrationes et sanctorum mirifici congressus, colloquutiones ac reuelationes. Crebro, cum oraret, conspectus est eleuatis manibus a terra sublatus. Virgineum ac innocentissimum corpus suum praeter quam quod mille modis affligebat ac macerabat, flagellis etiam ferreis durissime caedebat, et quemadmodum caeteris macerationibus reliquos anteibat, ita pluribus se

25-26 Cf. B 23-29. 26-28 NW 40-46. 31-32 Cf. NW 120-121. 33 NW 60.

7 autem *om.* 2 7-11 cum ... posset *om.* 2 11 se ... alius] alius se praesente 2
 sacrosanctam] sacram 2 15-16 crebro ... madebat *om.* 2 18 aliquid ... dandum] quieti
 aliquid dandum erat 2 19 paululum *om.* 2 22 ut ... reuideret *om.* 2 25 flexis *om.* 2
 non dignum] indignum 2 26 dicebat] dicere solebat 2 27 ac] nec non et 2 de euangelio
om. 2 28-47 hic multos ... debet *om.* 2

- 35 crebrioribusque uerberibus afficiebat, et adeo fessum ac debilitatum quandoque corpus erat ut ex lassitudine saepe cum discumberet somnus illum inuaderet. Illud etiam silentio praetereundum non est, non fuisse quenquam qui illum unquam uel sanum uel aegrotum quacunque ratione de ulla re conquerentem, nisi de flagitiis ac de miseria mortalium audierit, quorum tanta erat illi cura ut
- 40 non solum ipse pro illis corpus suum qualibet nocte durissimis uerberibus afficeret, sed frequentissime fleret. Vtque cum suos ut de aliorum quoque salute solliciti essent monebat, diceret, si propria deessent peccata quae flerent, dandas esse aliorum delictis lachrymas et ueniam illis impetrandam. Hinc institutum est ut post officium Completorium coenobitae ad psalmum Miserere mei deus, aut
- 45 De profundis clamaui, ter uirgis nudato tergo caedantur pro illorum potissimum peccatis a|quibus et per quos elemosinas accipiunt. Quare nemo quamuis sanctus ea subterfugere uerbera debet. Orabat interdum extentis quantum poterat in crucis modum brachiis. Quo quidem orandi modo Neapoleonem, cuius interitum supra descripsimus, ad uitam reuocauit. Tunc
- 50 autem quosdam de psalterio decantabat uersiculos, ut illum, Domine deus salutis meae in die clamaui et nocte coram te, et illum, Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te ueniat. Sic orabat quando uolebat singulari quodam modo totus in deum rapi, aut cum magnum aliquod moliebatur opus. Tunc spiritus in eo sancti gratia redundabat, et uel in
- 55 corrigendis, uel remittendis criminibus prophetam agebat, et latentia quorundam uitia, quae fateri nolebant, detegebat ac puniebat. Solebat etiam post horas can < on > icas et postquam a mensa surrexerat, in quendam locum secretiorem secedere ibique super iis quae dixerat uel in cibaria lectione audierat meditari. Erat etiam illi mos in itinere contemplationi uacare, propter quod iubebat
- 60 comitibus ut uel praeirent uel subsequerentur. Tunc autem mira illi aperiebantur scriptorum arcana diuinorum. Crebro etiam manu quasi muscas abigere uidebatur ac signo crucis frontem armabat et sic infestos daemones a se repellebat, quorum nullę insidiae latere illum poterant. Non tacebo quod ad hunc locum facit. Venerat daemon sumpta iuuenis forma sua confiteri uolentis

41-43 NW 54-56. 43-47 NW 61-66 47-54 NW 116-148. 54-56 NW 161-163.
 56-58 NW 195-199. 59-63 NW 220-230.

49 Neapoleonem] Neapoleanem / 56 ac puniebat *om.* 2 59-61 erat etiam ... diuinorum
om. 2 62 ac] et 2

45 *ter* must have crept in from the account of Dominic's own practice. There is no evidence that the brethren ever took the discipline three times after compline; Humbert specifies *bis* (ed. Berthier, 2.145).

- 65 delicta. Venit ad eum unus ex patribus accersitus. Is ubi audire coepit infanda libidinum flagitia confitentem pruritum sensit ingentem libidinis, propter quod turpia refugiens iritamenta eum reliquit. Venit alter ac tertius, quartus et quintus ad confitentem, qui omnes ob eandem illum causam uti pestem quandam fugerunt. Nemo tamen quid esset causae dicebat. Vbi autem
- 70 renunciatum hoc Beato Dominico fuit, ueteratoris esse hanc fraudem intelligens, sancta succensus ira uenit ad eum et, Heus tu infande diabole, sic audes Christi famulos deludere? Abi quo dignus es scelerum omnium et fraudum inuentor et artifex. Sic ille acerrime castigatus atque repulsus relicto in ecclesia ingenti fetore continuo euanuit.

65-74 NW 231-249.

66 quod *om.* 2 67 eum reliquit *om.* 2 68 illum causam] causam illum 2
 69 fugerunt] abominati sunt ac fugerunt 2 dicebat] dixerunt 2 70 hoc *om.* 2

Postscript

When it was too late to make any further alterations to my article, I received from Hilarius Barth, O. P. photographs of yet another text of NW, which he had located on the basis of information received from the Istituto Storico Domenicano, Rome. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A X 60 (saec. xv) contains an extended paraphrase of NW on fols. 160v-162v. The manuscript was evidently compiled over several years by Johannes Hohenloch, who wrote most of it himself, and it then passed to the Dominican convent of Basel. The first item is Nicholas de Hanapis, *De exemplis sacre scripture*, copied by Hohenloch at Worms in 1454; this is followed by Johannes Gobi Junior, *Historia de spiritu Guidonis*, written by Hohenloch at Bamberg in 1455. This is followed immediately by NW, in Hohenloch's hand. Thereafter there is a miscellany of sermons, dated between 1462 and 1470. There are also odd pages interspersed in different hands.

Nicholas' *Exempla* and Gobi's *Historia* were both very popular works, frequently copied, so the contents of the manuscript give us no clue as to where Hohenloch found his text of NW. And since his paraphrase involves fairly drastic rewriting, it is difficult to relate it to other manuscripts of NW. However there are some pointers, leading to conclusions of varying degrees of certainty:

(a) It seems clear that Basel is not related to the μ tradition. It has *decantacione* (NW 21), *ore* (97), *Napuleon* (119), *significacione* (148) and *solitudinis* (198), all of which align it with δ against μ . The omission of *quandoque in agonia ut saluator* (10-11) with

RM, and of *oratio humiliantis se penetrabit nubes* (27) with R can be explained by the compiler's evident concern to abbreviate the text at these points.

(b) Of the D manuscripts, X can certainly be eliminated as a possible source: at 215 Basel has *capucio suo, et tunc fiebat*, where X has a lacuna.

(c) There are also several indications that Basel is independent of the EK tradition: it has clear non-EK readings at 11 (*propheta*), 54 (*iuuenibus eciam*), 154 (*creditur*) and 226 (*abigeret*).

(d) It similarly has clear non-CGJ readings: *quandoque* (11), *resolui* (16), *comunitur* (21), *reuertebatur* (90), *ore* (97) and *erectus* (118).

(e) H appears to be the most promising possible source. It shares with Basel the reading *reuertebatur* (90), *habuerat* (197), *in* for *cum* (221) and *presens in conuentu* (240). However, Basel does not reproduce some distinctive H readings: it has the correct *lacrimas* in 16 (*lacrimis* H), does not add *domine* in 45, has the correct *fiebat* in 57, has *dicens* in 60 and *propriis* in 65, and *erectus* in 118.

It appears, then, that Basel is an independent witness. But this might mean either that it is an independent witness to α , which would make it extremely valuable, or that it is an independent witness to δ , in which case its value is negligible. Unfortunately there is almost no evidence to settle this all-important question. If Basel is indeed an independent witness to α , then we should have to accept *decantatione* as the authentic reading in 21, and *a libro* in 214. However, there is nothing in the text to oblige us to regard Basel as independent of δ , and the presence of the D corruption *sta* in 178 must, in the absence of other evidence, necessitate the provisional conclusion that Basel is best taken merely as another witness to δ .

There are a few apparent links with A, but these may be fortuitous. The presence of *sciens* in 28 is reminiscent of A 5. *disciplinas* in 64 tallies with R and with A. The addition of *inclinando* in 25 resembles A, and the addition in 51 similarly resembles both R and A. But these are all easy changes, and it is at any rate certain that Basel cannot derive its text of NW as a whole from A.

The manuscript is very badly written, and it is sometimes difficult to be sure what the scribe intended. And the grammar and syntax are often defective. No attempt has been made to correct its text, which is printed below.

*
**

(f. 160v) DE MODIS ORANDI BEATI DOMINICI

Sciendum quod in modo orandi anima exercet membra corporis ut ipsa deuocius feratur in deum et anima mouens corpus remoueretur a corpore ut fiat quandoque in extasi ut Paulus, quandoque in excessu mentis ut Daniel
5 propheta, secundum quem modum beatus Dominicus sepe orabat. Nam et

sancti veteris testamenti inveniuntur taliter aliquando orasse. Talis enim modus incitat deuocionem alternatim ex anima in corpus et ex corpore in animam, qui et faciebat beatum Dominicum resolui vehementer in lacrimas et accendebat feruorem bone voluntatis in tantum et ut mentem cohibere non posset quin
 10 deuocionem suam membra corporis certis manifestaret (!) indiciis. Unde ipsa vi mentis orantis quandoque surgebat in postulaciones, obsecraciones et graciaram acciones.

Preter ergo deuotissimos modos quos habebat comuniter in missa et decantacione psalmodie, vbi videbatur subito rapi supra se et confabulari cum
 15 deo et angelis in horis canonicis in choro uel in itinere, fuerunt adhuc orandi modi eius nouem.

Primus fuit inclinando et humiliando se coram altari significante Christum quasi Christus esset presens personaliter, cogitans illud Iudith, Cui humilium et mansuetorum semper placuit deprecacio, et, Domine non sum ut intres sub
 20 tectum meum, sciens quod humilitate Chanea (!) obtinuit quod voluit at (!) filius prodigus. Docebat eciam fratres se humiliare coram crucifixo pro nobis humiliatum. Item toti trinitati mandabat hec fieri cum dicitur Gloria Patri etc.

(f. 161r) Secundo orabat se prosternendo totum super terram faciem et tunc compunctus corde erubescibat semetipsum et aliquando alte dicebat, Deus
 25 propicius esto michi peccatori. Et illud memorabat, Ego sum qui peccaui, ego inique egi, flens et gemens. Et illud, Non sum dignus videre altitudinem celi etc. Et illud Ps., Quoniam humiliata est in plure (!) anima nostra. Item, Adhesit pauimento anima mea. Et ad modum trium regum qui intrantes domum procidentes adorauerunt. Vnde Ps., Venite adoremus et procidamus ante deum
 30 etc., ut eciam inueniamus Mariam cum puero. Iuuenibus eciam dicebat quod si non possent flere peccata propria que non habebant, tamen pro peccatoribus aliis exemplo Christi qui flebat super ciuitatem et apostoli et prophete gemuerunt pro peccato populi. Ps., Vidi preuaricantes et ta(bescebam) etc.

Tercio hac de causa de kathena ferrea se disciplinabat dicens, Disciplina tua
 35 correxit me in finem. Ideo et ordo statuit disciplinas post completorium recipere pro illis quorum elemosinis viuunt ac eciam propriis culpis.

Quarto frequencius genua flexit a post completorium vsque post medium noctis dicens cum leproso genuflexo, Domine si vis etc., et cum Steffano, Positis autem genibus etc., Domine ne statuas illis hoc peccatum. Pn't (?) pro conserua-
 40 cione eorum quos misit ad predicandum et pro nouiciis. Vnde hec vox aliquando audiebatur, Ad te domine clamabo etc. Quandoque vox non audiebatur obstefactus (!) animo quasi celum penetrasset aspectu. Aliquando exhyleratus fluebant lacrimae. Hec consuetudo in via et in hospiciis erat ei pro arte ad quam sepe reuertebatur et ad singulare ministerium, docens hoc
 45 similiter voce et exemplo a fratribus fieri.

- Quintus modus. Ante altare stabat erectus nulli rei appodatus habens aliquando manus ante pectus expansas ad modum libri aperti quasi ante deum legeret reuerenter et deuote et videbatur tunc ore meditari eloquia diuina et sibi dulciter loqui. Sic Christus intrans sabbato in synagogam surrexit legere. Et
50 stetit Finees et placauit etc. Et aliquando vidisses quasi arridentem quid sibi loqueretur deus. Et aliquando in itinere post aliquem talem modum loquebatur aliquod dulce verbum de quo fratres deuote mouebantur prouocati ad deuote orandum. Sicut oculi ancille in manibus domine sue, ita oculi nostri ad dominum deum nostrum donec mi(sereatur) etc.
- 55 Sexto modo vsus est sanctus pater sicut a vidente audiui manibus et vlnis expansis in modum crucis vehementer extensus, erectus secundum suam possibilitatem. Hoc modo orauit in suscitacione Napuleon in sancto Sixto Rome (f. 161v) in sacristia et in ecclesia in celebracione misse, quando eleuatus est a terra, sicut narrauit deuota soror Cecilia que presens tunc erat cum multis. Sic
60 Helyas suscitauit filium vidue; expandit enim se et mensus est se super puerum. Sic Tholose quando liberauit peregrinos de Anglia submersos in flumine, ut dicitur (?) in legenda. Sic Christus in cruce quando exauditus est pro sua reuerencia. Hunc modum raro tenuit nisi cum aliquid grande cognouisset. Nec suadebat hunc fratribus, sed nec prohibuit. Nec recollegerunt verba eius
65 dominus cardinalis et ceteri plus attentis ad modum insolitum. Forte dicebat, Domine deus reuertatur obsecro anima pueri huius etc. Nec licuit eis ab eo post interrogare, tam tremendus et reuerendus fuit eis in hoc exhibitus. Verba quoque psalmiste istum modum exprimentia attente grauiter et mature proferebat, scilicet, Domine salutis mee etc. et post, Tota die expandi ad te
70 manus meas. Item, Domine exaudi, secundum scilicet (!) vbi sequitur, Manus meas ad te, anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi. Discat ergo quilibet sic ad magna moueri ex doctrina Dauid, significacione Helye, ex caritate Christi, ex deuocione sancti Dominici.
- Septimo inueniebatur sepe orandi erigi per modum sagitte electe eleuatis
75 manibus sursum supra caput fortiter extensis atque coniunctis invicem uel amplius quasi ad aliquid accipiendum de celo. Et creditur quod augebatur ei gracia tunc et rapiebatur et impetrabat a deo pro ordine quem inceperat dona spiritus sancti et suauitates delectabiles in actibus beatitudinum sibi et fratribus, ut in paupertate, luctu, persecucionem, esurie, siti et iusticie (*lege* siti iusticie), in
80 anxia misericordia quibus reputaret se beatum, et ut in conseruandis preceptis, in perficiendis conciliis (!) ewangelicis deuote et delectabiliter se haberent. Videbatur tunc pater sanctus ingredi in sancta sanctorum et in tercium celum. Vnde et post illam disposicionem siue in predicando siue in corripiendo more prophetico se habebat, sicut in miraculis patuit.
- 85 Vnde et semel post talem oracionem sanctus Dominicus Bononie requisiiuit super quibusdam arduis consilium fratrum quia dicebat quod vni bonorum

reuelatur quod non alteri, ut patet in prophetis de Heliseo etc. Et tunc sacrista vocauit vnum de assistantibus de consilio ad ecclesiam feminarum, forte pro audientia confessionis, et subintulit fatue non tamen ut putaret audiri a sancto
 90 magistro, Vna pulchra domine (!) vocat vos, venite cito. Factus autem in spiritu sanctus Dominicus (f. 162r) agitabatur in seipso et reueriti sunt eum consiliarii. Tunc precepit advenire sacristam et dixit illi, Quid dixisti ? At ille, Petiui sacerdotem ad ecclesiam. Pater dixit, Increpa teipsum et confiteri reatum oris tui. Deus qui fecit omnia fecit quod me non latenter (!) verba oris tui que
 95 putabas occulta. Et disciplinavit eum fortiter ita quod astantes mouerentur ad compassionem propter liuores. Et ait, Vade fili didicisti de cetero qualiter intuearis fixo aspectu feminas ut de colore non iudices. Sta et tu ut deus in oculis tuis faciat te pudicum. Sic cognouit occultum, sic corripuit stultum, sic docuit castigatum, sicut in oracione preuiderat. Et ammirati sunt fratres.

100 Item in illo modo orandi non diu stabat, sed reuertebatur in seipsum quasi de longinquo veniens ut peregrinus mundi, quod perpendebatur in eius gestu faciliter. Item orans sic aliquando audiebatur sic dicens, Exaudi vocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te, dum extollo ad te manus meas. Et docebat fratres dicens, Ecce nunc benedicite domino etc., in noctibus extollite manus
 105 vestras in sancta etc. Et illud, Domine clamaui ad te, eleuacio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.

Octauus modus pulcher et gratus. Post horas canonicas et gratiarum acciones post sumpcionem cibi sobrius pater et delibutus spiritu deuocionis quem habuerat ex diuinis verbis in choro uel refectorio cito ponebat se ad locum
 110 aliquem solitudinis in cella uel alibi ut legeret uel oraret consistendo secum. Sedebat quietus et expandebat librum aliquem ante faciem suam munitus signo crucis. Legendo afficiebatur dulciter ac si audiret dominum sibi loquentem iuxta illud Ps., Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus deus, vsque, Et conuertuntur ad cor. Et sic quasi cum socio disputaret nutibus et mente non
 115 (*lege modo*) impaciens videbatur, modo quietus auditor, disceptare et luctare et ridere simul et flere et figere intuitum et submittere pectus. Et curiose obseruanti videbatur sanctus pater quasi Moyses in interiora deserti intraret et conspiceret rubum ardentem, dominum loquentem, se humiliantem. Mos enim erat viro dei cito ferri ex lectione et oracione ad oracionem, ex meditacione ad
 120 contemplacionem. Et cum sic solus legeret venerabatur librum et ei inclinabat et ipsum quandoque osculabatur, maxime si erat ewangelicus et si legit verba que Christi ore sunt prolata. Quandoque vero faciem abscondit et auertebat se a libro vel deponebat faciem in manibus suis aut modicum velabat eum (!) capucio suo. Et tunc (f. 162v) fiebat totus anxius et desiderio plenus. Quasi
 125 redderet gracias persone excellenti de receptis beneficiis et modicum reuerenter assurgebat et inclinabat se et totus reffectus et quietus factus in seipso iterum legebat in libro.

Nonum modum orandi eundo de patria ad patriam seruabat, maxime cum
 esset in aliqua solitudine, et ludebat in meditacionibus suis in contemplacione
 130 sua et dicebat aliquando sociis in itinere, Scriptum est in Osee, Ducam eam in
 solitudinem et loquar ad cor eius. Vnde aliquando a socio declinabat uel preibat
 aut potius sequebatur a longe et in meditacione eius accendebatur ignis. Et
 modicum tunc habebat ac si abigeret fauillas aut muscas a facie sua et propter
 hoc muniebat se sepius signo crucis. Putabant autem fratres quod in isto modo
 135 adeptus sit plenitudinem sacre scripture et medullam intelligencie eloquiorum
 diuinorum et potestatem audacie feruenter predicandi et miracula faciendi et
 occultam familiaritatem spiritus sancti.

Vnde semel accidit quod dyabolus venit ad ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum
 Bononie in modum iuuenis vanis moribus et lasciuis petens confessorem. Et
 140 cum quinque consequenter adducti fuissent ea causa quia quemlibet confitendo
 ita inflammauit quod surrexit et recessit silenter nec vmquam confessionem
 voluerunt reuelare cum ex parte eorum qui audierant esset sacramentalis, tunc
 sanctus Dominicus presens in conuentu a sacrista accersitus quia magnum
 scandalum illi fecissent sic recedendo non imponendo penitentiam peccatori,
 145 contra illud quod predicant; et surrexit sanctus pater facti ut credo non ignarus,
 quia in oracione et contemplacione, et cum intrasset ecclesiam accessit dyabolus
 quem statim nouit dicens, Cur maligne spiritus sub hac pietate seruos dei
 temptas?, dure increpans eum, qui statim euanuit feda vestigia relinquens in
 ecclesie odore sulphuris. Et placatus est sacrista ab indignacione contra
 150 sacerdotes.

Blackfriars, Oxford.

ALFRED OF SARESHEL'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN *DE PLANTIS*: A CRITICAL EDITION

R. James Long

I

TRANSLATOR, commentator, and author in his own right, Alfred of Sareshel holds a place of prominence among those intellectual adventurers who introduced the natural philosophy of Aristotle to the Latin West. Not only was he the first Western writer to have displayed an extensive knowledge of the *libri naturales*, especially the biological works,¹ he was also the precursor of a long line of scholastic commentators on these texts,² thus earning from a contemporary the epithet 'dux naturae'.³

Despite his prominence, however, little is known with certainty about Alfred's life. The dedications of two of his works – the translation of the *De plantis* to Roger of Hereford⁴ and his *De motu cordis* to Alexander Neckham⁵ – provide us with some clues regarding the dates of his literary

¹ See C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 128-29, and S. D. Wingate, *The Mediaeval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Scientific Corpus, with Special Reference to the Biological Works* (London, 1931), p. 27.

² D. A. Callus, 'Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943) 10.

³ The author of the attribution is David of Dinant, whose *Quaternuli* were condemned to the fire by a papal decree in 1210; see M. Kurdzialek, 'David von Dinant als Ausleger der Aristotelischen Naturphilosophie' in *Die Auseinandersetzungen an der Pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. A. Zimmermann (Miscellanea mediaevalia 10; Berlin-New York, 1976), p. 187. Roger Bacon, on the other hand, includes Alfred in his sweeping condemnation of those translators (Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot, Herman the German, and William of Moerbeke) in whose works there were so many mistakes that none of them deserved any praise ('accidit tanta falsitas in eorum operibus, quod nullus sufficit admirari'); see *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. S. Brewer, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* 3 (London, 1859), p. 471. Notwithstanding, Bacon was not above making extensive use of Alfred's commentaries; see A. Pelzer, 'Une source inconnue de Roger Bacon: Alfred de Sareshel, commentateur des Météorologiques d'Aristote', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 12 (1919) 44-67.

⁴ *Nicolai Damasceni De plantis libri duo Aristoteli vulgo adscripti*, ed. E. H. F. Meyer (Leipzig, 1841), p. 3 n. 1.

⁵ C. Bäumker, ed., *Des Alfred von Sareshel (Alfredus anglicus) Schrift De motu cordis* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie [und Theologie] des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen [= BGP[T]M hereafter] 23.1-2; Münster i. W., 1923), p. 1.

activity. For Roger we have a *Comptus* of 1176, in which he refers to himself as *iuvenis*, and an astronomical table dated for the year 1178.⁶ It is known, moreover, that Alexander died in 1217.⁷ Since presumably Alfred wrote his dedication while his friend was still living and since there are strong indications that the *De motu cordis* was his final work,⁸ we are able with some degree of probability to locate Alfred's productive years within the generation 1176-1217.

Other clues suggest that Alfred spent at least part of his adult life in Spain. The toponym 'Anglicus', by which he is commonly known, indicates that he made his reputation outside of England.⁹ Furthermore, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metheora* Alfred reveals the name of his master, Salomon Avenraza, 'a Jew of great renown'.¹⁰ Although Avenraza, or Ibn Ezra, has not been positively identified, the most congenial atmosphere for a Jewish scholar in the twelfth century was Spain.¹¹

The final and most telling indication of Alfred's Spanish residency, however, is provided by the occurrence of Castilian vernacular terms in two of Alfred's Latin translations: *beleño* (Latinized to *belenum*) to render the Arabic for henbane¹² and *arrova* (Latinized to *arenorum*) for a unit of weight.¹³ Add to the accumulated evidence the fact not only that Alfred was translating from the Arabic but also that many of his sources were unavailable elsewhere in Latin Europe at that time, and one is led to suspect the Spanish city of Toledo as the locus of his activity.

⁶ Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, p. 125. On the significance of the designation 'iuvenis' see Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, p. 98 n. 8.

⁷ *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo* ..., ed. T. Wright (RS 34; London, 1863), p. xii.

⁸ The *De motu cordis* is certainly later than Alfred's translation of the *De plantis*, which it cites, and its wider use of the Aristotelian corpus and other works suggests a date later in his writing career; cf. Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, p. 66, and C. Bäumker, *Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshel (Alfredus Anglicus) und seiner Schrift De motu cordis in der Wissenschaft des beginnenden XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse 9; Munich, 1913), pp. 26-48.

⁹ Cf., e.g., Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Petrus Lombardus, Hermannus Alemannus, Willielmus Flemingus, etc.

¹⁰ '... magister meus Salomon Avenraza, et Israelita celeberrimus, et modernorum philosophorum praecipuus', in *IV libros Metheororum Aristotelis* III, cap. de yride; ed. J. K. Otte in *Alfred of Sareshel's Commentary on the Metheora of Aristotle* (Diss. University of Southern California, 1969), p. 71.

¹¹ See, e.g., G. Vajda, *Introduction à la pensée juive du moyen âge* (Paris, 1947), pp. 119-45.

¹² *De plantis* 1.17 (Meyer ed., p. 23). Bacon cites this as 'one of a million examples' of the ignorance that translators had of Latin and admits to his having been laughed at by his Spanish students for not having understood the word when lecturing on the *De plantis* at Paris (*Opus maius* 3.1, ed. J. H. Bridges, 1 [Oxford, 1897], p. 67).

¹³ *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, ed. E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville (Paris, 1927), p. 47. Cf. Otte, *Alfred of Sareshel's Commentary*, p. 139 n. 36 for variant readings.

Less convincing is the attempt to connect Alfred with the studium at Hereford. On the strength of five appearances of the name Alfred in documents relating to Hereford between the years 1153/55 and 1207, Josiah Cox Russell has argued that, given the rarity of the name, it is 'highly probable' that one or more of the 'Alfreds' be identical with our commentator.¹⁴ This argument on closer inspection, however, turns out to be self-defeating. While on the one hand it is highly improbable that all five 'Alfreds', spread over the course of a half century, refer to the same person, on the other hand multiple 'Alfreds' militate against the claim that the name is rare.¹⁵

More promising, however, is Russell's discovery of a charter of about 1220, in which 'Magister Alueredus de Sarutehill canonicus Lich' appears as a witness.¹⁶ Both the appropriateness of the date and the similarity between Sarutehill and any of the protean versions of Sareshel¹⁷ make it reasonable to identify the canon of Lichfield with our author.

It is, however, upon his literary output that Alfred's reputation rests, and here we are on firmer footing. Although the list of works ascribed to our author by the early bibliographers was somewhat inflated owing to a confusion with two other Alfreds (one the Anglo-Saxon king and the other a thirteenth-century papal legate¹⁸), we can with confidence assign to him the following titles: a translation of Avicenna's *De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum* (also called *De mineralibus*);¹⁹ a translation of the putatively Aristotelian *De plantis*;²⁰

¹⁴ J. C. Russell, 'Hereford and Arabic Science in England about 1175-1200', *Isis* 18 (1932) 19 (rpt. in his *Twelfth Century Studies* [New York, 1978], pp. 142-54).

¹⁵ Cf. J. K. Otte, 'The Life and Writings of Alfredus Anglicus', *Viator* 3 (1972) 282. Callus ventures the supposition that Alfred's glosses (on the *De generatione et corruptione*, the *Metheora*, and the *De plantis*) might represent his lectures at Oxford but admits that thus far not the slightest clue has come to light to support such an opinion ('Aristotelian Learning', 11).

¹⁶ J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), p. 19. Cf. Otte, *ibid.*, 282-83.

¹⁷ Alfred's surname is found in manuscripts as Sarchel, Sareshel, Sareschel, Sereshel, Sarhelle, Sarewel, Sarewell, etc.; see Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, p. 98 n. 7, and G. Lacombe, 'Alfredus Anglicus in Metheora' in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet*, ed. A. Lang-J. Lechner-M. Schmaus (BGP[T]M Suppl. 3.1; Münster i. W., 1935), p. 143 n. 2. The most irregular variant I have seen is 'Chorel' (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana S. Croce 13 sin. 5, fol. 163r). The surname has been variously (and inconclusively) identified with the old English surname Sarewell (Wingate, p. 99 n. 10), the village of Sharesull in Staffordshire (Russell, *ibid.*, p. 19), and even the village of Sarceaux in Normandy (B. Hemmerdinger, 'Le *De plantis*, de Nicolas de Damas à Planude', *Philologus* 111 [1967] 59).

¹⁸ For the details see Wingate, *ibid.*, pp. 56-58. Cf. the list of works in C. Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et sur l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, new edition (Paris, 1843), p. 105.

¹⁹ See n. 13 above. The *De mineralibus* is an excerpt from Avicenna's encyclopedic *Shifā'*.

²⁰ See n. 4 above.

a commentary on Aristotle's *Metheora*, to which the *De mineralibus* was appended as the final three chapters;²¹ a commentary on the *De plantis*; and finally an original treatise entitled *De motu cordis*.²² A reference in his commentary on the *Metheora* insinuates that he also wrote a commentary on the *De generatione et corruptione*,²³ which apparently has not survived. Of the extant works all have been edited except for the commentary on the *De plantis*, which appears here for the first time.

The order of the above listing, moreover, suggests the probable order of composition. We can suppose that the commentary on the *Metheora* was written after his two translations, since they are both cited in the former.²⁴ Moreover, Alfred's allusion in the same commentary to his glosses on the *De generatione et corruptione*, as mentioned above, indicates that the latter was composed first, and perhaps represents his earliest effort at explaining the science of Aristotle. In addition, the citation of the *De congelatione* in the commentary edited below²⁵ indicates as well that the latter was composed subsequently.

For the later commentaries and the *De motu cordis* there are no clear internal references one to another that might aid in the dating, although the several citations of the *Metheora* in the commentary on *De plantis* hint at the fact that this commentary was written after the commentary on the *Metheora*. Finally, as Wingate has argued, the wider use of Aristotelian and other works in the *De motu cordis* makes it natural to suppose that it represents Alfred's most mature product.²⁶

We can thus on the available evidence tentatively reconstruct the following *vita* for Alfred: born in England toward the middle of the twelfth century, studied in Spain under a learned Jew, with whose help he translated the *De congelatis* and *De plantis* from the Arabic, then wrote commentaries on at least three 'Aristotelian' treatises, returned to his homeland in the first or second decade of the thirteenth century and, following the writing of his own contribution to the science of his day, the *De motu cordis*, retired to Lichfield as a prebendary.

²¹ See n. 10 above.

²² See n. 5 above.

²³ 'Quare autem vapor et calor invisibilis flammam visibilem producant, in libro *De generatione et corruptione* discussimus' (*Comm. in Metheora* 3 [Otte ed., p. 65]). For additional evidence see Lacombe, 'Alfredus Anglicus', 464-65, and Otte, 'Life and Writings', 285-86.

²⁴ *Comm. in Meth.* 1, 2, 3 (Otte ed., pp. 55, 57, 60, 68).

²⁵ See p. 148 (l. 39). Holmyard and Mandeville give a date for the *De congelatis* of c. 1200, 'with the proviso that it may have been two or three decades earlier or, less probably, a few years later' (p. 10).

²⁶ Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, p. 66. Otte, 'Life and Writings', 291 suggests a date of c. 1200 for the composition of *De motu cordis*, thereby pushing back the composition of his commentaries to 1190-1200 – a decade earlier than my suggested dating.

II

Alfred's literary production that received the widest circulation, as judged by the number of extant manuscripts, is his translation of the *De plantis*, a treatise whose transmission one scholar declared to be of greater interest than its content.²⁷ Until the sixteenth century the work was universally ascribed to Aristotle,²⁸ although more perspicacious commentators, like Albert the Great, were troubled by its repetitiousness, its insipidity, and even its occasional contradictoriness.²⁹ Finally, with the publication of his edition of the work in 1841, Ernst Meyer was able to offer conclusive evidence of the authorship of Nicholas of Damascus, a peripatetic who spent his life in the service of Herod the Great, king of Judea.³⁰

Subsequent scholarship has established that the original Greek version, now lost, was rendered into Syriac in the ninth century,³¹ and thence into Arabic by Ishaq ibn Hunain in about 900.³² Alfred made his Latin translation before the year 1200,³³ and Roger Bacon testified to the existence of a second Latin version in the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁴ Alfred's version proved immensely influential, as the survival of approximately 170 manuscript copies bears witness,³⁵ and by 1254 was prescribed by the Arts faculty at Paris as a subject of examination.³⁶ To complete the cycle, the Latin *De plantis* was translated back

²⁷ Hemmerdinger, 'Le *De plantis*', 65.

²⁸ Julius Caesar Scaliger was the first to demonstrate conclusively that the author of the *De plantis* was not Aristotle, heading the preface to his commentary on the work (published in 1556) *In libros De plantis falso Aristoteli attributos* (J. Longrigg, 'Nicholas of Damascus', *DSB* 10 [1974] 112). There remains the possibility that Aristotle did compose a *Περὶ φυτῶν*: Diogenes Laertius credits him with a work by that title and there are multiple references to such a work in the authentic treatises; see G. Senn, 'Hat Aristoteles eine selbständige Schrift über Pflanzen verfasst?', *Philologus* 85.2 (1930) 113-35.

²⁹ Albert attributed the inferior quality of the text to the ignorance of translators, who failed to understand either the mind of the Philosopher or the language from which they were translating (*De vegetabilibus libri VII* 1.1.9, ed. E. Meyer and K. Jessen [Berlin, 1867], p. 32).

³⁰ Meyer, *De plantis*, pp. xii-xxv. For Nicholas see *DSB* 10.111-12.

³¹ A few scattered fragments survive in Cambridge, University Library ms. Gg.2.14 (*DSB* 10.111).

³² Hemmerdinger, 'Le *De plantis*', 58. A badly preserved copy of the Arabic version, lacking several chapters at the end, was discovered by M. Bouyges in 1923 and has been catalogued as Istanbul, Yeni Cami ms. arab. 1179 ('Notes sur les philosophes arabes connus des latins au moyen âge', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth* 9.2 [1924] 78). It was first edited by A. J. Arberry, 'An Early Arabic Translation from the Greek', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt* 1.1 (1933) 48-76.

³³ Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, p. 59. Otte dates it to the decade 1180-90 ('Life and Writings', 291).

³⁴ Wingate, *ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

³⁵ L. Minio-Paluello, *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 528.

³⁶ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and É. Chatelain, 1 (Paris, 1889), col. 278.

into Greek by Maximus Planudes later in the century, and it was this version that was eventually printed in the Bekker edition of Aristotle's works.³⁷

Alfred's commentary on the *De plantis* is the earliest and probably briefest of the nine or more composed during the medieval period.³⁸ The date of composition, as we have seen, is certainly later than his translation of *De plantis* and probably also later than his commentary on the *Metheora*, yet probably earlier than the *De motu cordis*. Wingate, in assigning the *De plantis* commentary to the lustrum 1210-15, argues that the work must postdate the Arabic-Latin version of the *De animalibus* by Michael Scot, which she says Alfred utilizes.³⁹ The paraphrase in Alfred's commentary, however, is so loose that one cannot with any degree of certitude conclude that the version is Michael's.⁴⁰ I prefer the decade 1200-10 as a tentative date of composition for the commentary edited below; this dating allows sufficient time on the one hand for the dissemination of the Aristotelian treatises he cites and on the other for the composition of his final work, for which I accept the *terminus ante quem* of 1217.

Taking the form of a gloss, extending at times for a paragraph or more, on sixty-two words or phrases drawn from the first four chapters of the first book of the treatise and the final ten chapters of the second and last book, the commentary is notably shorter than the treatise being commented upon. Why Alfred chose not to gloss the middle twenty-two chapters of the work, approximately two thirds of the whole, is not known. The simplest explanation is that he did not find them that interesting or worthy of comment. Yet the omitted chapters do contain several provocative issues, as Roger Bacon and Adam of Buckfield were soon to discover: for example, the notion of homologous organs, the case of plants that change their species in the course of their development, the fact that certain kinds of logs float while other kinds sink, and so forth.

Commenting on the opening words of the *De plantis* 'Life is found in animals and plants', Alfred distinguishes in the lower world (that is, in the substances inferior to man) four primary genera: indistinct substances (*confusa*), solidified substances (*congelata*), plants, and animals. The indistinct substances (*confusa*),

³⁷ DSB 10.112.

³⁸ C. H. Lohr documents the existence of nine such commentaries: 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries', *Traditio* 23 (1967) 323, 343, 355, 388; 24 (1968) 152, 227-28; 26 (1970) 160; 28 (1972) 342; 29 (1973) 120. There is, in addition, an anonymous commentary in Cambridge, Peterhouse ms. 157, which has not been identified with any of those listed by Lohr.

³⁹ Wingate, *Mediaeval Latin Versions*, pp. 59, 65, 76. She gives 1210 as the *terminus ante quem* of Michael's translation (p. 65), while T. Struve says it was 'toward 1220' ('Die Anthropologie des Alfredus Anglicus in ihrer Stellung zwischen Platonismus und Aristotelismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 55 [1973] 368).

⁴⁰ Otte, 'Life and Writings', 286-87. Michael's text is reproduced in Wingate, *ibid.*, p. 76.

he explains, are commonly called the elements, though in reality they are composed of mixtures of the elements or what he later refers to as *elementata*.⁴¹ In other words, the four elements of Greek science as found in nature are in fact deformed combinations of several elements (earth also containing water and air, water containing earth and air, and so forth), while yet retaining the traces of the dominant element.⁴²

By the *congelata* he means a whole class of metallic and non-metallic compounds which are formed by solidification. Alfred had used the term in his translation of a part of Avicenna's *Shifā'*, entitled *De mineralibus*; stones, Avicenna explains, are formed in two ways: either by the conversion of clay into a hard, porous substance when heated (the process of pottery making), a process which Alfred calls *conglutinatio*; or by the depositing of solids from water, interpreted by Avicenna as a solidification of water itself, which Alfred translates as *congelatio*.⁴³ The 'congealed' substances are receptive to generation and increase, but not to sensation and growth. The plant, on the other hand, when sustained by its root, both reproduces and grows. Thus, Alfred calls the plant an 'animate, insensible substance'.⁴⁴

Only in the final two genera is life to be found. Whereas in the animal the signs of life are quite manifest, however, in the plant vital effects are few, whence life in the latter is said to be hidden. One can, in fact, scarcely discern the difference between plants and minerals. For even inorganic substances suffer augmentation and diminution and thus seem almost to be growing.⁴⁵

'A long inquiry must be held', continues the pseudo-Aristotelian text, 'as to whether plants possess a soul and a distinguishing capacity for desire and pleasure'. The opinion of Anaxagoras, explains Alfred, was that trees were much saddened both by the loss of 'solar time' (that is, the shortening of daylight hours) and by the loss of their flora, fruit, and sap. The fact that trees lose their leaves in the fall of the year is evidence of this sadness.⁴⁶

⁴¹ See T. Silverstein, 'Elementatum: Its Appearance among the Twelfth-Century Cosmognists', *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 156-62.

⁴² See below, pp. 145-46 (ll. 3-6).

⁴³ See *Avicennae De congelatione* (Holmyard and Mandeville ed., p. 18 nn. 4 and 5). *congelata* for the Saracens included quicksilver, sulphur, and all metals (Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, p. 94).

⁴⁴ p. 146 (ll. 9-10).

⁴⁵ *ibid.* (ll. 12-21). Cf. Albert: 'Operationes autem eius similiter sunt trahere alimentum et augere et generare, quibus per aliquem modum videntur communicare corpora physica inanimata et non viva. Illa enim generantur, et quantitates accipiunt; et cum quantitas non accipiatur sine aliquo attracto quod in substantiam convertitur, videntur, quod haec etiam alimentum accipiant' (*De vegetabilibus* 1.1.2 [Meyer and Jessen ed., p. 6]).

⁴⁶ p. 147 (ll. 24-26). Meyer incorrectly reads 'flexum foliorum' (see below, p. 147); the gloss, however, makes it clear that Alfred wrote 'fluxum'. Cf. A. J. Arberry, 'Notes on *The Book of Plants*, Part I', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt* 1.2 (1933) 220.

Plato calls 'desire' the attractive, retentive, and digestive power of the plant. But Aristotle, Alfred notes, polishes that truth in disputation and determines that plants possess souls, which distinguishes them from the *congelata*. 'For plants are born, grow, and develop according to the conditions of the seasons; they also die of old age – all of which plants have in common with animals.'⁴⁷

Do plants experience hunger? The pangs we call hunger, explains Alfred, are felt only in the stomach. The *os stomachi* or *cardia*⁴⁸ must first sense the attracting force on the part of the members of the body and be saddened by the prick of this appetite, so that it may be gladdened by the food to come. Both the hunger and the subsequent gratification are experienced through the medium of the senses. For the animal senses an emptiness, whence it is irritated, and understands what it must do to relieve this emptiness, whence the pain is removed. Thus desire, including the specific desire called hunger, presupposes sensation. Plants lack sensation, argues Alfred, and hence lack desire. He calls Plato's opinion to the contrary 'remarkable' (*mirabilis*).⁴⁹

Following a brief and seemingly misplaced discussion on the three basic species of vapor and the compatibility of each with a life form,⁵⁰ Alfred comments on the text 'Desire can only proceed from sensation'. Plants neither have specific organs designed for sensation nor do they possess nerves, which are the instruments of sensation; the plant, says Alfred, is in fact denser than even the *nervi duri*, which are the motor nerves in the animal.⁵¹ Furthermore, nature and the Creator designed the plant in such a way that it is able to function quite fully without sensation, without even the sense of touch. Thus the power of sensation in the plant would be superfluous and, as we know from the Aristotelian aphorism, nature does nothing in vain.⁵² If, as the text says, 'Sensation is the cause of the glorification of life', then life without sensation holds the semblance of death. The power of sensation, on the other hand, soon draws life into activity.⁵³

⁴⁷ pp. 147-48 (ll. 30-36).

⁴⁸ i.e., the upper orifice where the esophagus enters. For the analogy between the stomach of the animal and the roots of the plant see Aristotle, *De longaevitate vitae* 6 (467b4-5).

⁴⁹ pp. 148-49 (ll. 44-52). Albert finds Plato's view more tolerable than the views of Anaxagoras or Protagoras (which appears in the text in its corrupt form 'Abrutalis'/'Abrucalis'), in that he assigns only desire to plants, and not sensation nor sex (*De vegetabilibus* 1.1.2 [Meyer and Jessen ed., p. 8]).

⁵⁰ Cf. the discussion in Alfred's *Comm. in Metheora* 1 (Otte ed., p. 46).

⁵¹ Galen distinguished between the hard nerves, which directed movement in the animal body, and the soft nerves, which conveyed sensory impulses; see E. Nordenskiöld, *History of Biology* (New York, 1949), pp. 62-63. Cf. *De motu cordis* 2 (Bäumker ed., p. 11).

⁵² pp. 150-51 (ll. 78-91). Roger Bacon invokes the same principle (that is, *natura nihil frustra*) in determining the question whether plants possess the sense of touch (*Quaestiones supra De plantis*, ed. R. Steele and F. Delorme in *Opera hactenus inedita* 11 [Oxford, 1932], pp. 186-87).

⁵³ p. 151 (ll. 103-104). In *De motu cordis* 10 Alfred repeats the expression: 'Primus enim et praecipuus sensuum et quo mediante alii ducuntur ad actum ... tactus est' (Bäumker ed., p. 43).

Sexual reproduction also presupposes sensation, since the animal would not desire coitus unless it took delight therein. This is why the plant reproduces solely by dissemination, that is, by the scattering of its seed. Since, however, there is no mean between the animate and the inanimate, and since, as Alfred has demonstrated, the plant cannot be inanimate, it should be termed 'animate non-living' (*animata non uiuens*).⁵⁴

The lines of demarcation between the various genera, as Aristotle knew (and the contemporary biologist would concur), are not always clear and distinct. Clams and oysters, for example, seemed to the pseudo-Aristotle a fatal exception to the generalization that no plant possesses sensation, inasmuch as the lack of the discriminating power to utilize this luxury renders it superfluous. Alfred here is implying that mollusks, since they lack any power to discriminate, should by the law of natural economy also lack the power to sense. Conversely, if mollusks sense, so too do plants.⁵⁵

Alfred responds to the objection by insisting that mollusks do possess the power of discernment in some fashion or other, since we find them opening and closing their shells at will, even though they do not propel themselves from place to place. Sensation therefore remains the sole specifying difference between the plant and animal kingdoms.⁵⁶ In addition, the power of self-movement, or voluntary movement, would be superfluous in the plant, since it lacks the power to sense. The immobility of the plant in other words is a corollary of its insensibility.⁵⁷

Alfred's gloss on the text 'This is the acquisition of life' is obscure, and it is likely that the passage is corrupt.⁵⁸ Life, he says, is both a substantial and distinguishing or specifying component, but its absence is not considered a characteristic that constitutes a species (*specifica*). His meaning thus far can be grasped; it is the reason that follows that is elusive: 'because', Alfred continues, 'at the bidding of the Creator every celestial animal (with respect to the absence of life) is associated with (or belongs to the same set as) one composed of the elements, out of a defect namely of nature, just as some species posits that "biped" is a property of man and "mortal" part of his definition, although improperly.'⁵⁹

⁵⁴ p. 152 (ll. 109-113).

⁵⁵ pp. 152-53 (ll. 114-122).

⁵⁶ p. 153 (ll. 123-126). Note the parallel text from Avicenna's *Liber sextus* in the *fontes* (note to l. 125 below). Cf. also Bacon, who cites the same Avicennian text (*Quaestiones* [Steele and Delorme ed., p. 187]).

⁵⁷ p. 153 (ll. 126-128).

⁵⁸ Interestingly, although Adam of Buckfield depends heavily on Alfred's commentary, he does not cite this text.

⁵⁹ p. 154 (ll. 142-146). See Aristotle for the latter example: *Prior Analytics* 1.31 (46b2-25) and *Posterior Analytics* 2.5 (92a1-6). The Durham manuscript (D below) treats *elementatum* as a lemma (which it is not), and this gives some indication of the scribe's confusion over the passage.

To arrive at a definition by process of differentiation according to Aristotle is illegitimate if the opposites do not exclude a middle.⁶⁰ Alfred seems to be inferring in his example of the heavenly bodies that there is a middle between animal or animated substance and inanimate substance, namely, non-living animated substance, which identifies both the heavens and the plant kingdom. In his commentary on the *Metheora*, for example, he takes note of Plato's fourfold division of animal genera: celestial, airy, watery, and earthy, but adds that 'animal' is predicated of them equivocally. Celestial and airy substances are not natural (or are 'defective by nature'), because they lack the power of sense perception,⁶¹ which alone identifies life in its fullest sense. In like manner, it is improper to include mortality, which implies a loss of life, in the definition of man, because it is not sufficiently exhaustive and no more defines man than does 'biped'.

The vegetable soul, furthermore, is boundless and indeterminate with respect to its function, since a tree never has so many branches that it cannot sprout more. In this respect it resembles the rational soul, in that the soul or mind cannot comprehend so many things that it cannot know more. It also resembles the animal soul, in that the powers of sensing and imagining are boundless.⁶²

Leaving unglossed the following twenty-two chapters Alfred next turns his attention to book 2, chapter 7, where he discusses 'hot' and 'cold' plants and the climatic conditions which generate these qualities in them. Only those plants are edible which are of subtle and digestible material and already fully dissolved or digested by heat and moisture.⁶³

Owing to the abundance of temperate air and moisture in hilly regions, moreover, plants growing there are often found to be sturdier and more fertile than those growing in valleys, where the air is putrefying and the vapors gross. The latter conditions give rise to irregular digestion on the part of the plant, which in turn produces humor that is briny.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Posterior Analytics* 2.13 (97a18-22).

⁶¹ 'Notat Plato III^{or} esse animalium genera: commemorat celeste, aereum, aquaticum, terreum. Set sciendum est animal de eis equivoce predicari. Celeste enim et aereum naturalia non sunt, non enim substantia animata sensibilis' (*Comm. in Metheora* 4 [Otte ed., p. 100]). The question of whether the *celum* is animate, as Plato argued in the *Timaeus*, was a vexed one for Alfred and his contemporaries, who were struggling to unravel Aristotle's science. In favor of the idea is the text of the *Physics* which says that self-motion is animal motion; against is the obvious truth that the heavenly body lacks sense perception. Bacon defends Aristotle's referring to the *celum* as an animal (below, p. 154) by claiming that he is here not giving his own opinion, but that of others (*Quaestiones* [Steele and Delorme ed., p. 190]). Albert, on the other hand, reads *intentio* instead of *inuentio* and interprets the passage to mean that sensation constitutes the 'intensification of life' but is not shared by all living things, 'sicut patuit in exemplo inducto de coelo' (*De vegetabilibus* 1.1.5 [Meyer and Jessen ed., p. 17]).

⁶² p. 155 (ll. 147-152).

⁶³ p. 156 (ll. 171-173).

⁶⁴ *ibid.* (ll. 175-181).

For a plant to be durable, continues Alfred, it must have a well-digested and oily humor. Plants with a watery and undigested humor quickly dry out with the coming of the cold. For this reason a stalk (*caulis*) does not last beyond three years, unless it be grafted onto another.⁶⁵ While Alfred is silent on the philosophical difficulties raised by the process of grafting, they do not go unnoticed by Roger Bacon. In his lectures on the *De plantis* Bacon worries at length over the question of whether the graft retains its original soul or participates in the life-principle of the host plant, whether the graft changes its species if joined to a host of a different species, and so forth.⁶⁶

The growth of plant life, maintains our commentator, is best served by a temperate climate. An overabundance of humidity will force open the ducts (that is, the vascular system) through which normally nutriment rises in the form of smoke or vapor, with the result that the nutriment is forced downward and the plant is not nourished. Too much dryness, on the other hand, constricts the ducts, again preventing the nutriment from rising.⁶⁷

Every plant has four needs, Alfred declares: a definite seed, complete in its kind, fully ripe, and preserved from putrefaction; a suitable place (these first two being necessary for the plant's generation); moderate moisture; and a temperate climate (these last two necessary for the plant's nutrition and growth).⁶⁸

The farther removed a place is from the sun, the longer the day is in the summer. In the far North plants enjoy daylight for half the year, darkness for the other half. Thus it is rare that any plant or animal is born or grows there, for in the summer they have to contend with the continuous heat and in the winter with the continuous cold.⁶⁹

In succeeding sections Alfred explains why olive trees bear fruit only biennially (owing to their viscosity they attract little moisture) and the cause of thorns in certain plants (viscous humor is obstructed in its upward path and breaks out laterally in a pyramidal shape).⁷⁰

Glossing the text 'Greenness must be the most common characteristic of plant life', Alfred hazards an explanation of why this is so. In every life-form that draws its nutriment from the earth there is present in dominant measure the earthy humor. Now the color of this humor, since it has an admixture of moisture and heat (though the latter only minimally), is green. That the earthy

⁶⁵ *ibid.* (ll. 182-187).

⁶⁶ *Quaestiones* (Steele and Delorme ed., pp. 244-51).

⁶⁷ p. 157 (ll. 188-193).

⁶⁸ *ibid.* (ll. 194-202).

⁶⁹ pp. 157-58 (ll. 203-207).

⁷⁰ p. 158 (ll. 208-216).

humor predominates, moreover, is evident because the desiccated cortex turns black. In some leaves, however, there is a greater percentage of moisture and a correspondingly smaller percentage of the earthy element; this means that their green will be less intense. Indeed we note that when such leaves dry out they turn yellow.⁷¹

The text 'The shapes of plants' occasions a discussion of the reasons why certain plants tend to grow upward, while others tend to grow downward. Again it is a question of which humor/element predominates. Some, like the ash (*fraxinus excelsior*) and the fir (probably *abies alba*⁷²), both of which have a large measure of the airy element and an ample and direct vascular system (*pori*), grow to a great height. The prevalence of the airy element in the fir tree, adds Alfred, also accounts for its lightness and softness. Others, in which the watery element is dominant, tend to grow downward. Finally, the medlar (*mespilus germanica*⁷³) is cited as an example of a well-balanced tree, in that it grows in both directions equally well.⁷⁴

In the plant there are but two digestions: in the root⁷⁵ and in the pith (*medulla*). This is so because the substance of the plant is gross and not far removed from the elements or from its own nutriment. In the animal body, on the other hand, there is a great diversity of members, and given that these members are distant in nature from their nutriment, there is need for many mutations and a manifold digestive process.⁷⁶

The shape of the plant results from the size and perfection of its seed; if the seed be imperfect, so too will be the resulting plant. The blossoms and the fruit, on the other hand, respond to the nutriment from which they are produced. Alfred mistakenly notes a difference between animal and vegetable seed: animal sperm contains both a part that will develop into a fetus and a part that is nutriment, which he illustrates by the yolk and albumen of an egg; vegetable

⁷¹ pp. 158-59 (ll. 217-225).

⁷² The medieval nomenclature of conifers is puzzling and inconsistent, and the *abies* is now placed under three different genera; see Jerry Stannard, 'Identification of the Plants Described by Albertus Magnus, *De vegetabilibus*, lib. VI', *Res publica litterarum* 2 (1979) 284.

⁷³ See Albert: 'Mespilus est arbor nota, quae alio nomine esculus corrupte vocatur' (*De vegetabilibus* 6.133 [Meyer and Jessen ed., p. 405]). Cf. Stannard, *ibid.*, 302.

⁷⁴ pp. 159-60 (ll. 228-235).

⁷⁵ The text reads *in planta*, but Alfred surely intended *in radice* (as below, p. 163). Cf. also *De motu cordis* 14: 'In simpliciter autem vegetabilibus duae tantum celebrantur digestiones, una scilicet in radicibus, altera in corpore et ramis, quae epatis vicem tenent' (Bäumker ed., p. 74). Adam of Buckfield also has *in radice* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 5988, fol. 17v). Alfred is here at variance with his text (below, note to l. 236), which says that the first digestion takes place in the earth below the roots before the nutritive matter is absorbed. This is also how Albert interprets the text (*De vegetabilibus* 4.3.5 [Meyer and Jessen ed., pp. 270-71]).

⁷⁶ p. 160 (ll. 236-241).

seed, however, does not germinate unless it has first drawn nutriment from without.⁷⁷

The plant continues to grow in height until the ascent and circulation of moisture is impeded either by an excess of moisture or cold, or by hardness or some other constriction. Once this passage is impeded, the plant begins to dry out and ceases to live. The animal, Alfred says, generally does not grow vertically to the extent that the plant does, nor does the former have the free exit at its terminus as does the latter; in other words, humors do not escape through the head of the animal, as they do through the leaves of a tree, but are there retained and recycled. In addition, new members are not continuously generated in the animal body, as they are in the plant, owing to the diversity of matter in the former: bone and nerve can be generated only from the first matter of the animal.⁷⁸

Trees with viscous humors retain their leaves, while those with watery humors shed theirs. Whether a species of plant bears fruit once a year or repeatedly, moreover, depends on the strength of its power of attraction: the strongest attractive force, upon which depends a perfect digestion, results in but a single crop of fruit.⁷⁹

Alfred distinguishes four genera of plants: trees, bushes, herbs, and vegetables. In the latter two genera moisture so abounds that their matter does not solidify, as opposed to trees and bushes. Whence it happens with herbs that following a season of ripening⁸⁰ their moisture is driven back with the onset of cold weather and they wither; and thus vegetables do not last beyond the third year.⁸¹

Commenting on the word 'blueness', a word for which scribes of both the *De plantis* and the commentary thereon have provided more variant readings than for any other,⁸² Alfred attributes the presence of the color in the tree to the effect of the action of heat in the digestive process. The core of the wood, 'heartwood' in contemporary terminology, is as black as ebony, and the rest ranges in color from black to the increasingly whiter color of the 'sapwood' according to the intensity of heat generated from the inner to the outer rings of the tree.⁸³ Another factor affecting color is the proportion of the earthy and

⁷⁷ pp. 160-61 (ll. 242-253).

⁷⁸ p. 161 (ll. 254-266).

⁷⁹ pp. 161-62 (ll. 267-271).

⁸⁰ See Appendix A.

⁸¹ p. 162 (ll. 272-275).

⁸² See Appendix B.

⁸³ Albert, whose copy text reads *ventalitas*, interprets the range of colors to apply to different species of trees, with the ebony and the elm as extremes of black and white respectively. However, Albert admits with obvious frustration that this opinion of Aristotle 'propter malitiam translationis vix est intelligibilis' (*De vegetabilibus* 4.4.1 [Meyer and Jessen ed., p. 277]).

watery elements in the tree. A preponderance of earth produces black, of water white, and a balance between the two a yellow color in the wood.⁸⁴

Some trees, like the fig (*figus carica*), have gross and viscous humors, and, because such humors cannot be thinned, trees of this sort produce no flowers. Others, like the palm (*phoenix dactylifera*), have humors that are so watery that they cannot be digested and for that reason lack flowers. Trees with a thick and hard bark tend to grow tall rather than spread laterally, because the heat on the outside is not able to attract the nutriment sideways.⁸⁵

The milky substance called latex (*lac*) is produced in certain species of plants in the following way: the first digestion, which takes place in the root, is heavy (*fortis*), so that the humor becomes oily and, when 'cooked' a second time in the pith, is transformed into latex. In the summer this latex resists solidification or coagulation owing to the heat, which, 'entrapped in its stickiness', keeps the latex molten. With the coming of cold weather, however, the latex solidifies completely. Similarly, if the latex should break out, it would solidify in the intense heat of the surrounding air. Wherefore gum (*gummi*), which is sticky latex or resin, is solidified either by intense heat or by intense cold; moderate heat, on the other hand, has a liquefying effect on the latex.⁸⁶

Gums, Alfred continues, ooze in temperate air, but do not coagulate. He adds that his author seems to be saying in the preceding chapter that gum is never solidified by the cold, unless it be of a milky and sticky humor. Even a liquid humor is solidified by heat, however, if the heat is intense enough.⁸⁷

Some trees, like the boxtree (*buxus sempervirens*), is green in summer, yellow in winter, because, although the tree itself has a rather viscous humor, the root system has much clear moisture; and therefore the boxtree does not lose its leaves. With the advent of warm weather the humor is drawn to the surface and the tree becomes green; the coming of the cold repels the humor, and the tree as a consequence becomes drier, resulting in turn in its color becoming yellow.

Likewise, fruit at the beginning of the growing season is bitter owing to the cold. And although the taste of such fruit is commonly called sour (*acidus*),

⁸⁴ pp. 162-63 (ll. 276-284).

⁸⁵ p. 163 (ll. 285-292).

⁸⁶ pp. 163-64 (ll. 293-300). Albert's commentary is considerably more illuminating here than Alfred's, which differs from the text only in some details. The heat generated by the digestive process of the tree, says Albert, is insufficient to separate the latex into its three constitutive substances: the watery, buttery, and cheesy (analogous to mammalian milk), but does consume excess moisture, thus producing a viscous substance. When extracted from the tree, however, the coldness of the surrounding air turns the latex into gum (*De vegetabilibus* 4.4.2 [Meyer and Jessen ed., pp. 280-81]).

⁸⁷ p. 164 (ll. 301-306). Adam distinguishes four kinds of gums, each reacting differently to heat and cold (Vat. lat. 5988, fol. 19r).

there is this difference: if coldness and dryness combine with a substance that is gross, the resultant taste will be briny (*ponticus*); if with a clear and subtle substance, the taste will be sour or bitter. A perfect digestion, on the other hand, which requires heat and moisture, will produce a sweet-tasting fruit.⁸⁸

Paradoxically, trees that grow in sour water produce fruit that is sweet. Following closely the reasoning of his text, Alfred says that the sourness draws into the tree a sour humor, which is cold and dry. The less digested portion of this humor the tree emits as fruit and foliage. But the fruit, at first bitter, becomes sweet as it is further digested, aided by increasing heat and moisture. Because there is much heat and little moisture in such places, however, this humor is quickly consumed, and the resultant hot and dry qualities produce a sour fruit. Trees which grow in a temperate climate produce fruit before spring, because in the constantly temperate air the ducts of the vascular system will remain open and clear, and digestible humor, which can be digested with but a little heat, will be present for the production of fruit.⁸⁹

Alfred concludes his commentary with a note on the myrobalan tree.⁹⁰ Owing to the middling-size ducts of the tree's vascular system the path of the heat-containing humor is obstructed in hot weather. This results in a preponderance of cold and dry qualities in the fruit, which produces a briny flavor. As the hot weather grows more intense, however, the ducts will open, and hot and dry qualities will prevail, resulting in a bitter flavor.⁹¹

In his dedicatory prologue to his translation of the *De plantis* Alfred observes for Roger how strenuously he had labored to render such difficult material from the free-flowing (*fluida*) language of the Arabs to the contractedness of the Latin idiom and how little of his own he had added in the process.⁹² To comment on such a knotty text, however, to add as it were 'something of his

⁸⁸ pp. 164-65 (ll. 307-316).

⁸⁹ p. 165 (ll. 317-325). Although Alfred's chemistry is primitive, no fruit farmer today would argue with his observations.

⁹⁰ The myrobalan is a fruit, similar to a prune, from trees which grew in India; it was a very common article of trade and frequently appears in Arabic and Salernitan medical works. See *OED*, p. 812. Albert identified five varieties of myrobalan; see Stannard, 'Identification', 302. Cf. also A. J. Arberry, 'Notes on *The Book of Plants*, Part II', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt* 2 (1934) 104.

⁹¹ p. 166 (ll. 329-339).

⁹² *De plantis*, Alfredi ad Rogerium dedicatio (Meyer ed., p. 4). Concerning this observation Adam of Buckfield writes: 'Significat quomodo se habuit in transferendo, dicens quod nihil apposuit de suo sed solum in transferendo angustias nostri sermonis ampliauit. Causa enim propter quam nihil adiecit in transferendo eo quod Alueredus sue scientie paruitatis conscius, excellenciam philosophie considerans, cuius hec doctrina non est parua pars, immo magna magis et essentialis, ne presumptuose uidetur egisse, nihil noui neque de proprio adiecit in transferendo' (Vat. lat. 5988, fol. 1r).

own', proved to be an irresistible temptation for Alfred, and the tradition of commenting on the botanical science of the pseudo-Aristotle was born.

Alfred's efforts at unraveling his text, it must be conceded, were not altogether successful. Indeed, at times his gloss appears to obfuscate rather than illuminate.⁹³ His tools of analysis are principally the traditional Greek lore regarding the four elements, already familiar to the Latin West through the pages of the *Timaueus*, and the cognate doctrine of the four primary qualities. Add to this an acquaintance with Aristotelian logic, at least a fragmentary knowledge of Aristotelian biology, a passing familiarity with Greco-Arabic science, especially the writings of Avicenna, and Alfred's repertoire is exhausted.

Convinced that the text he translated and was now glossing was from the pen of the Stagirite, Alfred naturally seeks support and enlightenment from other treatises in the Aristotelian corpus. Upon examination, however, these citations turn out to be paraphrases at best and wrongly attributed at worst.⁹⁴ Of the works he cites by name (*De generatione et corruptione*, *De animalibus*, *Metheora*, *De anima*, and the *Analytica posteriora*) none is referenced by book and/or chapter, and one is left with the impression that Alfred was quoting from memory, a memory that occasionally was faulty.⁹⁵

Aware of the pedagogical power of examples, moreover, Alfred illustrates his commentary with several genera of trees that were either native to Western Europe or familiar through Biblical or patristic literature: the ash, the fir, the medlar, the fig, the ebony, the palm, and the boxtree.⁹⁶ There is no indication in the text that any of Alfred's examples were based on personal observation, but it would not be unreasonable to assume that at least some were. We know, for example, that Albert the Great made time in his busy schedule to observe, to smell, and to taste the various plant species he came across in his travels.⁹⁷

⁹³ See, e.g., his glosses on the texts 'Desiderium non est nisi ex sensu', 'Sunt autem animalia que sexu carent', and 'Et hec est inuentio uite'.

⁹⁴ For wrong attributions see below, notes to ll. 73, 77, 125. On Alfred's use of sources in his commentary on the *Metheora* see J. K. Otte, 'The Role of Alfred of Sareshel (Alfredus Anglicus) and His Commentary on the *Metheora* in the Reacquisition of Aristotle', *Viator* 7 (1976) 199-206.

⁹⁵ The exception is the *De congelatione*, which Alfred had translated and which he apparently thought was authentic Aristotelian material; see below, note to l. 39.

⁹⁶ I am grateful to Professor Jerry Stannard for identifying these names for me. Alfred's choice of trees, unfortunately, provides no evidence for a sojourn in Spain (or anywhere else); those trees which were not winter-hardy, and hence native to southern Europe, were quite common in the literature (e.g., the palm, the fig, and the ebony). See, e.g., Isidore, *Etymologiae* 17.7, where all of Alfred's examples are described.

⁹⁷ See especially J. Stannard, 'Albertus Magnus and Medieval Herbalism' in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences. Commemorative Essays, 1980*, ed. J. A. Weisheipl (Studies and Texts 49; Toronto, 1980), pp. 355-77.

In part, the lack of clarity in Alfred's commentary can be attributed to the fact that, although he was attempting to explain Aristotelian science, he continued to think like a Platonist. The absence of direct citations in his *De plantis* commentary notwithstanding, the influence of Plato's *Timaeus*⁹⁸ and Avicenna's *Shifā'*⁹⁹ is strong and pervasive. While Alfred may have read more of Aristotle's biological corpus than any of his contemporaries, he failed to grasp fully its conceptual implications and its profound differences from Platonism and the Platonic tradition. Indeed, at least a full generation was to pass before the new science could truly be said to have been 'received' among the Latins.¹⁰⁰

Whatever its shortcomings, however, Alfred's little *tractatus* was widely used in the schools for about fifty years, up until the time, in fact, when it was superseded by Albert's magisterial work. I have found five citations of the commentary in the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus¹⁰¹ and an even more extensive use in the *De plantis* commentary of Adam of Buckfield.¹⁰² Grosseteste cites the work in his *De natura locorum*,¹⁰³ and a citation appears as well in an anonymous commentary on the *Physionomia*.¹⁰⁴ Daniel Callus, finally, has documented its use by Roger Bacon and Henry de Renham.¹⁰⁵

Alfred's achievement, in conclusion, must be evaluated within the context of his age. He was on the cutting edge of a movement that was to alter irrevocably the medieval mind. But if Alfred's commentary on the *De plantis* heralded the birth of the science of botany in the Latin West, it must also be noted that the baby was barely out of the womb. Not until a generation later did the infant science take its first tentative steps forward.

⁹⁸ See, e.g., his assigning of powers, ungrounded in a soul, to the plant, his attribution of feelings of pleasure and pain and their accompanying desires to plant life, and his reference to the heavens as animated and 'elemented'.

⁹⁹ See, e.g., ll. 39, 39-40, 41, 125. Bäumker has ably demonstrated Avicenna's influence on the *De motu cordis* ('Die Stellung', 52 et passim).

¹⁰⁰ Callus, 'Aristotelian Learning' (n. 2 above), 4-5.

¹⁰¹ *De proprietatibus rerum* 17.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16099, fols. 142r-151v, passim).

¹⁰² Adam's use of Alfred's commentary is very extensive, incorporating a major portion of the latter's work verbatim within his own commentary. The extent of Adam's borrowing needs, however, to be more precisely documented.

¹⁰³ *De natura locorum*, ed. L. Baur in *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln* (BGPTJM 9; Münster i. W., 1912), p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina ms. 81, fol. 82r-v.

¹⁰⁵ Callus, 'Aristotelian Learning', 11.

III

Although in a few instances Alfred's glosses accompany the text of the *De plantis*,¹⁰⁶ they are nearly always incomplete, sometimes mixed with at least one other commentary, and often paraphrased. Since such interlinear and marginal glosses do not contribute in any significant way to the establishment of the text, I have based this edition only on those manuscripts that transmit the commentary as an independent work. The following are the nine that have been identified and their *sigla*:¹⁰⁷

B = Oxford, Balliol College 105, fols. 12r-15r.¹⁰⁸ Early 14th century; Dutch or German bookhands.

C = Oxford, Balliol College 112, fols. 173v-174v.¹⁰⁹ Early 14th century; English hand; manuscript breaks off, unfinished, at the words 'acidus uel amarus'.

D = Durham, Chapter Library C.III.15, fols. 115r-116v.¹¹⁰ Beginning of 14th century; also contains Alfred's *In Metheora*; corrected in accordance with a better manuscript.

K = Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna 22 D 2, fols. 248v-250v.¹¹¹ End of 13th century.

M = New York, Morgan Library M. 857 (formerly Admont, Stiftsbibliothek 487), fols. 77v-79v.¹¹² End of 13th/beginning of 14th century; no emendations.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14700, fols. 391r-394v.¹¹³ 13th century; in a black, rather uncultivated hand.

¹⁰⁶ See, e.g., New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Cushing 12 (formerly Admont, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 126); Durham, Chapter Library C.IV.18; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6323; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana S. Croce 13 sin. 5 and S. Croce 14 sin. 1; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.IV.22.

¹⁰⁷ See C. H. Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries. Authors A-F', *Traditio* 23 (1967) 356. I wish to thank Professor Lohr for notifying me of three additional manuscripts that did not appear on his original list, as well as for suggesting several useful bibliographic items. A tenth copy (namely, Admont, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 254) was sold about fifty years ago and its whereabouts is now unknown; cf. *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices suppl.*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges, 1961), p. 52, no. 29.

¹⁰⁸ For a complete description see R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), p. 86. See also G. Lacombe, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices* 1 (Rome, 1939), p. 400, no. 343.

¹⁰⁹ Described by Mynors, *ibid.*, p. 89 and Lacombe, *ibid.*, p. 401, no. 345.

¹¹⁰ See Lacombe, *ibid.*, pp. 366-67, no. 273.

¹¹¹ See F. Čáda, *Codices manu scripti Bibliothecae Castellii Kynžvart in Bohemia Occidentali* (Prague, 1965), pp. 122-30.

¹¹² See Lacombe, *Arist. Lat. Cod.* 1, pp. 253-54, no. 34.

¹¹³ See *ibid.*, pp. 544-45, no. 640.

S = Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 595, fols. 165v-168r.¹¹⁴ 13th century; in an uncultivated hand.

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2302, fols. 127r-128r.¹¹⁵ Beginning of the 14th century; carelessly written by a Belgian or Rhenish scribe.

W = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5163, fols. 96v-99r.¹¹⁶ 14th century; in a cramped and careless hand, frequently corrected.

In preparing the first printed edition of Alfred's *Tractatus in De plantis* I made the decision to collate and include in the *apparatus* all of the above manuscripts, even though several, like M and W, add very little to the establishment of the text. With the exception of the Kynžvart and the two Vienna codices, I examined all of the manuscripts *in situ*, having first taken the transcription/collation from microfilm copies.

There are two distinct families: DMPVW and BCKS. Within the former P and V are most closely related and are possibly copied from the same exemplar; W is perhaps a second or third cousin, though of genetically inferior stock.¹¹⁷ M is a distant uncle with a goodly share of peculiarities. The most faithful witness is D, although it does not appear to be the earliest. D, moreover, has been corrected by a second hand in accordance with a better manuscript and also in the corrector's hand gives a number of alternate readings; the latter, introduced by *uel*, are not always improvements of the text.

The relationship among members of the BCKS family is more complex, and it is impossible to establish a close kinship between any two manuscripts; in this group C is the most distantly related and can almost be said to represent a distinct tradition. With some hesitation, therefore, I propose the following stemma:¹¹⁸

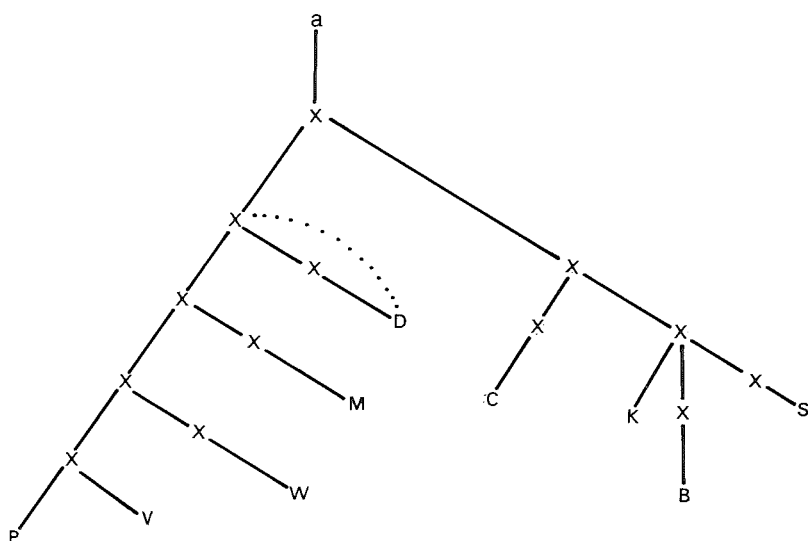
¹¹⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 445, no. 425.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 286, no. 105.

¹¹⁶ See *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* 4 (Vienna, 1870), p. 46, where it is not, however, properly identified.

¹¹⁷ Many of W's readings, in fact, can only be explained by postulating that its scribe was illiterate or drunk, or both.

¹¹⁸ I am most grateful to Dr. Fred Mis of Fairfield University's Computer Center for devising a computer-assisted grid analysis of the variants for me.



Only once did I find it necessary to emend the text.¹¹⁹ Since, moreover, I tended to prefer the readings of D, at times against all or most of the other readings, I decided also to follow the orthography of D, even when inconsistent (e.g., *subtilis/suptilis*). The word order, unless otherwise indicated, is also that of D. I have not noted additions, omissions, or variant readings of conjunctions like *enim*, *autem*, *uero*, and *etiam*, except where the meaning was possibly affected; nor have I noted obvious scribal errors or purely orthographic variants. Punctuation, capitalization, and paragraph divisions follow the canons of modern English. Lemmata have been set off in upper case letters.

Because the lemmata are generally too brief to be intelligible without a context and because Meyer's edition is not readily accessible,¹²⁰ I thought it advisable to reproduce the relevant portions of the *De plantis* text below Alfred's commentary. This context also renders more understandable some of Alfred's more sketchy comments.

For the Meyer edition to be serviceable, however, it needed to be corrected. Of the approximately 170 extant manuscripts of the *De plantis*, Meyer utilized only three in establishing his text.¹²¹ Apparently unaware of the existence of

¹¹⁹ See Appendix A.

¹²⁰ The *National Union Catalogue* (1968-72), for example, lists only seven American libraries that hold the book.

¹²¹ *De plantis* (Meyer ed., pp. xxv-xxvi). For the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, see Lacombe, *Arist. Lat. Cod.* 1.686-87, nos. 942 and 944, and for the Basel manuscript, *ibid.* 2 (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 813-14, no. 1148.

Alfred's commentary, moreover, he relied too heavily on Albert's.¹²² My procedure was to collate an additional seven manuscripts,¹²³ emending Meyer's text wherever both *sensus* and consensus dictated, without however indicating manuscript support.¹²⁴

There are thus three *apparatus*, arranged in the following descending order: the *apparatus criticus*, the *apparatus fontium*, and the relevant passages from the reedited *De plantis*. Lines demarcate the *apparatus*.

I acknowledge with gratitude the support of the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, which enabled me personally to examine all but two of the manuscripts containing Alfred's commentary. I am grateful as well to Fairfield University for grants enabling me to study *De plantis* manuscripts in Rome and Florence and to purchase microfilms. Lastly, I wish to thank Yale University for a Visiting Faculty Fellowship, which afforded me the library resources to complete the research.

INCIPIT TRACTATVS ALFREDI
SVPER LIBRVM DE VEGETABILIBVS

VITA IN ANIMALIBVS ET PLANTIS INVENTA EST. Inferioris mundi corporum quatuor sunt prima genera: confusa, congelata, plante, animalia. Sunt autem

1-2 commentum super librum de uegetabilibus *B*: Aluredus super librum de plantis *C*: commentum Alfredi super librum de uegetabilibus *K*: commentum Averrois super librum de plantis *M*: commentum Alueredi super librum Aristotelis de uegetabilibus *P*: incipit ... uegetabilibus *om. SVW* 3 inuenta est] et cetera *PVW*

3 'Vita in animalibus et plantis inventa est' (Meyer ed., p. 5).

¹²² Meyer, *De plantis*, pp. xxvi-xxvii; given Albert's inferior copy text we now know that such a reliance was unwarranted (see, e.g., Appendix B). Alfred's commentary, on the other hand, can occasionally determine the correct reading and should be a valuable aid in any future edition of *De plantis*.

¹²³ They are: Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque de la Ville 168; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana S. Croce 13 sin. 5, S. Croce 14 sin. 1, and S. Croce 15 sin. 1; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.IV.22; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6323; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Cushing 12. The choice of these particular manuscripts was dictated solely by convenience and accessibility, since I found myself in Florence when I made the decision thus to proceed; of the two remaining either I owned the copy or the original was nearby.

¹²⁴ This methodology, while scientifically unsatisfying, has the virtue of expedience, that is, the correcting of a flawed text while at the same time avoiding a cumbersome *apparatus*. The number of emendations, on the other hand, should indicate to the reader the desirability of a truly critical edition of *De plantis*.

- 5 confusa que sola mixtione ab elementari extremitate distorta elementorum
quam proxime seruant uestigia, ut que uulgus dicit elementa. Congelata uero
sunt que generationem augmentumque tantum recipiunt. Crementum uero et
sensum repudiant; sunt enim substantia corporea, inanimata, terminata. Planta
uero, que radice suffulta, generationem suscipit et crementum; est enim
10 substantia animata insensibilis. Animal uero est substantia generationem
crementum sensumque suscipiens; est enim substantia animata sensibilis.

- Horum in duobus, scilicet planta et animali, dicit uitam esse inuentam. In hijs
enim tria illa conueniunt que in libro *De generatione et corruptione*, capitulo de
qualiter aliquid crescere dicatur, assignantur que non preter naturam sed supra
15 naturam. Nemo etiam notus esse ignorat. Animata enim sunt predicta corporea.
Quid uero naturam disiungat ab anima ipse determinat IN ANIMALIBVS. In
animalibus enim multi anime apparent effectus. Vnde et in ipso uita euidenter
apparet. In planta uero pauci sunt anime effectus. Vnde et in ipsa est uita
occulta. Vix enim dinoscitur in quo differat a congelatis.
20 AD HVIVS ENIM. Confusa enim occulto augmento et diminutione ei in tantum
similia sunt, ut fere crescere uideantur.

5 mixtione ab] commixtione et *M* elementari] elemento *W* distorta] discorsa *PV*
6 proxime] proximo *C*: proprie *PV* dicit] dixit *K*: dici *P* elementi *K* 7 augmentumque]
augmentaret *C*: alimentumque *P*: alimenter *V* recipiunt] suscipiunt *V* 8 sunt enim] sicut est
M substantia] confusa *S* inanimata] materiata *V* terminata] creata *V*: om. *W* 9 que]
de *add. W* suffulta *DW*: fulta *BCKMPSV* suscipit] -iunt *W*: recipit *M* 10 animata] anima
B insensibilis] sensibilis *KVW* est om. *BCKM* generatione *P* 12 dicit uitam] ostendit
uita *P* inuentam] in planta et animali *V* 13 de?] diuide *PV*: om. *M* 14 qualiter] qualitate
B: quantum *W* aliquid] -quod *PV* assignantur] -atur *K*: -ant *PVW*: -ans *D* preter] propter
(uel preter *add. man. post.*) *S* naturam om. *W* 15 notus] motus *M*: notum (*corr. ex notus V*)
VW corpora *MVW* 16 quid] quod *VW* natura *V* disiungat] distingat *M*: distingwant
W determinant *W*: in libro *add. M* in animalibus om. *CW* 17 multe *PW* apparent]
appetit *BK* ipsa *MVW*: ipsis *C* 18 pauce *B* est om. *BC* 19 occultata *W* dinoscitur]
cognoscitur *C* 20 huius] hoc *M* enim] et cetera *add. W* occulta (uel -to *add. in marg. D*)
BD: oculo *PV* augmento et diminutione] augmentum et diminutionem *V* in tantum *DSW*:
iterum *C*: om. *BKMPV* 21 simili *P* fere] uere *M*

6 Cf. Adelard of Bath: 'Composita enim haec, quae sensu percipimus, non ipsa, sed ex ipsis
sunt. Quare nec terra nec aqua nec aer nec ignis, ut philosophus ait [*Tim.* 49b], sed terreum,
aquaticum, aereum, igneum dicenda sunt. Ex eo tamen, quod in singulis magis abundat,
appellationem hanc sortita sunt' (*Quaestiones naturales*, ed. M. Müller [BGP(T)M 31.2; Münster
i. W., 1934], p. 6).

13 Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione* 1.5 (321a18-29).

16 idem, *Historia animalium* 8.1 (588b4-589a3).

16 'in animalibus manifesta apparens, in plantis uero occulta, non evidens' (ibid.).

20 'Ad huius enim assertionem multam necesse est inquisitionem praecedere. Constaret enim
utrum habeant nec ne plantae animam et virtutem desiderii dolorisque et delectationis discre-
tiram' (ibid.).

DESIDERIO MOVERI, florum scilicet et frondium et fructuum; horum enim absentiam illis molestam esse dicebant.

QVORVM ANAXAGORAS. Huius enim erat opinio quod plante tum solaris
25 temporis tum florum et fructuum succique amissione uehementer tristabantur.
Ad quod signum folia eicere dicebant.

SEXVM. Quicquid enim ab aliquo manente per generationem educitur, per
tercii actionem fieri uidetur. Quid autem circa plantas de sexu dicendum in
sequentibus determinabitur.

30 PLATO. Ille enim uim attractiuam, retentiuam, digestiuam desiderium uocat.
Sic enim se habentia desiderare uidentur. Aristoteles uero ipsam ueritatem in
disputacione elimat et ideo sic infert:

QVIDAM AVTEM HABERE: in quibus uegetabilia a congelatis differant determinat.
Vegetabilia enim nascuntur, crescunt, et secundum temporum habitudines
35 constituuntur, senectute quoque intereunt – que omnia cum animalibus plante

22 horum] si *add. P* enim] si *V* 23 absentia *VW* molestiam *B* dicebant] debeant *V*
24 huius] horum *C* erat *om. C* tum *DS*: cum *BKPW*: tamen *C* tum solaris] consolatis
V: consoleratur *M* 25 tempore *M* tum *DKS*: cum *PVW*: tam *BC*: *om. M* succique *CD*:
siccique *K*: succi *PV*: sutuque *S*: sutaque *B*: suaque *M*: sustinent *W* amissionem *W*
tristantur *MPV*: et stabantur *K* 26 dicebat *W* 27 aliquo] agente *W*: accidente *PV* 27-
28 per tercii] perii *K* 28 tercii] sexum *M*: certam *W* actionem *om. M* super plantas *V*:
in planta *M* sexibus *M* 28-29 in sequentibus determinabitur] propter ea determinationibus
V 30 digestiua *P* desiderium] notat uel *add. D* 31 sicut *V* enim] nec *P* Aristoteles]
harum *W* 32 disputacione elimat] dispensacione eliminat *M* infert] insunt *KW*
33 quidam] quidem *K*: quod *V* a] et *P*: *om. K* differant] -unt *CMS* determinat] -ant
BKSW: -auit *C* 34 temporum] ipsum *BK* habitudines] consuetudines *CS*

30 Plato, *Timaeus* 77A-c. Cf. Costa-ben-Luca: 'Opus vero vegetabilis animae est nutrire et
reficere; hoc autem facit per quatuor virtutes, quae vocantur naturales, quae sunt: attractiva,
retentiva, digestiva et expulsiva' (*De differentia animae et spiritus* 3, trans. John of Spain, ed.
C. S. Barach [Innsbruck, 1878], p. 137).

22 'Anaxagoras autem et Abrucalis *desiderio eas moveri* (dicunt *add. Meyer*), sentire quoque,
et tristari delectarique asserunt' (ibid.).

24 'Quorum Anaxagoras animalia esse has laetarique et tristari dixit, fluxum (flexum *Meyer*)
foliorum argumentum assumens' (ibid.).

27 'Abrucalis [i.e., Empedocles; see Arberry, 'Notes ... I' (above, p. 131 n. 46), 220] autem
sexum in his permixtum opinatus est' (ibid.).

30 'Plato siquidem desiderare tantum eas propter vehementem nutrimenti necessitatem ait.
Quod si constet, gaudere quoque et tristari, sentireque eas, consequens erit. Id quoque constare
desiderem an somno reficiantur excitenturque vigiliis, spiritum quoque et sexum per mixtionem
sexuum habeant, vel contra. Multa autem circa haec ambiguitas longam facit inquisitionem'
(ibid., pp. 5-6).

33 'Quidam autem habere animas has dixerunt, quia generari nutriri augeri, virescere
iuventute, senioque dissolvi conspexerunt, cum nullum inanimatum haec cum plantis habeat
communia' (ibid., p. 6).

sunt communia. Vnde quidam eas animalia esse dicebant propter consimiles uirtutes que eis insunt communiter. Congelata uero nullam istarum uirtutum habent. Quedam tamen eorum augentur nec crescunt; quedam uero eorum semper uno modo permanent, ut ipse in *Metheoris* et in libro *De congelatis*. In
40 huius etiam secundo causam huius assignat.

DESIDERIO QVOQUE AFFICI, quod non est necesse. Ipse enim in libro *De anima* differenciam ostendit inter tres species anime, uegetabilem scilicet, sensibilem, et animale.

NISI CVM SENSU. Est enim fames nutrimenti appetitus ex attractione mem-
45 brorum sensibilis fitque in solo stomacho. Prius enim necesse est ut sentiat superius os stomachi attractionem a membris huiusque appetitus molestia tristatur, patiens quod superuenientis cibi nutrimento exhilaratur. Vtrumque ergo mediante sensu fit. Sentit enim animal inopiam, unde et exasperatur, huiusque inopie subleuacionem intelligit, unde et dolor remouetur. Cessante
50 enim causa cessat effectus, et hec occulta fide cognoscimus.

36 quedam *corr. ex* quidam *V* animalia] substantias *W* dicebat *M* 37 uirtutes] -em *V*:
-em uirtutis *W* sunt *W* nullam *om. C* 38 quedam¹] quidam *PW* eorum] horum *S*:
illorum *D* augentur] augmentatur *W* quedam²] quidam *CW* 39 semper] sunt que *W*
ut *om. B* in² *om. BCPSV* 40 secundo causam huius *om. P* huius *om. W* 41 desiderio]
duo *V*: bene *W* quod] secundum *K* necesse] nature *M* 42 ostendit] ponit *PV* species]
sensus *M*: potentias *W* scilicet *om. MPW* sensibilem *om. P* 43 rationalem *corr. ex*
animalem *S* 44 cum sensu] consensibilis *V* appetitis *C* 45 sensibilibus *W* fitque]
sitque *PV* prius] post *W* 46 superius *om. M* os] ei *C*: ut *P*: *om. VW* attractionem]
attractiua *W* a] et *V*: *om. W* huiusque] huiusmodi quoque *M*: huius sed *P*: sed *VW*
molestium *V* 47 superuenitis *B*: super uehementis *P* exhilaratur *DM*: exhilaratur *P*:
exillaretur *SW*: exhilarat *V*: exhibeatur *BK*: exhuberatur *C* 48 medietate *V* fit] sit *PV*
exasperatur] expiratur *S* 49 huiusque] huius quoque *M*: uim sed *PV*: uni sed *W*
subleuacionem intelligit] subleuantur subleuacione intelligitur *W* 50 et hec occulta] ut
oculata *sic W*

39 It is likely that Alfred had no particular passage in mind but was referring in general to the contents of *Meteor.* 4, which deals with the qualities and properties of matter and with what we call chemical change.

39 Avicenna, *De congelatione* (Holmyard and Mandeville ed., pp. 45-55).

39-40 *ibid.*: 'Fiunt autem lapides duobis [*sic*] modis congelatione et congelacione. In quibusdam enim lapidibus dominans est terra, in aliis vero aqua. Aliquotiens desiccatur lutum fitque primum quod medium est inter lutum et lapidem et deinceps fit lapis' (p. 45).

41 A general reference to *De anima* 2.2-4 and 3.12-13.

43 *animalis* is derived from *anima*, not *animal*; on the dual sense of *animalis* see Bäumker, *De motu cordis*, p. 53 n. 1.

41 'Quae si habuerint plantae, desiderio quoque affici credebant' (*ibid.*).

44 'Dico ergo (dicit Plato *Meyer*): quicquid cibatur, desiderat (cibum *add. Meyer*) et delectatur saturitate, tristaturque, cum esurierit (esurit *Meyer*); et non accidunt hae dispositiones nisi cum sensu' (*ibid.*).

HVIVS IGITVR MIRABILIS, id est cum diceret eos desiderare et tristari, innuebat eos sentire. Huius ergo mirabilis erat sententia qui eas dixit sentire.

INTELLECTVM INTELLIGENTIAMQVE. Hec in proximo cassabuntur, ubi nec eas sensum habere docebitur.

- 55 DICO ERGO. Vaporum tres prime sunt species, quarum prima sui leuitate in aerem prorsus extollitur, secunda sui grauitate infra terram comprimitur, tertia inter utrasque media nec infra prorsus comprimitur nec tota supra eleuatur, et hec sola anime susceptioni congrua inuenitur. Causa prima in subtilitate difflua spontaneam coagulationem non recipit, de qua sufficienter in *Metheoris* agitur.
- 60 Secunda superflua sui compactione diffusioni repugnat. Vnde utraque in genere suo distemperatissima. Sola autem intemperies animam expellit, quod tam ratione quam occulta fide sensum est. Tercia uero nec exuberanti compactione comprimitur nec nimia liquiditate dissoluitur. Vnde et temperiei uicina, animacioni non prorsus contradicit.
- 65 DESIDERIVM NON EST NISI EX SENSU. Prius enim necesse est ut moueat sensus opinionem, a qua ad rationem, ducem intellectus, fiat ascensus. Oportet enim ut mediante sensu quedam presumat opinio que ipsa, uel que ex ipsis elicitae sunt,

51 huius igitur mirabilis] huiusmodi cum *M* eos] eas *MW* tristari innuebat] tristare inueniebat *W* 52 eos] eas *MW* huius ... sentire *om.* *M* eas] eos *B* dicit *PVW* 53 intelligentia *W* ubi] nisi *B* 55 dico ergo] duo igitur *M* uapor *B*: uaporis *M* leuitate] subtilitate *V* 56 grauitatem *PV* comprimit *V* tertia] est *add.* *S* 57 inter] in *M* media] mediatur *C*: est *add.* *W* comprimitur] inprimitur *W* totum *BK* 58 hoc *PV* susceptionem *PV* congruam (*corr. ex contraria D*) *BD*: communia *PV*: *om.* *W* causa] cum *M*: est *W* difflua] difusam *W* 59 recipit] suscipit *PV* 60 sui] sua *M* compactione] comparatione *CM* repugnat] -ant *C* genere (*corr. ex generatione D*): generatione *MVW*: gilatione sic *P* 61 suo] sua *MPVW* sola] communia (?) *W*: *om.* *PV* autem] aristoteles *PV*: et *W* intemperiei *BCKS*: intemperiens (?) *W* expellit] expressit (*add. in marg.* uel pellit) *S* tam] tamen *S* 62 ratione] probatione *W* oculata *W* exuberanti] -antur *W* 63 nec] ut *BCK* temperiei (*corr. ex intemperiei D*) *DKMS*: temperei *BC*: intemperie (*corr. ex temperie V*) *PV*: intemperet *W* uicina] dissoluitur *PVW*: in qua *S* animacioni] anima communi *W* 64 prorsus] *corr. ex prius D* 65 non] uero *M* necessarium *M* 66 a qua] *corr. ex aliquam D* ducem] ducere *BCPSV* intellectus] et *add.* *PV*: cum *add.* *W* assensus *CM*: offensus *K*: sensus *S*: accessus *W* 67 mediante] mediā (?) *B* quedam] quod dicit *V* ipsa] quando *W* que] exque sic *B*: *om.* *CMPSVW* ipsis elicitae] illis eliciatur *W* sunt *om.* *PV*

52 i.e., Plato (*Tim.* 77B-c).

59 Arist., *Meteor.* 1.3-4 (340b22-342a35) and 2.4 (359b27-361b13).

65 See idem, *De an.* 2.3 (414b2-5).

51 'Hujus igitur mirabilis erat intentio, qui eas sentire et desiderare opinabatur' (ibid.).

53 'Anaxagoras autem et Democritus et Abrucalis illas intellectum intelligentiamque habere dicebant. Nos vero, haec ut foeda repudiantes, sano insistamus sermone' (ibid.).

55 'Dico ergo, quod plantae nec sensum habent nec desiderium' (ibid.).

65 'Desiderium enim non est nisi ex sensu, et nostrae voluntatis finis ad sensum convertitur' (ibid.).

anima desiderat uel appetit. Et hoc est ut ipse dicit in *Analeticis posterioribus*: Oportet quedam prius cognoscere, id est sensu comprehendere, deinceps ex
70 hiis scientiam aut desiderium aut similia colligere. Precedit ergo sensus desiderium.

Huic tamen obuiat quod et animam post abscessum a corpore quidam dicunt quedam desiderare. Quod et ipse in libro *De anima* determinat. Huius tamen molestie inopportunitas excluditur cum addidit NOSTRE, scilicet animalis. Scitum
75 enim est hoc in quolibet animali contingere.

Plantas omnes constat esse ex sensu precedenti, sicut ipse docet in *Posterioribus analeticis* esse in eis sensum, sensum scilicet qui toti corpori est communis, id est tactum. NEC MEMBRVM SENTIENS, id est nec membrum particulari sensui deputatum, ut aurem, oculum, et similia. Est ergo perceptio
80 inpressionis in instrumentum ab applicatione exteriorum. Prius enim oportet, ut instrumentum exteriorum applicatione aliquo modo inficiatur, quam affectionem percipiens anima sentit. Omnis ergo planta, ut plurimum, solide substantie est, unde et infert inpressionem facilius quam suscipit. In animali quoque nerui instrumenta sunt sentiendi: molles inpressioni cedunt, unde et in
85 hiis, hiis mediantibus, fit sensus; duri resistunt, unde et motus dicuntur, non sensibiles. Planta uero secundum plurimum hiis etiam est durior.

68 et hoc *om.* BCKS 69 oportet] sed *MVW*: *om.* BCKS id est] in *P*: et *V* deinde *M*
ex *om.* *M* 70 similia] uniuersalia *K*: alia *M*: simul *W* colligere] cognoscere *M* 72 huic]
hoc *BC* tamen] enim *C*: cum *P*: non *W* anima BCKMS abscessum] accessum *B*:
ascensum *PV* 74 moleste *PV* importunitas *CM* addit *MS*: addiderit *P*: accidit *K*
scilicet] que *C* scilicet animalis] secundum aristotelem *W* 76 plantas omnes] planta omnis
C ex] a *M* precedenti *D*: -te *CMPSVW*: pretente *B*: preeunte *K* dicet (*add. in marg.* docet)
D 77 posterioribus] prioribus *M* esse *om.* BCKPSVW eis] eas *V* sensum²] sensus *S*:
om. *KMPVW* scilicet] enim *S*: *om.* *M* 78 id est] in *B*: scilicet *C* nec²] ne *P* membrum]
in *add.* *P* 79 oculus *V* preceptio *S* 80 in *om.* BCKMPSV instrumento *W*
extraniorum *M*: extrinsicorum *W* prius *om.* *P* 81 instrumentum exteriorum] instrumenta
exteriori *W* aliquo] alio *C* modo *om.* *M* inficiatur] -ant *S* quam] per *add.* *B*
82 affectionem] affectum *W* 83 fert *P* inpressionem] passionem *M* suscipit] recipit *M*
animalibus *S* 84 sunt *om.* *M* sentiendi] concindi *K* in *del.* *S* 85 hiis² *om.*
BCKMSW dure *W* motus] uel moti *add.* *D* 85-86 non sensibiles] insensibiles *C*
86 hiis] habens *M* est *om.* BCKS

68 idem, *An. post.* 2.19 (100a3-b4).

73 There is no such discussion in Aristotle's *De anima*. Avicenna explicitly denies any sensible power, including desire, in the separated soul (*Liber de anima seu Sextus de naturalibus* 4.4, ed. S. Van Riet [Louvain, 1968], pp. 66-67).

77 Alfred must have had in mind *De anima* 3.13 (434b9-24). Cf. *De motu cordis* 10 (Bäumker ed., p. 43), where he correctly cites the *De anima*. There is no such discussion in the *Posterior Analytics*.

80 Cf. Arist., *De an.* 2.12 (424a33-b3).

Item nichil fit cuius ortum legitima causa et ratio non precedat. Sensus uero ad hoc datus est, ut cognoscentes quorundam nobis applicemus presentiam ob manifestas inter alias utilitates, quarum nullam plantas posse adipisci occulta
90 fide compertum habemus. In hiis ergo superflueret sensus. Relinquitur ergo ut nec eis sensum natura reliquerit nec Creator inesse sustinuerit.

NEC FORMAM CERTAM, scilicet quantitatis et qualitatis et numeri partium mensuram. Vel igitur sentiendi potestas in planta producitur in infinitum, et ita illa perfectior erit animali, uel, si citra partes determinatas potestas sentiendi
95 extenditur, quedam partes plante insensibiles relinquuntur, que omnes inter se similitudines inueniuntur. In animali siquidem cum membrum superfluum, ut digitum aut simile aliquid, natura producit inutile et inhabile, et fore nature regimine destitutum inuenitur.

NEC SIGNVM ALIQVOD. Membra enim singularibus sensibus deputata ab aliis in
100 aliis sibi similia sunt, ut oculi irradiacio, naris concauitas, et similia.

NEC CONSTAT HOC, quod planta sit animata, nisi propter has uirtutes quas eam constat habere ab anima.

CAUSA EST ILLUSTRATIONIS. Vita enim sine sensu mortis tenet ymaginem; sensus uero uitam fere ducit ad actum.

87 item] cum *add. V* fit] sit *V* cuius] eius *C* causa *om. C* ratio] prima *W*
88 quibusdam *PV* ob] ad *W* 89 manifestas *om. BS* alias] illas *W* posse] personale *C*:
om. V adipisci] adpoyti sic *V* 90 compertum] apertum *PV* superflueret] -uit (uel
superflueret in marg. *D*) *DW* relinquitur] sequitur *V* 91 sensuum *B* reliquit *W*: -quunt
BS sustinuerit] firmauerit *M* 92 certam] incertam *K* scilicet] secundum *M* et
qualitatis *om. W* partium *om. W* 93 mensuram] -ur *P* uel] animal *B*: nihil *K* plantis
M 93-94 ita illa] citra illam *W* 94 erit] est *M* si *om. B* deterioratas *P* potestas]
positas *B* 95 quidam *P* relinquuntur] que] relinquitur quod *W* 95-96 inter se
similitudines] inter similes *W* 96 siquidem] si quid *CK*: si quod *PVW*: susceptibilis *M* cum]
tamen *PV*: tantum *W* 97 digitum] aut] digestum et *K* simile aliquid] aliquid tale *M*:
substantie aliquod *W* inutilem *W* inhabilem *W*: inhabile et *om. P* fore] forte *M*: forme *P*:
informe *C* nature] nec *M* 98 regimine] regine *B*: regimini *M*: regimen *W* destitutum]
definitum *M* 99 membra enim] membrana *P*: natura *W* 99 singulis *V* deputata *om. C*
aliis] alio *BKS*: aliquo *C* 99-100 in aliis] malis *P* 100 similia¹] similes *V* sunt *om. W*
irradiacio] radiacio *M*: *om. W* naris concauitas] concaui talis *W* 101 constant *B* eam]
causa *P* 102 constat] uidemus *M* habere *om. P* 103 est *om. PVW* illustrationem *B*
sine] bis *V* mortis] motis *B* 104 uero] enim *D* uitam] necessario *M*

92, 99 'Nec inuenimus in eis sensum, nec membrum sentiens, nec similitudinem ejus, nec formam terminatam, nec consecutionem rerum, nec motum, nec iter (viam Meyer) ad aliquod (aliquid Meyer) sensatum, nec signum aliquod (om. Meyer) per quod judicemus, illas sensum habere, sicut signa, per quae scimus eas nutriri et crescere' (ibid., pp. 6-7).

101 'Nec constat hoc nobis, nisi quia nutrimentum et augmentum partes sunt animae. Cumque plantam talem inuenimus, aliquam partem animae illi inesse necessario intelligamus (-gimus Meyer)' (ibid., p. 7).

103 'Sensuque careat tunc (carentem Meyer) esse concedere (contendere Meyer) non oportet, quia sensus est causa illustrationis vitae, nutrimentum vero causa est augmenti rei vivae' (ibid.).

105 VITE ANIMALIS. Vita enim in eo quod uita una ex causa et uno regimine suis debet inesse subiectis.

QVIA SVNT QVEDAM ANIMALIA. Bene dico quod, quia non sentiunt, non uiuunt: quia sunt quedam animalia que dignioribus uirtutibus illis carent, quibus uideretur uita animali inesse. Et tamen hec per generationem prolem faciunt, 110 quod est ex sensu. Non enim appeteret animal coitum, nisi eo delectaretur. Plante uero sola propagacione prolem faciunt, quod non est ex sensu. Cum ergo animatum et inanimatum inmedia sint, et planta inanimata esse non possit, dicenda est animata non uiuens.

SCIMVS AVTEM QVOD CONCHILIA. Hec sunt que hanc generalitatem uidentur 115 excludere, que est: nullam plantam sensum habere. Posset enim obici sensum in plantis superfluere, cum discretionem non habeant nec commoditate sensus possint uti.

Respondeo quedam animalia esse que eodem modo se habent, id est nullo genere discretionis utuntur, que tamen, ut plante, generantur et corrumpuntur. 120 In eis ergo eque sensus superflueret.

105 in] ex *M* ex om. *M* causa] una add. *W* regimine] regione *P* 105-106 suis debet] signet *K* 106 subiectis] substantiis *BMVW*: que add. *C* 107 quia^a] uiua *PV* quedam om. *W* bene] unde *PV* quod om. *BC* uiuunt] insunt *M* 108 sunt] secundum *C* quedam om. *K* illis] animalis *M*: om. *W* 109 uidetur *MW*: uidentur *B* animalis *MW* tamen] cum *MPV*: animalia *W* 110 quod] que *S* animal] totum add. *B* animal coitum] ex coitu *M* eo om. *MW* eo delectaretur] condelectaretur *V*: in eo add. *W* delectaretur] desiccarentur *B* 111 plante *D*: planta *BCKMPSVW* faciunt *D*: facit *BCKMPSVW* quod non est ex sensu om. *BCKMPSVW* ergo] enim uel ergo *D* 112 inmedia] mediata *M*: immeata sic *P* sint] sunt *P* inanimata (*corr. ex* animata *D*) *DM*: animata *CKPSVW*: anima *B* non] uero *P*: om. *K* 113 dicenda] dicta *V*: dauda sic *W* anima *W* non] nisi *B* 114 scimus] cuius *PV*: widemus sic *W* conchilia] consilia *S* hec om. *PV* hanc] habeat *B*: om. *PVW* generaliter *V* 115 est om. *W* plantam om. *P* habere] nostre *K*: posse add. *M* enim] hic add. *M* obici] subici *M* 116 discretionem] desiderium *M* habeant] -ent *V*: om. *P* 117 possint *M*: -ent *DP*: -unt *CKSW*: potest *B*: om. *V* 118 respondemus *W* esse om. *PV* id est om. *M* nullo] modo add. *V* 119 que] quo *K* tamen] est add. *V* ut] in *B* generatur *P* et corrumpuntur] incorrumpuntur *P* 120 eis] hiis *MV* eque] que *PV* superfluent *S*: superflueret sic *V*

105 'Dicet quoque aliquis plantam, si sit uivens esse, animal. Namque difficile est vitae plantis (plantarum *Meyer*) regimen assignare praeter regimen vitae animalis (altriciis *Meyer*)' (ibid.).

107 'Quod (qui *Meyer*) autem plantas vivere negant, est quod non sentiunt; quia (quamquam *Meyer*) sunt quaedam animalia sapientia et intellectu carentia. Natura tamen, animalis vitam in morte corrumpens, ipsam in genere suo per generationem (om. *Meyer*) conservat; estque inconueniens, ut inter animatum et inanimatum medium ponamus' (ibid.).

114 '*Scimus autem quod conchylia* animalia sunt sapientia et intellectu carentia, suntque plantae et animalia' (ibid.).

Item quedam animalia et plante sunt, ut ostrea et omnia conchilia. Conchis enim suis radicitus affixa sunt et senciunt. Plante ergo senciunt.

Soluit dicens quod 'solus sensus causa est quare dicantur animalia.' Senciunt ergo non in eo quod plante.

125 Priorem obiectionem soluit in libro *De anima*, dicens conchilia cum senciunt qualitercumque discernere; unde ad libitum conchas aperiunt uel claudunt. De serpentibus, qui radicitus terre affixi sunt, hic tacuit. Manifeste enim habent motum uoluntarium et membra singularibus sensibus deputata.

130 *QVIA GENERA DANT*. Ac si diceret: dicitur animal, quia est substantia animata sensibilis.

QVIA GENERA, et cetera, id est ex genere est diffinitio et nomen diffinitioni. Equale est enim diffinitio et ratio nominis, idem significans, ut hec substantia animata sensibilis et hec appellatio 'animal'. Species uero suis indiuiduis dat nominationem, quod de specialissima intelligendum est.

121 item] id est *W* et] ut *V* sunt *om. PVW* ut] et *W* ostrea *om. P* omnia *om. V*
conchilia] consimilia *B* 122 radicibus *K*: raditus *W* obfixa *C* sunt *om. W*
senciunt¹] certi et *P*: terre *V*: †...† *W* ergo] non *add. B* senciunt²] quod solus est dominus
add. W 123 dicens *om. W* solus *om. P* causa *om. CM* dicantur] -unt *M*
125 priorem obiectionem] prioris officium solus autem *W* obiectionem] effectum *PV*
dicens *om. K* 126 qualitercumque] qualiter oportet *P* aperuit *W* 127 radici *W* affixe
MW: confixi *V* manifeste] maxime *B* 128 motum] ut modicum *M* uoluntarium] et
motum *add. B* singulis *VW* 129 dat *V* quia²] quod *BCKPSV*: animal *add. M*
130 sensibilis] et hec appellatio animalis *add. M* 131 et cetera *om. PVW* id est ex] rex *P*
est² *om. B* nomen] natura *B*: non *PVW* diffinitioni] diffinitio *W* 132 equare *S*: inequale
W et *om. BCS* rationis *W* nominis] nomine *K*: *om. W* 133 animata] anima *P*
animal] anima et *W* uero] in *add. K* dat *om. BCKS* 134 quod] quia *C* specialissimis
PV: speciebus *W*

125 There is no mention of shellfish in Aristotle's *De anima*. Alfred is doubtless referring to the text in Avicenna's *De anima* (or *Liber sextus*) 2.3: 'Divulgatum est quod animalium quoddam est habens sensum tangendi et non habet virtutem movendi, sicut species conchylum. Dicemus ergo quod motus voluntarius duplex est: quia et est motus localis de loco ad locum et est motus contrahendi et extendendi membra animalis ex quo non provenit motus totius de loco suo. Impossibile est autem ut animal habeat sensum tangendi et non habeat in se virtutem motus aliquo modo: quomodo enim sciretur habere sensum tangendi, nisi videretur in eo aliquis modus refugendi contactum unum et appetendi alium? Unde exemplum de conchylibus quod inducent et de alijs nihil valet, quoniam nos videmus conchylum in suis conchis motus constrictionis et dilatationis et reflexionis et extensionis in partibus earum, quamvis non discedant a loco suo, et ex hoc cognoscimus quod sentiunt tactum' (ed. S. Van Riet [Louvain, 1972], pp. 132-33). Cf. Arist., *Hist. an.* 8.1 (588b12-23).

129 'Solus ergo sensus est causa, quare illa dicantur (dicuntur *Meyer*) animalia, quia genera dant suis speciebus nomina et definitiones, species vero suis indiuiduis nomina, debetque genus ex una causa esse in multis, et non ex multis; intentio autem causae, per quam conformatur genus, non cuilibet est pervia' (ibid.).

135 SVNT AVTEM ANIMALIA QVE SEXV CARENT, et cetera, quasi dicat: hee proprietates genus adesse non ducunt, cum omnibus communes non sint.

NON HABET AVTEM PLANTA MOTVM, quasi dicat nec motum, qui dicitur uitam constituere, scilicet uoluntarium, habet planta; superflueret enim in ea quia terre alligata est.

140 VITE COMMVNE EST SENSVS, quem, quia non habet planta, non uiuit.

QVIA SENSVS FACIT, et cetera, id est per sensum scitur an uiuat animal.

ET HEC EST INVENTIO VITE. Hec enim substantialis et componens specifica. Ceterum eius priuatio non apponitur ut specifica, quia comitatur omne animal celeste ad nutum sui creatoris elementatum, ex nature scilicet defectu, sicut

145 aliqua 'bipedem' esse hominis proprium et 'mortale' partem diffinitionis species ponit, licet improprie.

135 sunt] si *M* animalia] animata *C* sexu (corr. ex. sensu *D*) carent] sensu carent *M*: sexu causa *K*: sexuta sit *C*: secuta *PV* carent] fit add. *BKS*: et fit add. *D* et cetera om. *PVW* quasi dicat] quia diceret *CM* hec *CV* proprietatem *V* 136 genus] generis *W*: sunt *K* ducunt] dicunt *V*: inducunt *W* communes] perfecte *M* sunt *BCKM* 137 habet om. *V* autem] quod *C*: om. *W* motum¹] et cetera add. *M*: om. *W* dicat] diceret *C* qui] quia *V* uitam del. *W* 138 scilicet] nec sensum *M*: sed *PVW* plantam *B* superflueret] superfluum est *D*: superfluumque *M* enim om. *M* quia] quare *W* 139 terre] terra *B*: om. *W* 140 non om. *M* planta non] sensum *W* 141 quia om. *W* et cetera om. *MPVW* id est] quia *B* scitur] sentit *M* an] quod *V* 142 intentio *KMS* uite] necesse *B* enim] est *V* componens] est add. *M* 143 ceterum om. *W* priuatio] specificatio *PV*: prius *W* specifica] sed add. *CKS*: sperica sed *B*: specificatur *W* comitatur] communicatur *CM* omne om. *V* 144 nutum] nutum *C* creatoris] conditoris *M* elementatum] excreatum *M* natura *B* defectu] et defectus *B* sicut] si sit *W*: sit *PV*: scilicet *B* 145 aliquam *V* bipede *W* species] speciem *W*: sensum *M* 146 ponit] posita *PV*

144 See Chalcidius: '... ait deum post generationem stellarum ratarum, cum unaquaeque earum diuinum animal esset utens corpore mixto ex sincerissimis materiis quattuor et ex maiore parte ignis sereni' (*Timaeanus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* 119, ed. J. H. Waszink, 2nd edition [Plato Latinus 4; London, 1975], p. 165).

135 'Sunt autem animalia, quae sexu carent femineo, et sunt quae non generant, suntque quae motum non habent, et sunt quaedam diversorum colorum, et sunt quae faciunt prolem sibi dissimilem, et sunt quae ex arboribus crescunt' (ibid., pp. 7-8).

137 'Non autem habet planta motum ex se, terrae enim affixa est, haec autem immobilis' (ibid., p. 8).

140, 141 'Dicimus ergo, quod vitae animalis commune est sensus, quia sensus facit discretionem inter vitam et mortem; sed coelum, quia habet (cum habeat Meyer) regimen nobilius et dignius nostro regimine, elongatum est ab his' (ibid.).

142 'Oportet autem, ut animal perfectum et diminutum habeat (-ant Meyer) aliquid commune, et hoc est inventio vitae et ejus privatio. Nec oportet, ut quisquam recedat ab his nominibus, quia non est medium inter animatum et inanimatum, nec inter vitam et ejus privationem; sed inter inanimatum et vitam est medium, quia inanimatum est, quod non habet animam nec aliquam partem ipsius. Sed planta non est de his, quae carent anima, quia in illa est aliqua pars animae; et non est animal, quia in illa non est sensus; et exit de vita ad non vitam (mortem Meyer) paulatim ut singula. Possumus etiam alio modo dicere, quod est animatum. Et non dico tamen quod sit inanimatum, si habuerit animam et aliquem sensum (quod est add. Meyer), quia res, quae cibatur, non est sine anima, et omne animal habet animam' (ibid., pp. 8-9).

Nota quod anima uegetabilis in officio sibi deputato est infinita et interminata circa suum proprium subiectum, quia numquam in aliqua arbore tot ramos uegetat quin plures in eadem possit uegetare. Similiter anima animalis in sensu et ymaginatione se habet; similiter etiam anima rationalis se habet in ratione et intellectu, quia numquam tot intellectu comprehendit quin plura possit comprehendere.

QVOD AVTEM COMESTIBILE. Nota quod planta quandoque nascitur proprie, quandoque per accidens. Proprie, quando planta calide nature in loco calido, temperata planta in loco temperato, frigida in loco frigido – et hoc ex natura terre producentis materiam plante, scilicet humorem et uaporem, sibi similem in natura. Per accidens nascitur planta calida in terra frigida, quia ex frigiditate constringuntur pori eius superficie et includitur aer, quo calefacto aere exteriori mouetur uehementer. Et uehementer suscipit calorem, cum non possit exalare, et humorem et uaporem attrahit, quo uapore augmentato et multum calefacto tandem prorumpit in plantam calefactam; sibi enim simile producit.

E contrario in loco calido nascitur planta frigida, quia ex caliditate aperti sunt pori, et uapor calidus et subtilis euaporat; qui autem frigidus est et grossus, scilicet terre et aque uicinus, adunatur et procedit in plantam. Vnde frequentius in calida regione prouenit planta frigida quam in regione frigida, et e contrario.

147 sibi] sit *K* deputata *B* indeterminata *MW* 148 aliqua] alia *BC*: om. *M* rami
(corr. ex ramos) *S* 149 uegetat] -ant *BS* plures sic *W* in eadem om. *M* possit] -et *M*:
-int *V* similiter] quare *P*: quam *V*: cui *W* sensu] sexu *W* 150 et] in *add. BCKP*
ymagine *PW* similiter] sicut *C* in om. *S* 150-151 ratione et intellectu] rationem et
intellectum *W* 150 et² om. *C* 151 nuncquam *C* intellectus *SW* possit] -int *C*
153 quod] quoniam *M* quod² om. *W* proprie] per se *M* 154 quandoque ... proprie om.
C per om. *P* quando] quandoque *B* planta] plante *B*: proprie *add. M*: tarde *add. W*
calide] tarde *P* nature] est *add. M*: om. *W* 155 planta om. *W* loco om. *M* hec *M* ex
natura] est nota *V* 156 producentis] productionis *PV* materiam] -ia *PV*: naturam *M* sibi]
igitur *C* sibi similem om. *W* 157 in natura] innotat *V* 157-158 frigida ... et om. *V*
157 frigiditate] siccitate *M* 158 eius om. *MW* quo] in eo *W* 159 exteriora *B*: exteriora *S*
uehementer¹] uehementem *D* et uehementer om. *PV* uehementer²] uehementem *BKS*
160 exalare] -ere *P* uapore augmentato] attracto *M* 161 tandem prorumpit] eandem
prorumpat *W* calefactam] calidam *BCKS* sibi enim] simile *M* enim] sibi *add. W*
producit] -xit *V*: et *add. W* 162 loco] loquo sic *K* caliditate] calefacto *D* 163 et subtilis
om. *W* et grossus] egressus *V* grossus] sic *add. W* 164 uicinius *PV* et² om. *W*
unde] et non *C* 165 regione] corr. ex religione *B*

153, 174-175 'Quod autem comestibile est ex planta, erit in locis calidis lenibus altis, et maxime in climate tertio et quarto; et quod erit prope cibum, in locis frigidis et altis. Et ideo multiplicantur species in locis frigidis altis propter attractionem humorum et temperantiam in calore solis in diebus uernalibus' (ibid., p. 35).

Similiter in loco temperato secundum diuersas aeris consistentias per accidens producitur planta quandoque calida, quandoque frigida. Cum uero planta aliqua, in quocumque loco fuerit generata, tantum simile attrahit ad suum nutrimentum, dissimile autem ut abhorribile repellit – et hoc naturali
170 electione, appetitu, et desiderio.

COMESTIBILE. Nichil est comestibile nisi ex caliditate et humiditate sit perfecte digestum – et hoc ex materia subtili et digestibili, et nisi sit digestum calore extrinseco uiolente.

IN LOCIS CALIDIS. Hic loquitur de generatione plante propria et naturali.
175 LENIBVS ET ALTIS, quia in planis locis equaliter habundat humiditas. Et hoc si assit loci dulcedo et aeris temperies, similiter et in altis, quia ibi est aeris temperies et humiditas dulcis propter spongiositatem uaporem dulcem attrahentem. Et ideo frequenter in montibus maior est fertilitas et melior. In ualle enim difficile mouetur aer, unde ex conculcatione cito ibi
180 putrescit aer et uapor grossus. Vnde praua digestio, hinc etiam est ibi humor salsus.

PLANTAM VNCTVOSAM PRODVCIT. Ad hoc enim ut durabilis sit planta, oportet ut bene digestum et unctuosum habeat humorem. Vnde ille plante que habent humorem aquosum, liquidum, indigestum, superueniente frigiditate cito
185 arefiunt. Hac causa caulis ultra triennium non durat. Tamen si ei inseratur insita, ex natura insite multa in stipite fiet decoctio; et ita conuertetur in naturam insite, et ideo durabit diu.

166 aeris] existencias *add. C: om. W* consistencia *K* 167 planta] plantas *W: om. M*
quandoque¹] quando *M* 168 aliqua] alia *W* quocumque loco] loco quodam *V* generata]
seruata *PV* 169 suum] sui *BCKPSW: om. V* dissimile] difficile *K* autem] aut *W: uero*
CM: om. V ut *om. W* abominabile *M: abortibilem V: animal horribile S: aberret et W*
170 electione *om. M* 171 est] enim *W* sit perfecte] perfectum et *M* 172] digestum ... sit
om. V materia] natura *W* sit] fuerit *M* 173 uiolente *DPW: uiolento BCKS: uero littere*
M: mouente V 174 loco *V* calidis] lenibus et altis *add. W* loquitur] sequitur *PV*
175 lenibus et altis *om. W* altis] aliis *PV* planis] plantis *BK* equaliter] essentialiter *PV*
habundat] dulcedinis *add. M* 176 hoc si assit] hoc asistit *W: hec resistit M* aeris] aeri *B*
intemperies *M* 176-177 similiter ... temperies *om. V* 178 attrahentem] eleuantem *M*
fertilitas] felicitas *B: frigiditas M* 179 melior] minor *M* unde] et *add. MW* ex] est *V*
cito *om. M* 180 aer *om. PV* praua] parua *PVW* hinc etiam est] huic et *B* ibi *om. P*
181 salsus] falsus *V* 182 unctuosus *BV* producit *om. PVW* durabilis] durabis *sic W*
183 iste *W* habent] hunc *P* 184 aquosum] siue *add. V* frigiditate] superioritate *W*
185 arefiunt] referunt *W* hac] de *add. K* triennium] terminum *M* tamen si] nisi *V*
inseratur] insecatur *BC: inferatur PS* 186 ex natura] per naturam *M* insite] inserite *M* in
stipite] insipiente *W* fiet] fit *W* decoctio] decoctam *B* conuertetur] -itur *V: corrumpetur*
M 187 ideo] non *M: om. W*

182 'Similiterque lutum ingenuum cito *producit plantam unctuosam*; et comprehensio ejus humoris (*om. Meyer*) est in aqua dulci, ut praediximus. Planta autem, quae super solidos lapides nascitur, longo tempore contingit' (*ibid.*, pp. 35-36).

ET PLANTA QVANDO DOMINABITVR. Ex temperie seruatur plante cumentum. Ex
nimia uero humiditate opilantur pori, per quos nutrimentum debet ascendere,
190 quod tam in planta quam in animali in specie fumi et uaporis ascendit, ut ipse
predixit in tercio capitulo secundi libri, et ita nutrimentum cogitur descendere et
non nutritur planta. Simile contingit ubi nimia habundat siccitas. Ex siccitate
enim constringuntur pori, ne nutrimentum possit ascendere.

TOTA SIQVIDEM PLANTA. Quelibet planta quatuor indiget.

195 SEMINE TERMINATO, id est in sua specie perfecto et maturo et absque
putrefactione conseruato.

LOCO CONVENIENTI, id est territorio. Et hec duo necessaria sunt ad plante
generationem.

AQVA MODERATA, id est humore temperato et plante conseruatiuo.

200 AERE CONSIMILI, id est temperato, quia si nimis sit calidus, euaporabit calor
naturalis poris apertis. Si aer sit nimis frigidus, suffocabit plantam. Et hec duo
sunt necessaria ad plante nutrimentum.

LOCO A SOLE REMOTA. Quanto aliquis locus est remotior a sole, tanto est ibi dies
longior in estate. Vnde existentibus sub septentrione diem habent continue per

188 quando] quandoque *D* dominatur *K* ex *om. K* temperie *BDP*: tempore *CKMSVW*
seruatur] -antur *V*: -abatur *C*: generatur *KW* 189 nimia] minima *S* nutrimentum]
nutriuit *P* 190 quod] quia *CW*: *om. PV* in specie fumi] fumus *W* fumi] fluit *PV* et
uaporis *om. M* uapor *W* ut] et *V* 191 dixit *DW* secundi *om. W* nutrimentum] cum
add. W descendere] ascendere *M* 192 non] ideo *C*: *om. M* plante *M* simile]
substantia *M*: frigide *P*: facere *V* contingit] conuenit *M*: conueni *P*: erit *V* ubi] nisi *M*
194 siquid *C*: si queritur *V* indiget] semine *add. M* 195 semine terminato *om. W*
terminato] seminato *PV* perfectio *P* maturo] maturato et inalterato *M* 197 conueniente
W: coniuncti *BKS* id est *om. MW* hec duo] hoc dico *PV* 199 id est] in *M* humore
temperato] humor temperatus *BCKS* temperato] terminato *M* conseruatiuo] conuenientis
BKS: conteritis *C* 200 si *om. M* sit *om. BKW* euaporabit] -aret *M*: aer sit ei euaporare *W*
201 naturalis ... apertis *om. D* poris *om. B* nimis] humidus *K* suffocat *W* duo]
etiam *M* 202 nutrimentum] a *add. K*: generationem *M* 203 a¹ *om. W* remota] iterum
BK: rerum *P*: erit *V*: *om. M* quanto aliquis] quando alicuius *W* remotior] longior *C*
204 existentes *MV* sub septentrione] in atrione *M* continue] communem *W*: *om. M*

191 *De plantis* 2.4 (Meyer ed., pp. 31-32).

188 'Et planta: quando dominabitur in illa aqua, retinebit aerem, nec permittit eum
ascendere; et non nutritur planta. Eodem modo siccitas: quando obtinuerit, convertetur calor
naturalis ad extremitates, et obturabit vias, per quas erant meatus aquae, et non nutritur planta
(ibid., p. 36).

194-200 'Tota siquid planta quatuor indiget; animal quoque similiter: semine terminato, loco
conuenienti (-te Meyer), aqua moderata, aere consimili; cumque haec quatuor perfecta fuerint,
nascetur planta, et crescet; quodsi dissenserint (-suerint Meyer), debilitabitur secundum
dissensum' (ibid.).

203 'Loca vero a sole remota non erunt multarum plantarum, animal (animalium Meyer)
quoque similiter, quia sol producit longitudinem diei in remotione sua, et comprehendit
humorem illum, nec habebit planta vires folia et fructus producendi' (ibid.).

205 medium annum, per reliquum noctem. Ibi ergo raro nascitur uel crescit planta uel animal: in estate enim non potest propter continuationem caloris; in hyeme non potest propter continuationem frigoris.

EODEM MODO IN OLEIS. Oleae uel oliuae uiscosam habent humiditatem, unde difficiliter attrahunt. Vnde uno anno uacant attractioni, alio fructus productioni; 210 et ideo ut plurimum oleae uno anno sunt steriles, alio fertiles. Eo tamen anno quo sunt fertiles producunt folia et flores ex materia liquidiori et digestioni obediunt, sed non fructus, quia parum digerunt.

SPINE. Spina numquam fit in planta, nisi cuius humor est uiscosus, quem cum propellit aer, ut spiritus nutrimentum in corpore animalis, nec possit 215 ascendere propter opilationem ex uiscositate, lateraliter erumpit in conum et acutum. Sic omnis ignis et aer in forma pyramidalis ascendit.

VIRIDITAS. Hec est ratio uiriditatis extrinsecus in arboribus, sicut in omnibus

205 annum] et *M* per reliquum] et mediam *W* reliquum] tantum *P* noctem] necesse *M* raro] rara *CDKS*: rana *B* crescit] ibi *add. M* 206 uel] ut *M* continuationem (solis et *add. M*) *DM*: conuacionem *sic C*: continuitatem *W*: contencionem (uel intensionem *add. V*) *BKPSV* hyeme] uero *add. VW* 207 potest *om. M* continuationem *DM*: continuitatem *W*: contencionem *BCKPSV* 208 oleis] oculis *M* uel] et *M*: *om. PVW* uel oliuae] enim *BCKS* uiscosam] -osque *MP*: unctuosam *W* 209 difficulter *MW* uacant attractioni] uocant attractionem *P* 210 et ideo *om. W* alio fertiles *om. V* fertiles] anno *add. W*: steriles *BP* eo] eodem *M* 211 quo] quod *M* fertiles] steriles *MPV* digestiori *sic P* 212 non *om. B* quia] et *PV* parum] rarum *M* digerunt] -untur *W* 213 spine] sperme *M*: *om. W* spina] sperma *M* fit] sit *B* est uiscosus] unctuosus *W* quem] quoniam *M*: quod *PSV*: *om. K* 213-214 quem cum] quantum *C* 214 cum] tantum *W* cum propellit] compellit *V* 214-215 ut ... ex *om. W* 215 ex uiscositate *om. M* uiscositate] in estate *W* lateraliter] literaliter *C*: lictetur *sic B*: naturaliter *M* erumpit] -at *V*: prorumpit *M* in] et *V* conum] totum *B*: cornu *W* et *om. V* 216 acutum] acumen *M* sic] sit *K*: sicut *CMPV* 217 uiriditas] uerum dicas *B* ratio *om. K* sicut] sic *V*: et *add. BPVW*

208 'Eodem modo est iudicium in oleis. Sed oleae saepe privantur fructu, quia natura quando digesserit, ascendet primo de subtili, quod non maturavit (-verit *Meyer*), eritque ille humor folia, eritque illa digestio flores; cumque maturaverit in secundo anno digestio, nascetur fructus, exhibitque ad finem materiae secundum locum, qui est in eo' (ibid., p. 39).

213 'Spinae vero non sunt de genere plantae, nec de natura ejus. Sed dico, quod in planta est raritas, et erit in principio naturae decoctio, et ascendit humor et frigus, et cum eis parva decoctio; ambulatque in illa raritate, facitque illud coagulari sol, eruntque ex illo spinae, et ideo erit forma earum pyramidalis' (ibid.).

217 'Viriditas plantae debet esse res communissima. In arboribus enim videmus, quod communis (*om. Meyer*) est interius albedo, et viriditas exterius; et hoc est, quia materia utuntur propinquiore. Oportet ergo, ut sit viriditas in omnibus plantis, quia materiae attrahunt (-huntur *Meyer*) et rarificant lignum arboris; fluitque (facitque *Meyer*) calor parvam digestionem, remanetque ibi humor, apparetque exterius: erit ergo viriditas. Et hoc est in foliis nisi quia major inest digestio, et ipsa sunt media inter rosam (casuram *Meyer*) et lignum in potentia. Sed viriditas non moratur, nec est nisi humor in illa, estque de genere terrae, fitque inter illa ambo viriditas (color viridis *Meyer*). Hujus est (autem *Meyer*) signum, quod cortices arboris quando arescunt,

terre nascentibus, quia calor aeris, plurimum habundans extrinsecus,
 nutrimentum arboris, scilicet humorem uel terreum uaporem, ut plurimum
 220 trahit ad exteriora. In quo humore, cum sit multa aquositas et debilis agens
 caliditas, est color uiridis. Et quod materia plurimum sit terrea patet, quia
 desiccata humiditate remanet cortex nigra.

In foliis autem quibusdam maior habundat aquositas cum aliquantula
 terreitate. Vnde et in eis non est adeo intensa uiriditas, quod patet, quia cum
 225 arescunt fiunt citrina. Interius autem melior celebratur digestio propter
 temperatam humiditatem et non superhabundantem. Et ideo arbor alba interius
 uel secundum naturam nutrimenti colorata, ut inferius dicitur.

FIGURE PLANTE. Quedam planta magis tendit sursum quam deorsum, et hoc
 ideo quia eius materia aerea est magis quam aquea uel terrea. Que utique
 230 aeream habet materiam et directos poros et amplos procera fit, ut fraxinus,

218 aeris] in *add. V* 218-220 habundans ... trahit *om. W* 218 extrinsecus] exterius *PV*
 219 nutrimentumque *M* arboris scilicet] scilicet arboris *PV*: scilicet *add. P* humore *M*
 uel] et *BCKS* terrenum *P* ut] et *V* 220 attrahit *W* ad] inferiora *add. D*: *om. V*
 cum sit] est uel cum fit *S* multa] mala *V* agens] aeris *W* 221 color] calor *BC* terrea]
 terra *M*: terreaque *P*: terre et aque *V* patet] paret *M*: *om. B* quia] quod *V* 222 nigra] niger
M: magna *W* 223 quibusdam] in quibus *V* magis *C* aquositas] aqueitas *BCKS*:
 humiditas *M* 224 terreitate] terrestritate *M*: humiditate *W* et *om. MVW* eis] unde et in
 eis *add. P* adeo] causa *BV*: tam *CKMPS*: *om. W* uiriditas] nisi yditas *sic C*: humiditas *W*
 quod] quia *P*: ut *M* quia] quod *S*: *om. V* 225 arescunt] atascunt (?) *V* fiunt] sunt *W*: *om.*
PV citrina] cerulia (?) *B* interius] intius *V* melius *W* celebrat *V* 226 temperatam
 humiditatem] temperantiam humiditatis *M* arbor] est *add. M* alba] alta *V* interius] intius
V: intrinsicus *sic W* 227 uel *om. SW* coloratur *W* ut] in *add. K* dicitur] diceretur *B*
 228 quam] quedam magis *M* 228-229 hoc ideo] hec est ratio *PVW* 229 quia] quod *V*
 aquea] aquatica *W* que] qua *V* utique] utrumque *C*: ut *BKS*: autem *W* 230 aerem *K*:
 aere qui *P*: terream *W* habent *W* materiam] naturam *BC* procera] quod cera *B*: et ipsa
M: posita *P*: poma *V*: *om. W* fit] sunt *C*: *om. PVW* fraxinus *BCDKW*: fraxius *M*: fraxinis *P*:
 fraxunus *S*: fagus *V*

220-221 Cf. Alfred: 'Hic enim color [*i.e.*, viriditas], et post adustionem residente calore, ut in
 quibusdam humoribus, et ante maturitatem, ut in foliis arborum, evenit' (*Comm. in Meth.* 3, cap.
 de yride [Otte ed., p. 70]).

denigrantur, et sunt (fiunt ligna *Meyer*) alba interius, fitque in illis inter illos duos colores color
 viridis in apparenti plantae' (ibid., pp. 39-40).

228 'Figurae autem plantae tres sunt modi. Quaedam enim sursum prodeunt, quaedam
 deorsum, quaedam inter haec. Sed quae tendit sursum, est quia materia ejus apparet in medulla
 plantae, et attrahit calor, et comprimit ipsum (ipsam *Meyer*) aer, qui est inter raritates ipsius,
 pyramidaturque, sicut pyramidatur ignis in suis materiis, et elevatur. Quae autem deorsum
 tendit, meatus coangustantur; cumque digesta fuerit materia, inspissabitur aqua, quae est in
 medulla plantae, proceditque subtile sursum, convertiturque aqua ad partes illas deorsum,
 movetque illam sua ponderositate. Quae vero inter duas partes fuerit, subtiliatur humor, et
 natura vicinatur temperantiae in digestionem, eruntque meatus medii, tenduntque materiae
 sursum et deorsum' (ibid., pp. 40-41).

abies. Et ideo abies levis est et mollis propter eius aeritatem. Alia autem magis crescit deorsum quam sursum, in quibus aquea habundat materia que opilans poros, ne aer possit ascendere, et eum ponderositate sua deorsum comprimit. Alia equaliter crescit sursum et deorsum, in qua scilicet iste cause equaliter

235 conueniunt, ut esculus.

EST AVTEM PRIMA DIGESTIO. In planta sunt tantum due digestiones: prima in planta cum attrahitur nutrimentum, secunda in medulla. Et hoc ideo quia planta grosse est substantie et parum distat ab elementis et suo nutrimento. Sed in corpore animalis multa est membrorum diuersitas et remota a suo
240 nutrimento. Et ideo in animali necessarie sunt plures mutationes, et ideo ibi triplex digestio.

FIGURE VERO. Figura plante provenit secundum quantitatem seminis et eiusdem perfectionem, si non contradicat territorium. Si enim semen sit imperfectum, et planta erit imperfecta ex eo nascens. Sed flos et fructus
245 respondent nutrimento ex quo fiunt.

Et nota quod in materia animalis, scilicet in spermate, est digestio absque omni alio nutrimento adhibito et uegetatio et partium quarumdam generatio, que ex solo spermate generantur. Vnde secundum quosdam sicut in ovo ex uitello generatur fetus et albumen est eius nutrimentum, sic ex quadam parte

231 abies¹] ab eis *B* abies²] et *add. C* lenis *CW* aeritatem] acritatem *P* autem *om. M*
 232 crescit] cum sit *M* in] ut *D* habundat] humiditas *add. M* opilans] -ant *B*: -at *W*
 233 aer *om. M* possit] poscit *B*: *om. V* et eum] in *W* eum] cum *BK* comprimit] -at (uel
 comprimit *add. in marg.*) *D*: -itur *W* 234 crescit] -unt *M* 234-235 crescit ... ut *om. W*
 235 conueniunt] sunt *V* ut esculus *om. V* 236 prima¹] primus *P* plante *B* tantum *om. W*
 prima in] unum sub *BKS*: una sub *C* 237 attrahit *W* nutrimenti *C* hoc *om. W*
 ideo] est *add. BCKS* 238 plante *K* grossa *PVW* substantia *PVW* et²] in *VW*: a *add. P*
 239 multorum *W* remotam *KS*: remotum *B* a] in *W*: *om. M* 240 in ... ibi *om. W*
 necessarie *DW*: necessario *M*: necesse *BCKPSV* sunt] est *S* mutationes] intentiones *M* ibi
om. MPV 241 triplex] multiplex *M* 242 figure] figura *V*: figure sic *W* uero] plante *V*
 243 perfectione *P* contradicat] -it *PVW*: dicat *S* enim] autem contradicat *M* semen *om. SW*
 sit] scit *B*: est *M* 244 imperfectum] -ta *W* erit *om. BCKMPSVW* sed] et *W*
 245 respondent] -ebunt *W* fiunt] sumitur *P* 246 in¹ *om. W* 246-247 absque omni]
 animalis omnium *S* 247 quorumdam *BCSW* generatio] genere *S* 248 que] est *add. B*
 sola *M* sicut in ovo *om. M* ex²] *PVW* 249 generantur *K* fetus] coctus *W* est *om. B*
 sic] sicut *K*: si *P* quedam *M*

236 'Est autem prima digestio desub planta, et secunda, quae est in medulla, quae exit a terra, quae est in media planta; et postea apparent materiae (maturae *Meyer*) dividunturque, nec digeruntur tertia digestionem. Tertia enim digestio est in animali, nec enim fit tertia digestio nisi propter diversitatem membrorum et remotionem naturarum adinvicem' (ibid., p. 41).

242 'Figurae vero plantarum erunt in quantitate seminum; flos vero plantae et fructus sunt in aquis et materiis. Et positus motus primus, maturatio et digestio, in omnibus animalibus; nec recedunt ab hoc. Sed in planta est prima digestio et maturatio secundum nutrimentum' (ibid.).

250 seminis generatur fetus et reliqua pars est eius nutrimentum. Sed ex semine
 plante nulla fit generatio nec est in eo actualis uegetacio, nisi prius attraxerit
 nutrimentum. Sed attracto nutrimento et aliquantulum digesto statim prorumpit
 in plantam.

QVELIBET ARBOR. Planta semper crescit in longum, donec in ea uel ex nimia
 255 humiditate uel frigiditate uel duricia uel constrictione inpediatur humiditatis
 ascensus et discursus. Quo inpedito statim planta desinit esse; arescit enim.
 Crescit autem continue, quia directi sunt meatus humoris in planta, et omnes
 partes consimiles; unde humor a poro superiori exiens extendit plantam in
 longum. Hac eadem ratione generantur noui rami continue in planta, quia si
 260 alicubi erumpit humiditas, illic fit discursus.

In corpore animalis non est tanta longitudo, et ideo non uehemens humoris
 discursus. Nec etiam est tam liber exitus in terminis animalis, sicut et arboris;
 non enim habent humores liberum ascensum supra caput, sed ibi reprimuntur
 et obuoluuntur. Membra autem noua non possunt generari in animali propter
 265 diuersitatem materie, quia os uel neruus non potest generari nisi ex prima
 materia animalis.

QVOD AVTEM FOLIA. Arbores que habent uiscosos humores et difficile
 digestibiles retinent sua folia; que habent humores liquidos non retinent.

250 seminis] sentimus *S* generantur *C* fetus] ita *add. PW* et reliqua] ita quod reliqua
V: ita *BK*: qua *C*: tertia *S* est *om. B* semine *om. B* 251 est *om. W* attraxerit] -erint *P*:
 extraxerit *V* 252 nutrimentum *om. V* sed] si *C* attracto] extracto *V* et ... digesto *om.*
MW aliquantulum digesto] aliquantulum digestio *K*: aliqua sibi digestio *PV* 253 in
 plantam] planta *BCKMS* 254 quelibet] quicumque *S* arbor] et *add. M* planta semper
 crescit] plantata crescit uero *W* uel] ut ex ea *P*: *om. W* 255 duricia] -ie *V*: causa *W*
 humiditas *MP* 256 ascensus] -dens *M* et] uel *C*: *om. PVW* et discursus *om. M*
 decursus *C*: discensus *V* quo inpedito] quo impedimento *B*: qua impedita *M* arescit enim
om. M 257 crescit] et fit *M* autem *om. VW* directe *V* sunt *om. M* humoris *om. V*
 258 parte *B* pori *W* 259 quia] quod *PV* 259-260 si alicubi] si alicui *SW*: si alie ibi *B*: sic
 ubi *M* 260 illuc *KPS*: id *W* 261 non¹] est *add. KW* uehemens] uehementis *W*: debentis
C humores *S* 262 tam liber] causa liberalis *W* in terminis] interius *BCKS*: racemis *sic*
M: *om. PV* animalis] cleris *C* 263 super *V* sed] et *W* 264 et] hic *add. C* membra]
 memoria *M* 264-265 propter ... generari *om. K* 265 diuersitate *B* uel] et *V* nisi] uis *B*
 267 quod] quia *PV* foliales *S* arboris *P* uiscoso *B*: multos *M* humores et] ramos *C*
 difficile] de difficili *PV*: et *add. B* 268 retinent¹] retinet et *B*: reiciunt *PV* que] uero *add.*
M: autem *add. W* retinent²] reiciunt *PV*

254 'Quaelibet vero arbor ascendit semper, donec compleatur et intereat. Et hoc est, quia
 cujuslibet animalis longitudo propinqua est suae latitudini; in planta (plantis *Meyer*) vero remota
 est, quia radix ejus, aqua et ignis, festinant in ascensu, et procreatur planta. Diversitas vero
 plantae in ramis est de superflua raritate, cumque comprehensi fuerint humores, calefiat natura
 et festinabit in digerendo, formabunturque rami et apparebunt folia, ut praediximus' (ibid.).

267 'Quod autem folia arborum cadunt, erit propter fluxibilitatem velocis raritatis; cumque
 digesta fuerit aqua cum materia, pyramidabitur, ideoque erunt meatus interius ampli, et post
 haec (hac *Meyer*) graciliabuntur et pyramidabuntur; et quando apparuerit (nutritiva *add. Meyer*)

SED CVM HABVERINT. Planta que habet uirtutem uehementem attrahentem
 270 semel fructificat, quia semel perfecte attraxit; que debilem habet attractiuam
 uicissim attrahit et similiter digerit, sic et fructificat.

PLANTA VERO. Quatuor sunt genera plante: arbor, frutex, herba, et olus. In
 herbis et oleribus tanta habundat humiditas quod materia non potest coagulari
 nec solidari. Vnde post maturatum tempus in herbis superueniente frigidityte
 275 repercutitur humor et arefiunt; et ideo olera non durant ultra tertium annum.

VENETALITAS. Cum arbor crescit in calidissima regione, eius nutrimentum in
 calore est intensum et in substantia spissum. Quod cum natura uoluerit
 digerere, propter eius paruitatem circa ipsum intendetur actio caloris, et ita
 prouenit uenetus color in arbore; eius lignum interius erit nigrum, ut hebenus,
 280 et sic secundum maiorem et minorem calorem fiunt omnia ligna inter alba et
 nigra.

269 sed] si CS sed ... habuerint *om. W* cum] tum *BK*: tantum *S* habet] -ent *B*
 270 fructificat] -ant *W*: *om. V* perficere *K* attraxit] -hit *BCKMS* attractiuam]
 attractionem *W* 271 digerit] dirigit *M* 272 plante] plantarum *M* 273 tanta] enim *V*
 habundat *om. BK* 274 nec solidari] et consolidari *M* unde post] quidem posset *W* post]
 prius *V* maturatum *ed.*: aliquantulum *B*: exitum *C*: anaturatum *sic DSW*: aliquantum *KM*:
 naturarum *P*: negatum (?) *V*: uel antiquum *add. in marg. D* temporis *C*: tempore *W*
 frigidityte] et *add. PV* 275 percutitur *C*: reprimitur *M* tertium annum] terennium *M*
 276 uenetalitas *D*: uentalitas *MW*: ueneralitas *V*: uenerabilitas *P*: uegetalitas *S*: uegetasitas *BK*:
 uegetabilitas *C* 277 calore] colore *D* in *om. PV* in substantia] mixtum *M*: spongiosum *W*
 spissum *om. W* quod] et *C* cum *om. P* natura] nota *V* 278 digerere] dispergere *W*
 propter] per *B* ipsum] eum *D* intendetur] -itur *M*: -it *W* 279 peruenit *KMP*
 uenetus] uentus *BW*: uenesus *sic V*: interius *M* color *DP*: colore *B*: calor *CKMSV*: calor *W*
 in *om. B* in arbore *om. M* lignum] signum *PV* nigrum *om. PV* ebanus *W*
 280 sic] sit *CKS*: sunt *add. M* minorem *om. B* calorem *om. CV* calorem fiunt *om. M*
 fiunt] sunt *W* intus *BC*: interius *W*

materia cum digestionem completaque perfectione, obturabit extremitates meatuum superius, nec habebunt folia materiam; siccantur ergo. Et cum contrario ejus, quod diximus non cadit (cadunt de Meyer) planta' (ibid., pp. 41-42).

269 'Sed cum habuerint arbores vel plantae virtutem attrahentem uehementer, erit fructificatio una; quam si non habuerint, utetur natura digestionem vicissim, et in qualibet digestionem fructum producant, et ideo quaedam plantae saepe in anno fructificant' (ibid., p. 42).

272 'Planta vero, quae est sicut natura aquae, vix fructificat propter dominium humiditatis suae et amplitudinem meatuum suorum et fluxibilitatem suarum radicum; cumque incanduerit calor, festinabitur ejus digestio, et subtiliabitur propter aquam, et non coagulabitur; et istud (ita Meyer) inuenietur in omnibus herbis minutis et aliquibus oleribus' (ibid.).

276 'Venetalitas autem erit in terris uehementer calidis; et erit ibi parum (humoris *add. Meyer*), et fient angusti meatus; cumque uoluerit natura digerere, non habebit humorem, qui sufficiat materiae, fiuntque (fientque Meyer) meatus angusti. Revertetur (-itur Meyer) ergo digestio, continebitque eam calor, videbiturque inter albedinem et nigredinem in colore. Quod autem hoc modo fuerit, lignum habebit nigrum et omne, quod approximatum fuerit inter albedinem et ebum, et hoc est ab ebano usque ad ulnam (ulna Meyer)' (ibid., pp. 42-43).

QVOD VERO IN PLANTA. Planta que habebit terream materiam erit in colore ut nigrum; que aqueam erit album eius lignum; que habebit materiam inter utramque temperatam erit lignum eius glaucum.

285 QVOD AVTEM QVEDAM. Quedam arbores grossos et uiscosos habent humores, et ideo non possunt subtiliari, et ideo non habent flores, ut ficus. Quedam adeo liquidos habent humores quod non possunt digeri, et ideo carent floribus, ut palma.

PLANTA VERO. Planta que grossum habet corticem et durum multum crescit in
290 longum, quia calor exterior parum attrahit de nutrimento in latitudinem; quare interior uigens circa interiora multum potest humorem circa longitudinem extendere.

SED PLANTA. In plantis que habent lac fortis est prima digestio in radice, ita ut unctuosus fiat humor, qui cum dequoquatur secundo in medulla, transit in lac,
295 quod uapor inde generatus ad exteriora transmittet. Sed cum non poterit

282 quod] que *V* planta² *om.* *V* habet *PVW* materiam *DK*: naturam *BCMP**SV*: naturam id est materiam *W* in *om.* *V* colore] calore *BCS* ut *om.* *PV* 283 nigrum *om.* *BCKS* aqueam] ad queam *C* habebit] habet *PV*: autem *W* materiam] naturam *BCM**W* 283-284 inter utramque *om.* *W* 284 utramque] utrumque *MV*: terminatam *add.* *V* temperatam] imparatam *S* 285 quedam² *om.* *SV* 286 subtiliare *W* non²] nunc *V*: *om.* *P* ficus] sicut *P* quedam] que *W* 289 planta uero *om.* *W* planta²] uero *add.* *KW*: *om.* *V* que] quia *S*: multum *add.* *M* habent *W* corticem] humorem *M* 290 quia] quod *S* quare] quia *CMSW* 291 uigens] in generatione *PV*: digestio *W* circa²] in *PVW* longitudinem] latitudinem *C* 293 fortis est] fortasse *W* 294 unctuosus] -itas *V* qui *om.* *PVW* secunda *BCM**W* medullam *V* transit] crescit *W* 295 quod *DW*: quia *BCKMSV*: que *P* inde] in deinde *W* transmittet *BDS*: -it *C*: -etur *K*: -itur *PV*: transiuit *M*: transmutatur *W* cum] tamen *W*: causa *V*: *om.* *BK* cum non poterit *om.* *M* non] nunc *V*

282 'Quod vero in planta angustarum partium fuerit, erit in colore ut lazulum, et quando non comprimentur partes ejus, ad albedinem declinabit, cumque temperatum fuerit, erit glaucum' (ibid., p. 43).

285 'Quod autem quaedam flores non habent, ut plurimum fit propter diversitatem suarum partium, et suam subtilitatem et asperitatem vel (et Meyer) grossitudinem. Non ergo habent flores, ut palma et similia' (ibid.).

289 'Planta vero, quae grossos habet cortices, extenditur propter tensionem humoris et impulsione caloris; et hoc est in pinu et palma' (ibid.).

293 'Sed planta, quae lac emittit, habebit lac in medio, eritque calor subterius fortis, eritque ibi unctuositas; cumque inceperit calor digerere, vertetur (conver- Meyer) unctuositas in illum humorem, et coagulabit ipsum cum coagulatione parva, et calefiat locus, fietque aqua unctiosa similis lacti, elevabiturque vapor ab humore, qui attrahit lac illud ad extremitates, et retinebit humor calorem (co- Meyer) apparentem. Et non coagulabitur illud lac, quia usus est caloris, ut coagulet lac. Et quodlibet lac multae est coagulationis, cumque (cum Meyer) fuerit in arbore frigus apparens, coagulabitur lac, postquam exierit a loco, et inde erunt (erit Meyer) gummi' (ibid., pp. 43-44).

coagulari et digeri in estate impediēte calore incluso in uiscositate ipsius, qui ipsum dissoluit, et ita coagulationi resistit. Superueniente autem frigiditate coagulatur perfecte. Similiter si erumpat, intensa existente caliditate in aere coagulabitur. Vnde numquam gummi coagulatur nisi caliditate uel frigiditate
300 intensa.

GVMME VERO CALIDE. Gumme numquam coagulantur nisi ex nimia caliditate uel ex nimia frigiditate. Vnde gumme que in aere temperato stillant, non coagulantur. Sed tamen auctor uidetur uelle quod gummi numquam coagulatur ex frigiditate nisi ex humore lacteo et uiscoso, ut in premissis capitulo
305 ostenditur. Caliditate autem coagulatur etiam humor liquidus, dummodo sit calor uehemens. Sed liquidus humor calore mediocri non potest coagulari.

ARBORVM QVEDAM. Quedam arborum, ut buxus, in estate est uiridis, in hyeme glauca, quia habet uiscosum humorem in se, in radice autem multam humiditatem et liquidam, et ideo non cadunt folia. Vnde adueniente caliditate
310 prouocatur humor ad exteriora, qui tactus calore fit uiridis. Adueniente

296 coagulari *om. S* in²] et etiam *M: om. C* uiscositate] unctuositate *M* ipsius qui] ipsum quod *V* 297 frigiditate *om. M* 299 coagulatur] -antur *V* nisi] *ex add. C: in add. W: ex manifesta add. M* 301 gumme¹] gummi *W: gramine M* calide *om. CPVW* gumme²] gummi *W: gramine M* coagulantur] -atur *MW* 302 uel] nec *K* gumme] gummi *W: gramine M* stillant] sistant *K* non] numquam *M* 303 tamen] tantum *MW* uelle *om. V* uelle ... numquam *om. P* numquam] non *M* coagulatur] -antur *BV: gelantur P* 304 in] predicto et *W* 305 caliditate] calante *S: celerante B: coagulante K* coagulatur] congelatur *W* sit] fuerit *M: fit uel sit V* 306 calore] calori *W* 307 arborum¹] arbor *BCW* arborum²] arbor *BCW* 308 glaucum *M* in²] etiam *S* autem] aut *S: om. CD* 309 et¹] in *P: om. V* non cadunt] uocatum (?) *V* adueniente] adimente *BS* caliditate] calore *M: celerate S* 310 exterioram *B* tactu *W* fit] sit *P* adueniente] adimente *BS: adinuicem K*

304 *De plantis* 2.15 (Meyer ed., pp. 43-44).

301 *Gummae vero calidae* procedunt distillando, cumque aerem tetigerint, coagulabuntur. Et quaedam manant in loco temperato, et erunt similes aquae; quaedam vero manant et coagulantur, similes lapidibus vel conchis. Sed quod guttatim manat, remanens (-net *Meyer*) in forma sua (et *add. Meyer*), erit ut arbor, quae dicitur aletafur. Quod vero alteratur ut lapis, erit in apparentia valde frigidum, et faciet calor ipsum apparere, cumque manaverit, lapidescet, fietque in terra calida superflue' (ibid., p. 44).

307 *Arborum autem quaedam* alterantur in hieme, fientque quandoque virides quandoque glaucae, et non corrumpuntur folia earum nec fructus, quia arbores, quibus accidit hoc, habebunt calorem grossum, et in barbis inferioribus aquam subtilem. Ergo in processu anni retinebit aqua illa calorem propter frigiditatem aeris; et quia accessit calor ad frigus, impulit (-pell- *Meyer*) calor humiditatem exterius cum eo, quod (qui *Meyer*) tinxit colore caloris, et apparet ideo color in apparente arboris. Consequenter vertuntur (-ti- *Meyer*) frigus et caliditas ad actum, et humor retinet calorem, et ideo apparet alius color. Fructus vero erit amarus, quia calor et humor non sunt completi in digestionem; frigus quoque et siccitas impediunt, ut compleantur; convertuntur ergo ad amaritudinem. Hujus signum, quod amarum missum in ignem dulcescit' (ibid.).

frigiditate repercutitur humor, et habundat siccitas, et fit color glaucus. Fructus in principio est amarus, quia habundat in eo frigiditas. Et sic quia hic dicitur amarus sapor uulgariter acidus, tamen in hoc est differentia: si sit frigiditas et siccitas cum grossa substantia, erit ponticus; si cum liquida substantia et subtili,

315 acidus uel amarus. Deinde perfecta digestionem succedit caliditas et humiditas, sine quibus nulla fit digestio, et ita fit dulcis.

ARBORES QVE NASCVNTVR in aqua acetosa attrahunt humorem acetosum, scilicet sibi similem, qui est frigidus et siccus. Illud quod arbor sibi incorporat digerit et facit dulce. Reliquum autem minus digestum emittit in fructus et folia.

320 Et ideo fructus eius, primo acidus, conualescente calore et humore per digestionem fit dulcis. Sed quia ibi pauca est humiditas et multa caliditas, cito consumitur humor, et succedunt caliditas et siccitas, et fit fructus amarus.

ARBORES QVE NASCVNTVR in loco temperato ante uer fructum producant, quia, cum aer sit temperatus continue, aperti erunt pori aderitque humor liquidus et
325 digestibilis, qui leui calore poterit digeri, ad fructus productionem.

311 fit color] fit calor *B*: sic calor *PV* fructus] fictus *B*: eius *add. W* 312 frigiditas] humiditas *S* quia² quod *CW* hic *om. P* dicitur] fit *add. W* 313 uulgariter] accidet *add. M* tamen] cum *P* 314 cum¹ ac *PV* si] sed *CS* si cum] sicut *P* cum² autem *V*: *om. C* liquida] aerea *W* 315-339 deinde ... unde fit amarus [*i.e., usque ad finem*] *om. C* 315 succedit] -eret *BKS*: incedit *W* 316 fit¹ est *BKS* ita] ideo *V* fit² sit *B* 317 arbores] uero *add. BKS* aqua] qua *V* attrahunt] -it *W* 318 scilicet] sed *W*: *om. DK* illud] id *W* arbor] aliquis *add. W* sibi *om. W* 319 digerit] dirigit *M* in] ut *B* 320 primo] post *B*: *om. MW* acidus] a principio acidus *add. M* et humore *om. PV* 320-321 per digestionem] secunda digestionem *W* 321-322 cito ... caliditas *om. PVW* 322 consumitur] confunetur (?) *B* succedunt] -it *BK* et³ *om. PVW* fit] sic *V* fructus] frigus *B* 323 ante] an *P* ante uer] aut nec habent *S* uer] bonos *W* fructum producant *om. M* 324 sit] fit *BM*: *om. V* apertique *D* erunt] sunt *PVW* aderitque *BCD*: adheritque *PV*: aderit quia *S*: aderit *KM*: adheret *W* 325 qui] quia *S*: quare *BK*: cum *PVW*

317 *Arbores autem, quae nascuntur in aqua acetosa faciunt fructum dulcem, quia acetositas attrahit cum calore solis, quod fuerit (est Meyer) suae qualitatis, et hoc est frigus et siccitas. Apparent ergo aquae intrinsecae dulces, calefitque venter arboris, quando perseveraverit super eam sol, eritque sapor fructus acidus (acetosus Meyer) in succione (successione Meyer), et quando plus digestum fuerit, dissolvetur paulatim acetositas, donec consumatur (-metur Meyer), apparebitque dulcedo. Erit ergo fructus dulcis, foliaque sua et extremitates acida. Cumque perfecta fuerit maturitas (-ratio Meyer), erit amarus; et hoc est propter superfluum calorem cum paucio humore. Et consumitur humor, facitque fructus calorem ascendere, eritque amarus, eruntque nuclei ejus pyramidales propter attractionem caloris superius, et frigiditatis et humiditatis (humoris Meyer) inferius, quae sunt ex genere aquae acetosae, remanetque humor in medio, inspissaturque (-sabiturque Meyer) medium et gracilantur extremitates. Arbores vero, quae fuerint in terris temperatis, accelerant maturationem ante dies vernaes, quia calor quando fuerit prope temperantiam, fueritque humor apparens, aerque clarus, non egebit fructus multo calore in digestionem. Festinat ergo ejus maturatio, provenitque ante dies vernaes' (ibid., pp. 44-45).*

OMNIBVS QVIDEM NOTVM. In principio generationis fructus habundat frigus in materia eius, in quo, si dominetur humiditas, fructus erit acidus uel amarus; si siccitas, ponticus.

- MIRABVLANORVM. Nota: arbor mirabulanorum poros habet mediocres et habet
 330 uirtutem digestiuam equalem uirtuti attractiue. Vnde humorem attractum statim digerit. Vnde fructus in sui productione est dulcis. Communiter autem habundante calore extrinseco constringuntur pori siue fructus siue arboris, et ita obstruitur uia humoris, in quo etiam includitur calor naturalis. Vnde in fructum subit frigiditas et siccitas. Vnde fit ponticus sapor. Postea augmentata
 335 constrictione augmentatur frigiditas et siccitas in fructu. Vnde et intensior ponticitas. Ad ultimum uero conualescente calore naturali ex opilatione pororum tandem uehementer prorumpit, poros aperit, et calore exteriori adiutus uehementer agit in fructum eum decoquendo et calorem et siccitatem inducendo. Vnde fit amarus. Explicit.

326 quidem] quid *V* frigus] fructus *PV*: *om. W* 327 si!] sibi *K* humiditas] habundans frigiditas *W* erit] eius *M* 328 ponticus *om. W* 329 mirabulanorum!] mirabolanorum *K*: mirabilianorum *S*: *om. W* nota] notum *B*: non *M* nota ... mirabulanorum *om. S* poros] fructus *V* 330 attractiue] attractione *M*: attractem *K*: actiue *W* attractum] acutum *M*: *om. K* 331 est *om. W* communiter] consequenter *PVW* 332 calore] humore *M* pori] pora *B* siue] scilicet *W* arbores *PV* 333 obstruitur] abstrahitur *W* uia humoris] materia *W* quo] qua *W* 333-334 in fructum] instructum *B* 334 fructum subit] fructuum subiectis *K* frigiditas et siccitas] frigidis et siccis *K* 335 constrictione *B* augmentantur *S* in] et *P* 336 opilatione *M* 337 et] ex *W* calore] naturali *add. S* 338 adiutus *B*: adiuctus *K* uehementer agit *om. M* eum] cum *K* calores *W* 339 explici] commentum libri uegetabilium *add. K*: commentum alueredi super de plantis *add. V*: tractatus de uegetabilibus et plantis *add. W*: *om. BMPS*

326 'Omnibus quidem arboribus, cum primum plantatae fuerint, dominabitur amaritudo vel ponticitas. Causa: humor quando fuerit in extremitatibus illarum, et digesserit loca, quae sunt in medio arborum, de quibus erunt materiae (fructus *add. Meyer*), proveniet siccitas, et consequetur humorem, fietque prima digestio acida vel amara vel pontica. Causa, quia cum (in *Meyer*) calore et humore est digestio, cumque vicerit humor vel siccitas calorem, erit ex eo fructus in principio non bene digestus; et ideo generatio fructuum in principio est praeter dulcedinem' (ibid., p. 45).

329 'Myrobalanorum vero arbores sunt in principio, cum apparuerint fructus, dulces, consequenter pontici, et in completionem amari. Causa (eius quia *add. Meyer*): arbor ejus rara nimis, et in hora digestionis, cum sint meatus ampli, sequitur (-que- *Meyer*) calor humorem, et maturabit fructum. Erit ergo in principio dulcis. Consequenter attrahit calor siccitatem sibi similem, et angustabit meatus, vincentque frigiditas et siccitas calorem et humorem. Alterabitur ergo fructus ad ponticitatem. Vincetque sol cum calore per attractionem superfluum siccitatis in semine illo, qui est in apparenti arborum, vincentque frigus siccitatem. Erit ergo fructus fortis ponticitatis. Deinceps vero ascendet calor naturalis sursum, et adjuvabit eum calor solis extrinsecus. Vincent ergo calor et siccitas et erit fructus amarus' (ibid., pp. 45-46).

APPENDIX A

The most troublesome set of variants occurs in the sentence 'Vnde post ____ tempus in herbis superueniente frigiditate repercutitur humor et arefiunt ...' (ll. 274-275). D, S, and W read *anaturatum*, though W's scribe, probably uncomfortable with the word, separates the a-privative from *naturatum* with a slash (*a/naturatum*). Other scribes venture words that make some sense but are clearly guesses: *aliquantum* KM; *aliquantulum* B. P tries *naturarum*, which makes no sense, and its brother (or cousin) V reads *negatum*, which is also nonsense. C's reading, *exitum temporis*, is plausible but poetic.

There are persuasive arguments for reading the neologism *anaturatum*: it is the *lectio difficilior*; it appears in D, which has proved to be the most trustworthy witness; it appears also in S, which is a member of another family; and lastly, signifying something like 'unseasonable', it makes sense.

On the other hand, if Alfred coined the word, it appears in none of his other extant works. There is, moreover, no evidence of its usage by any other Latin author, ancient or medieval. Further, a misreading of an initial 'm' for 'an' is an easy palaeographical slip, as Dr. David Howlett has suggested to me in a private correspondence. *maturatum* not only makes good sense here but Alfred uses a similar expression ('in tempore maturationis') in his commentary on the *Meteorologica* (Otte ed., p. 90). The slip must have occurred, however, as early as the apograph, since *anaturatum* appears in both families.

APPENDIX B

I know of no other word that has suffered so many misreadings and occasioned so many misdirected comments as *uenetalitas* (see above, p. 162). As Alfred's commentary makes clear, *uenetalitas* or 'blueness' (or 'a grey color' in E. S. Forster's translation of the *De plantis*) is the correct reading. The scribes of Alfred's *tractatus*, however, copy this rare word as *uegetasitas*, *uegetabilitas*, *uegetalitas*, *ueneralitas*, and *uentalitas*. Only D has the correct reading. Although Meyer's judgement was unerring in this instance (p. 127), the scribes of the *De plantis* were equally catholic in their readings. A limited survey of the manuscripts netted the following variants: *uenabilitas*, *uenecalitas*, *ueneralitas*, *uenalitas*, and *uene caliditas*. Albert's copy text had *uentalitas*, 'windiness', which led him to miss completely the point of the passage: 'Ventalitas quaedam innascitur lignis sive ventositas in terris vehementer calidis, quarum calor, extracto humido aqueo, facit spirare terrestrem substantiam plantarum' (*De vegetabilibus* 4.4.1 [p. 276]).

Adam of Buckfield's commentary is not far off the mark, since he had access to Alfred's glosses; notwithstanding, his copy text read *uene caliditas* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 906, fol. 42r and Vatican Library Vat. lat. 5988, fol. 18v).

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THE MIDDLE FRENCH STATUTES
OF
THE MONARCHICAL ORDER OF THE SHIP (NAPLES, 1381):
A CRITICAL EDITION, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

D'A. J. D. Boulton

SINCE at least the year 1613, when the last, posthumous edition of Pandolfo Collenuccio's *Compendio dell'istoria del Regno di Napoli*¹ was published, it has been generally known among historians with an interest in chivalry that, shortly after seizing the crown of the mainland kingdom of Sicily in the summer of 1381, King Carlo III 'di Durazzo' founded an order of knights whose members were distinguished by a badge in the form of a ship. Collenuccio believed that the badge of this order was intended to allude to the ship of the legendary company of the Argonauts, and since the publication in 1642 of Joseph Micheli Márquez's *Tesoro militar de cavallería*² it has been generally believed that the society of knights founded by Carlo 'di Durazzo' was formally

¹ First published in Venice in 1539, Collenuccio's history was reissued in 1541 and 1552, and in a new edition in which it was conflated with the histories of Mambrino Roseo and Tommaso Costo in 1613. Collenuccio seems to have been the first historian to notice the Order of the Ship. In the 1613 edition of his history, the following account of the foundation of the Order appears on p. 198 of book 5, immediately following the account of Carlo's coronation in Naples on 25 November 1381: 'Feroni poi bellissime giostre e feste, doue interuenne il Re in persona, il quale a imitazione del Re Luigi, che fe quella del Nodo, institui vna nuoua compagnia chiamandola della Nave, alludendo alla naue de gli Argonauti.'

² Published in Madrid. Most of the account of the Order in Elias Ashmole's *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), p. 112, which seems to have been the principal source for what little has since been written about the Order in English, is derived from Micheli Márquez. Several other seventeenth-century works contain bits of misinformation about the Order. Philippe Briet, in his *Annales mundi* ..., 2 vols. in 4 with 7 parts (Paris, 1662-63), suggested that the Order (which he rightly called that of the Ship) was founded to promote navigation in the kingdom: 'Tum etiam Carolus instituit Ordinem de Nave ut rem maritimam, qua multum indigebat in regno suo promoveret' (3/2.300). Andrés Mendo, in his *De ordinibus militaribus* (Lyons, 1648; 2nd edition, 1668), citing Collenuccio, maintained more accurately that it had been founded to promote the Christian faith and suppress seditions, but wrongly designated the Order that of the Argonauts, and assigned to it a motto as well as a habit without any basis in contemporary evidence: 'Militiam Argonautarum instituit Carolus III Rex Neapolis, vt Religionem Christianam protegerent, & seditiones, quae tunc saeuiebant, placarent. Insigne fuit Nautis in tempestate fluctuans, & epigraphe, *Non credo tempori*; super togam albam. Vix ille obiit, et Militia defecit' (Disquisitio I, quaestio II, sectio xxxi, para. 77).

called the Order of the Argonauts of St. Nicholas, that it was placed under the patronage of St. Nicholas of Myra (who was the patron of the kingdom of mainland Sicily and of sailors, and had as one of his attributes a ship), that its members assembled each year on his feast day at his shrine in the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Bari vested in a formal habit of white, and finally that the order dissolved shortly after its founder's death in February 1386. Aside from these supposed facts, all but two of which, as we shall see, are quite unfounded, very little has been either known or believed about Carlo's order. Very few monuments of its brief history have come down to us, and most of these provide nothing but the name of a particular member.³ A few years ago, however, I discovered that a manuscript copy of the statutes of this rather obscure order of knighthood, clearly contemporary with the period of its existence, had come into the possession of the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where it was and is preserved in the rare book collection as ms. French 83.⁴ More recently I discovered that a second contemporary manuscript of the statutes, whose text differed in numerous but generally minor ways from that of the Pennsylvania manuscript, had come to be preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin as ms. L III 29.⁵ The statutes contained in these manuscripts reveal that the company founded by Carlo III was actually called the Order of the Ship, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and at its inception at least had no connection with the Argo, St. Nicholas, or Bari,⁶ and they must be regarded for the time being as by far the most important source for the nature and history of Carlo's foundation. Since these statutes also reveal that the Order of the Ship was the most elaborate and ambitious of all the societies of knights created by the

³ According to Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo (*Napoli sacra* [Naples, 1623], pp. 670-76) various members of the Order recorded their membership on their sepulchral monuments, most notably in the church of San Domenico in Naples. Both he and Matteo Camera (*Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche su Giovanna I^a regina di Napoli e Carlo III di Durazzo* [Salerno, 1889], p. 298) provide partial lists of the Order's members, apparently based on evidence of this sort. I have found no other evidence for the history of the Order.

⁴ I discovered this manuscript while working on a project for a seminar in palaeography given by Professor Ruth J. Dean, who was then on the faculty of the University. I should like to thank Professor Dean both for facilitating my discovery of this document and for her invaluable comments on the first draught of my description of it.

⁵ This is the manuscript quoted (without a full citation) by Philippe Contamine, 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie en France à la fin du moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976) 284 n. 122, and may well be the one on which Émile G. Léonard based several comments, in his book *Histoire de Jeanne I^{re}, reine de Naples, comtesse de Provence (1343-1382)*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1932-37), 2.21.

⁶ It is just possible that Carlo, who according to chap. 145b of the statutes here edited had not yet selected a site for the seat of the Order at the time those statutes were adopted, eventually fixed upon the cathedral of Bari, but it is more likely that the later historians of the Order attached it to that church simply because they imagined the ship of the Order to be that of St. Nicholas.

princes and barons of Western Christendom in the late Middle Ages, it seemed to me that they should be made available to the scholarly community in the form of a published edition, preceded by an historical and critical introduction.

THE LAY ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD⁷

The Order of the Ship can only be fully understood as an order of knighthood of the monarchical class – one of the several distinct classes into which the rather heterogeneous collection of lay orders founded between 1326 and 1470 may usefully be divided. Despite the profusion in which they were established in that period, the bodies of laymen generically designated 'orders of knighthood' have received scant attention from critical historians until very recently, largely, it would seem, because they were thought to have been of little political or military importance, and thus unworthy of more than a passing notice.⁸ Johan Huizinga, whose chapter on these orders in his highly influential book *The Waning of the Middle Ages*⁹ long remained the most extensive general discussion of these societies, regarded them all as essentially artificial, frivolous,

⁷ I prefer to translate the second term of the contemporary phrase *ordre de chevalerie* (found in the prologue of the statutes here edited) by the English word 'knighthood' rather than the more common and derivative word 'chivalry' because the word *chevalerie* in this phrase was used by contemporaries as the equivalent of the Latin word *militia* in the sense of a body of *milites* or knights. (See Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae* in Jean Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, eds., *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3: *Tractatus et opuscula* [Rome, 1963], pp. 213-39, for the earliest use of the term *militia* to designate an order of knights.) 'Chivalry', on the other hand, though originally synonymous with 'knighthood', is now used primarily to designate the ethos or code of the knightly class, especially in its more developed form, and I prefer to use it exclusively in that specialized sense. The fact that the earliest orders of knights were if anything hostile to much of the prevailing ethos of that class makes the use of the term 'chivalry' to designate them doubly inappropriate. I also prefer to describe the knightly orders whose principal class of members was restricted to laymen as 'lay' rather than 'secular' orders, since the latter term is normally used to distinguish the clergy who were not members of religious orders.

⁸ See, for example, the brief passages discussing these orders in F. J. C. Hearnshaw, 'Chivalry and Its Place in History' in *Chivalry. A Series of Studies to Illustrate Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence*, ed. Edgar Prestage (London-New York, 1928), p. 28; and in Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966), p. 65.

⁹ First Dutch edition, 1919; first English edition, 1924; London, 1965, chap. 6 'Orders of Chivalry and Vows', pp. 91-103. This short and superficial chapter was long regarded as the most important account of these orders, and was often cited as such; see, for example, Ernesto Pontieri, *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona, re di Napoli* (Collana storica 1; Naples [?], 1947 [?]), p. 105 n. 1. More recent general accounts, which unfortunately suffer from most of the same faults, may be found in Gunnar Boalt et al., *The European Orders of Chivalry* (Stockholm, 1971), pp. 41-51; and Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, 2nd edition (London, 1974), chap. 20 'The Secular Orders', pp. 303-10. By far the best published account is that in Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), chap. 10 'The Secular Orders of Chivalry', pp. 179-99, which is largely based on my Oxford thesis.

and atavistic, mere clubs or games whose sole purpose was to entertain those members of the knightly class who liked to emulate the heroes of old. In the last few years a growing number of historians, after taking a closer look at a handful of particular lay orders, have come to think more highly of the political and military potential of such associations, or at least of their importance as elements of contemporary aristocratic culture,¹⁰ but in the absence of a general study of these orders based on all the surviving evidence it has been impossible to form any very coherent general picture of the lay orders. In fact, when in 1972 I undertook as my doctoral thesis at Oxford¹¹ a preliminary study of this sort, I discovered that very few of the individual lay orders had received more than a cursory glance from modern scholarship, and most of the generalizations made on the subject of lay orders by Huizinga and others since him had been based on rather superficial examinations of a small number of well-known orders (most notably the Garter and the Golden Fleece) and the even more superficial and often highly inaccurate accounts of lesser-known orders produced by such sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians of chivalry as André Favyn, who did not hesitate to invent information when their sources failed to supply it.¹²

My own examination of the contemporary evidence for the nature and history of the seventy-odd lay 'orders' known to have been founded in Western Christendom between 1325 and 1500 has revealed that these associations, in

¹⁰ For example, M. G. A. Vale, 'A Fourteenth-Century Order of Chivalry: The "Tiercelet"', *English Historical Review* 323 (1967) 332-41 and *War and Chivalry ...* (Athens, Ga., 1981), chap. 2 'Orders of Chivalry in the Fifteenth Century', pp. 33-62; and Bernard Guenée, *L'occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: les États* (Paris, 1971), pp. 234-35.

¹¹ *The Origin and Development of the Curial Orders of Chivalry, 1330-1470* (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1976). I am currently completing for publication a revised and expanded version of this study, tentatively entitled *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Boydell & Brewer, 1985).

¹² André Favyn, *Le Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie: ou l'histoire des ordres militaires des Roys et Princes de la Chrestienté ...* (Paris, 1620) (published in London in 1623 as *The Theatre of Honour and Knighthood ...*). This was one of the earliest of a long series of books, each largely derived from earlier works of the same type, purporting to give a brief account of the nature and history of most or all of the orders of knighthood founded in Europe down to the time of publication. (For an extensive but still incomplete list of such works, see Lessurios, *Histoire de l'ordre du Saint Sépulchre ...* [Maastricht, 1872], pp. i-iv.) Much of the 'information' contained in these works about virtually every aspect of the nature and history of the earlier orders they describe is so inaccurate that it must have been invented out of whole cloth. Indeed, many of the early orders described in these works were themselves inventions of the authors, whose interpretation of sources was often highly imaginative. Favyn, for example, described not only the perfectly historical Order of the Broom-Pod (*Cosse de Geneste*), but a completely fictitious Order of the Genet (*Gennette*), evidently based on a misinterpretation of the word for 'broom' in some source, and assigned to it a collar, a costume, a constitution and a complete history with absolutely no basis in fact. Most later writers accepted his inventions at face value.

contrast to the religious orders of knighthood founded in the previous two centuries,¹³ were exceedingly diverse both in organization and purpose. Indeed, aside from the restriction of membership in their principal class¹⁴ to lay (but not necessarily male¹⁵) persons of knightly birth (though not necessarily knightly status¹⁶), and the use of a badge¹⁷ of some sort from which they commonly took

¹³ The eighteen religious orders of knighthood founded between 1099 and 1319 were all organized as monastic orders on the Cistercian model, and with the exception of the Spanish order of Santiago and its Portuguese offshoot had rules that were based directly or indirectly upon either the Rule of St. Benedict, independently adopted by the Templars in the Holy Land and by the knights of Calatrava in Spain (in each case under Cistercian influence), or that of St. Augustine, first adopted by the Hospitallers of St. John in the Holy Land, before the order was militarized. All had broadly similar administrative hierarchies headed by an elected 'master', and similar classes of members. Very few new orders of this class were founded after 1319. On the religious orders of knighthood, see especially Hans Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden ...* (Berlin, 1907); Henri de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886); Derek W. Lomax, *La orden de Santiago, 1170-1275* (Madrid, 1965); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967); and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and Its Affiliates* (London, 1975). Most of the lesser orders have not been the subject of critical monographs, and very little has been written on the history of any of these orders in the later medieval period.

¹⁴ Several orders, including the Garter and the Dragon of Hungary, had more than one class of lay members.

¹⁵ Most orders were restricted to men, but the Garter admitted women to some sort of associate status between 1376 and 1488 (see G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage ...*, 13 vols. [London, 1910-59], 2.592-96, App. B) and the Enterprise of the Dragon admitted women on a footing equal to that of the male members (see P. S. Lewis, 'Une devise de chevalerie inconnue, créée par un comte de Foix? "Le Dragon"', *Annales du Midi* 76 [1964] 77-84).

¹⁶ Many of the lay orders required knighthood for membership in their principal class, but others, including the Castilian Order of the Band and the Angevin Order of the Crescent, admitted squires (see below, nn. 26 and 39). It is perhaps worth noting that membership in these orders did not in itself confer knighthood, and that no order in this period actually provided for the knighting of new members.

¹⁷ The word 'badge' seems to have been coined c. 1350 (OED 1.618) specifically to designate a new type of device, regularly adopted or inherited by princes and barons (especially in England and France) between about 1360 and 1550, and distributed to members of their households, to their contractual retainers, and to their allies, as a sign of the relationship between them. These devices were also called 'cognizances' in English, and *devises* or *enseignes* in French. They typically took the form of a two-dimensional or bas-relief representation of some beast, plant, or object, often accompanied by some sort of verbal *devise* or motto, and were usually worn pinned, embroidered, or applied to the breast of the surcoat or mantle. Every known lay order save those of St. George of Hungary (whose members were distinguished by a black hooded mantle) and of the Band (whose members were distinguished by a special surcoat) had a badge of this general type, sometimes (especially after about 1390) incorporated into some sort of collar. On the badges of the lay orders see especially Alwin Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im xiv. und xv. Jahrhundert* 2 (Vienna, 1892), pp. 541-51; Paul Ganz, 'Die Abzeichen der Ritterorden', *Archives héraldiques suisses* (1905) 28-37, 52-67, 134-40, (1906) 16-25; Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la renaissance*, 2 vols. bound in 5 (Paris, 1916), 3.401-409; and Ottfried Neubecker, 'Ordensritterliche Heraldik', *Der Herold* 1 (1940) 115-27. None of these is either complete or free from error, and I am currently preparing a series of articles on the subject.

their popular (if not their formal) name,¹⁸ there was no single characteristic shared by all of these lay 'orders' (including the formal title 'order' ¹⁹), and it is therefore all but impossible to make significant general statements about them as a group. The consequent need for some method of classifying these 'orders' was recognized as early as 1502,²⁰ but as recently as fifty years ago Huizinga still felt able to discuss them as if they were more alike than unlike,²¹ and it has only been in the last few years that critical historians (notably P. S. Lewis and Richard Barber²²) have attempted to divide them into more or less distinct

¹⁸ Most lay orders, like that of the Ship, took their formal name from their badge, but a number of orders, most notably those of the Garter, Star, and Knot, had formal names alluding to their heavenly patron; and a few of these, most notably the orders of St. George in Hungary and Aragon, seem to have had no other name.

¹⁹ Although 'order' (*ordo, ordre, orden* – the only corporate title used by the religious orders of knighthood) was the most common title adopted by the lay orders of most classes, the titles 'society' (*societas, société, Gesellschaft*), 'company' (*comitiva, compagnie*), 'enterprise' (*emprinse, empresa, enpresa*), and 'alliance' (*alliance, liansa*) were each used by several lay orders, either alone or in various combinations. The titles 'society' and 'company' were characteristic of confraternities.

²⁰ The first writer to attempt a classification of lay orders was Olivier de la Marche, sometime *maître d'hôtel* to Duke Charles 'the Rash' of Burgundy. In a letter to that duke's grandson Philippe 'the Handsome' written in 1502 (*Epistre pour tenir et celebrer la noble feste du Thoisson d'Or*, preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 5046 and published by H. Beaune and J. Arbaumont in *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche* ... 4 [Paris, 1888], pp. 158-89) he divided the lay orders then existing into two classes: true orders, which, like his master's order, had both statutes and a limited membership, and false orders or *devises*, which had neither (pp. 161-62). A century later Aubert le Mire, *alias* Albertus Miraeus, merely divided lay knights in general into two classes: knights of the Collar (*du Collier*), who belonged to what De la Marche would have called true orders maintained by princes, and knights of the Golden Spur (*de l'Esperon d'or*), who belonged to no order at all (*Origine des chevaliers et ordres militaires* [Antwerp, 1609], pp. i-iii). By his day most of the non-monarchical lay orders had ceased to exist, and the fundamental distinction between the real and pseudo-orders of earlier centuries had been forgotten.

²¹ Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, chap. 6. Although he mentions orders of several different classes, he gives no indication that he was aware of the profound differences that divided them.

²² Lewis, 'Une devise de chevalerie inconnue', 77-84 admits that a distinction must be made between orders that were more and those that were less formally constituted, and between those that were intended to be permanent and those that were not, and discusses less systematically the more salient characteristics of most of the classes I have distinguished, but is not sure that their complex relationships admit of such precise divisions as those attempted by Olivier de la Marche. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, distinguishes three broad classes of 'secular' orders: (1) princely orders of 'openly high intent' (those of the Garter, the Star, the Band, and the Golden Fleece are mentioned); (2) orders 'whose only *raison d'être* was a chivalrous whim on their founders' part' (those of the 'Annunciation', the 'White Lady with a Green Shield', the *Fer de Prisonnier*, and the Dragon of Foix are listed as examples, the first one wrongly, the first two under incorrect names); and (3) 'practical associations' (those of the *Tiercelet*, the Crescent, and the Golden Apple are listed, the second wrongly). He also recognizes that certain orders were '... not unlike the liveries of English retinues ... applied on a higher level, badges of personal alliance rather than membership in an Order', but makes no distinction between such pseudo-orders and the 'chivalrous' orders of his second class. Like Huizinga, both Lewis and Barber based their

classes. In my own scheme of classification,²³ which is based on a careful comparative examination of the surviving statutes of all the lay orders known to have been founded anywhere in Europe before 1500 A.D., a primary division is made between 'true orders', which like the religious orders were endowed with some sort of rule, constitution, or statutes intended to govern the activities of their members; and 'pseudo-orders', which were not so endowed, and had in consequence no real corporate existence. The true lay orders are then divided on the dual basis of their constitutional form and evident purposes into four broad classes.

First, a class of orders characterized by a monarchical constitution under which the presidential office was both life-long and hereditary, and was normally attached to the crown of the principal dominion of its founder, invariably a virtually sovereign prince and in most cases a king. The princely presidents of these orders (which for obvious reasons I have called 'monarchical' ²⁴) normally exercised a considerable degree of control over the selection of new members, and the members themselves, though often formally termed 'companions', were in most cases bound primarily by oaths of loyalty and obedience to the president and statutes rather than to one another. The only goal common to all of the monarchical orders was the promotion and reward of loyal service to the princely president, but most were also intended to promote and reward chivalrous conduct (and thereby to enhance the reputation of the prince as a patron of chivalry) and to promote peace and harmony within at least that part of the nobility of the prince's dominions upon which he relied for support. Although inspired in part by the old religious orders of knighthood and in part by the various legendary societies of knights described in the prose romances which were then at the height of their popularity, the founders of the monarchical orders borrowed the general constitutional format of their foundations from the lay devotional confraternity, a highly flexible form of organization in which a great variety of religious and secular obligations and activities could be combined.²⁵

observations almost exclusively on French orders, ignoring the numerous orders founded in other kingdoms.

²³ An earlier version of this scheme was presented in the introduction to my Oxford thesis, cited above, n. 11. A fuller discussion of the scheme here presented will appear in my forthcoming book *The Knights of the Crown*.

²⁴ In my thesis I called these orders 'curial' because of their association with royal and princely courts, but I have since decided that the term 'monarchical' is preferable because it is more suggestive both of their defining characteristic and of their association with lay princes. The term 'princely', often applied to these orders, is also used with equal appropriateness of most of the pseudo-orders of both classes, and could be applied to confraternal and even fraternal orders founded by princes.

²⁵ On this class of lay orders (which corresponds roughly to that of the 'true orders' of De la

Second, a class of orders similarly modelled on the devotional confraternity, but characterized by a formally democratic constitution under which the chief offices were elective rather than hereditary. These orders, which I have called 'confraternal', were founded either by non-royal princes or by the leading barons of a principality or region, and although they were often closely associated with a princely court or dynasty they were always formally independent bodies that co-opted their own members.²⁶ Their goals and activities varied considerably: many sought to promote chivalrous conduct and festivities in their region, while some were intended, like the more prestigious monarchical orders, to promote loyalty to the prince and order within the principality. They may usefully be seen as the aristocratic version of the professional guilds.

Third, a class of orders characterized by a democratic or oligarchical constitution of a rather simple form, under which the members (generally drawn from the upper and middle nobility of a particular principality or region) were bound to one another on more or less equal terms by oaths of mutual loyalty and aid, especially in time of war. Since most of their ordinances seem to have been inspired by the contemporary relationships called alliance²⁷ and brotherhood-in-arms,²⁸ I have called these societies 'fraternal orders'. Unlike the monarchical and confraternal orders, which were always intended by their founders to be perpetual, the fraternal orders seem in general to have been created to deal with a particular war or political crisis, and were intended to endure only while that situation lasted.²⁹

Marche's classification, that of the 'knights of the Collar' in Le Mire's, that of the orders of 'openly high intent' in Barber's, and that of 'sodalities' in Boalt's), see below, pp. 184 ff.

²⁶ The earliest known order of this class is that of St. Catherine, founded in the Dauphiné of Viennois at some time between 1330 and 1340 (statutes published by C. U. J. Chevalier, *Choix de documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné* ... [Lyons, 1874], pp. 35-39). Among the later orders of this class may be mentioned the Order of the Crescent, founded by Duke René of Anjou in 1448 (statutes published by the comte de Quatrebarbes in *Les œuvres complètes du roi René* [Paris, 1845], pp. 51-79), which was erroneously classified by De la Marche, *Mémoires* as a mere *devise*, by Le Mire as a princely *ordre du Collier* (*Origine des chevaliers*, pp. 57-58), and by Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* with the orders of alliance he calls 'practical associations'. Numerous German orders seem to have fallen into this class, most notably the Order of the Swan, associated with the marquises of Brandenburg, and the Order of St. Hubert, associated with the dukes of Cleves.

²⁷ On the nature of this relationship, see P. S. Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism in Later Medieval France', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 37 (1964) 156-84.

²⁸ On the nature of this relationship, see Maurice Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', *History* N.S. 47 (1962) 1-17.

²⁹ The earliest known 'order' of this class, which corresponds roughly with Barber's class of 'practical associations', is the Company of the Black Swan, established by the counts of Savoy and Genève and the lord of Milan in the autumn of 1350 (statutes in Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy. Amadeus vi and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* [Princeton, 1967], pp. 359-61).

Finally, a class of orders I have termed 'votive orders'³⁰ were characterized by a set of ordinances of the sort normally associated with enterprises of arms.³¹ Their members undertook a collective vow to perform certain specific chivalrous deeds, under specific conditions and within a specific period of time, after the completion of which the society simply dissolved. Like the individual enterprises upon which they were modelled, the votive orders were in effect chivalrous games in which their members were the players and their statutes the rules of play. Generally founded by princes and lords who saw themselves as paragons of chivalric virtue in the image of the heroes of the romances, these orders were intended primarily to enhance the heroic reputations of their participants.³²

The sets of knights that I have designated 'pseudo-orders' (they can hardly be described as 'societies' or even 'groups') may similarly be divided into two distinct classes. First, a class that I have called 'cliental pseudo-orders', because their 'members' were bound by an oath of clientship to the prince who bestowed the 'order'³³ in the form of a badge. The oath required was generally very similar to that sworn by indentured retainers in England³⁴ or inferior *alliés* in

³⁰ From their origin in a chivalrous vow. Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, saw a close relationship between the lay orders in general and the vows commonly sworn by contemporary knights to perform some heroic deed, but in fact the oaths sworn on admission to orders other than those of the votive class were of entirely different types.

³¹ On these *emprinses d'armes*, see Huizinga, *ibid.*, pp. 81, 89; Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry. Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France* (Baltimore, 1940; rpt. Ithaca, 1957), pp. 51-54; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 178-80; and Martín de Riquer, *Cavalleria fra realt  e letteratura nel Quattrocento* (Bari, 1970), which incorporates *Vida caballeresca en la Espa a del siglo xv* (Madrid, 1965), and *Caballeros andantes espa oles* (Madrid, 1967) along with various lesser studies.

³² To this class belong the last three orders placed by Barber (*ibid.*, p. 309) in the class of 'chivalrous' orders. All three were founded in France between 1399 and 1415.

³³ During the latter part of the fourteenth century the word 'order', originally the corporate designation of the society, came to be attached to the badge of the society. The earliest examples of the use of the word 'order' in this way that I have found are in the statutes of the Order of the Ship, here edited. The clause 'depuis qu'il auront l'ordre prise et receue' (found in the prologue) and the clause 'la dite ordre et devise poura mander et envoyer' (found in chap. 1, and, with slight variations, in chaps. 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16) already suggest an equation of the terms *ordre* and *devise*, as do the phrase 'perdre l'ordre (et devise)' (found in chaps. 54 and 75) and the phrase 'priver de l'ordre (et devise)' (found with variations in the tense of the verb in chaps. 65, 66, 68, 77, 78, 81, 97, and 130), but the clause 'et ne pourtera l'ord[r]e plus' (found in chap. 91) can only be interpreted in that way. A slightly later example of the use of the word 'order' to mean 'badge (of an order)' is to be found in the statutes of the order of the Golden Apple (published in Antoine Jacotin, *Preuves de la maison de Polignac* ..., 5 vols. (Paris, 1898-1905), no. 283, pp. 172-73, chap. 11: 'Item, a est e promis et ourden e de toux ensemble pourter un ourdre, set assavoir une pomme d'or en un sercle ...' Given this usage, it is hardly surprising that the name 'order' came to be attached to *devices* that were not in fact signs of membership in an 'order' in the original sense of that term.

³⁴ On the subject of retaining by contract, or 'bastard feudalism' as it is sometimes infelicitously called, see especially K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *Bulletin of the Institute of*

France³⁵ in the same period, and the pseudo-orders of this class were in effect glorified retinues, distinguished from other such groupings only by the misleading title 'order'.³⁶ Second, a class whose 'members' undertook no special obligations at the time of their admission, beyond those commonly undertaken with the general order of knighthood. In fact, membership in these 'orders' was often bestowed along with the accolade of knighthood, either during the course of some festive occasion like a coronation, or upon the completion of a pilgrimage to a shrine whose guardians had received the right to bestow the accolade upon noble pilgrims. Like many modern 'orders', these pseudo-orders consisted of nothing more than the badge and title bestowed, and served merely to honour their recipients. I have therefore called them 'honorific pseudo-orders'.³⁷

It will be clear from even so brief a summary as this that the various classes of lay orders differed greatly in their political and military potential, and that while those of the votive class were indeed relatively frivolous, those of the fraternal class were by contrast entirely serious in purpose. Those of the monarchical and confraternal classes generally had constitutions of sufficient complexity to permit an intricate interweaving of romantic and pragmatic elements, and certainly cannot be dismissed as inconsequential. In fact the orders of the former class, which assumed a position of considerable importance in the courts of most Western Christian kingdoms in the late Middle Ages, and were highly esteemed by most contemporaries, may justly be regarded as the most important institutional embodiments both of the mature ideals of chivalry and of the new form of patrono-cliental relationship that replaced the decaying feudo-vassalic ties in that period. For these reasons alone they are worthy of a more careful scrutiny than they have hitherto received

Historical Research 20 (1943-45) 161-80; N. B. Lewis, 'The Organization of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., 27 (1945) 29-39; W. H. Dunham, Jr., *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483. The Lawfulness of Livery and Retaining under the Yorkists and Tudors* (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences 39; New Haven, 1955); B. D. Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture. The Transition from Feudal to Non-Feudal Contract in Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); and N. B. Lewis, 'Indentures of Retinue with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Enrolled in Chancery, 1367-1399', *Camden Miscellany* 22 (1964) 77-112.

³⁵ See Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism' (above, n. 27).

³⁶ In this class of 'orders', which corresponds to the class De la Marche called 'mere devises', may be placed such well-known assemblages as the French royal 'Order' of the Broom-Pod and the 'Order' of the Camail or Porcupine maintained by the dukes of Orléans throughout the fifteenth century. A document of 17 March 1405 (preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 22289, fol. 1r) contains the oath to be sworn on being admitted to the latter 'Order'.

³⁷ To this class of 'orders', most of which were not so called by contemporaries, belong the English knights of the Bath, the papal *milites aurati* or 'knights of the Golden Spur', the Venetian knights of St. Mark, and the knights of the Holy Sepulchre and of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai.

from modern historians. At the very least a study of these orders should provide new insights into the still mysterious *mentalité* of the most important class of medieval European society.

THE MONARCHICAL ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD

On the basis of the surviving statutes and other contemporary evidence that I have located, I have identified a total of thirteen medieval orders of knighthood that were certainly monarchical during part of their history at least, nine of them founded in the fourteenth and four in the fifteenth century:

- (1) the Fraternal Society of Knighthood of St. George the Martyr,³⁸ founded in 1326 by King Károly I of Hungary (formerly Carlo-Roberto Capet d'Anjou) and dissolved at or shortly after the death of his son Lajos without male issue in 1386;
- (2) the Order of the Band,³⁹ founded by Alfonso XI of Castile and León in 1330, probably reduced to the status of an honorific pseudo-order by 1430, and apparently defunct by 1474;
- (3) the Society of St. George or Order of the Garter,⁴⁰ founded by King Edward III of England in 1348/49 as the successor to a project of 1344 to revive the Round Table, and still maintained under a slightly modified version of its original constitution;

³⁸ Called in its statutes *Societas Fraternalis Militiae titulo Sancti Georgii insigniti*, or more simply *Societas Beati Georgii Martyris*. According to the Hungarian scholar Szabolcs de Vajay (in a letter to me dated 4 June 1982) the statutes (published by György Fejér in his *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae, ecclesiasticus ac civilis* 8.3 [Buda, 1832], pp. 163-70) have been preserved somewhere in Hungary in the original manuscript, which was exhibited in 1933, but I have as yet been unable to locate this manuscript. The Society of St. George was unknown to the early historians of the knightly orders, and has been virtually ignored by critical historians.

³⁹ *La orden de la Banda*, often referred to as the Order of the Sash although its device normally took the form of an heraldic bend (in Spanish *banda*) painted or applied to the surcoat. A late (and possibly doctored) version of the statutes of this order was published in 1642 by Micheli Márquez (*Tesoro militar*, fols. 50v-51v), but the primitive statutes (preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. esp. 33) were unknown until 1923 when they were published by G. Daumet ('L'ordre castillan de l'Echarpe [Banda]', *Bulletin hispanique* 25 [1923] 5-32), and the next reference to these statutes that I have found was published as recently as 1974 (Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 339-44, 373).

⁴⁰ Various described in its earliest surviving statutes as *Ordo Sancti Georgii sive Societas Garterii*, *Ordo Garterii*, and *Chevaliers de Saint George de la Compagnie du Gartier*. The primitive statutes of the Order seem to have perished, but three early versions antedating the reforms of Henry V have survived in Latin translations (in London, British Library Harley ms. 564 and Additional ms. 28549, and Windsor Castle, Windsor Aerary ms. G 1 [The Black Book]), and these were published along with several later versions by Ashmole in 1672 (*Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies*, Appendix). No redaction of the statutes seems to have been the subject of a modern critical edition.

- (4) the Company or Society of the Knights of Our Lady of the Noble House, commonly called from its badge the 'Order of the Star',⁴¹ founded by King Jean II of France in 1351 as the realization of a project of 1344 to create an order dedicated to the Virgin and St. George,⁴² and apparently defunct by the time of its founder's capture at Poitiers in 1356;
- (5) the Company of the Holy Spirit of Right Desire, commonly called from its badge the 'Order of the Knot',⁴³ founded by King Ludovico of mainland Sicily in 1352 on the model of the Order of the Star, and apparently dissolved on his death without issue in 1362;
- (6) the Order of the Collar,⁴⁴ founded by Amé VI 'the Green Count' of Savoy in or about 1364, endowed with written statutes by his grandson Amé VIII (later the first duke of Savoy) in 1409, reorganized on the model of the Golden Fleece by Duke Charles III in 1518 as the Order of the Annunciation of Our Lady, and still maintained by the head of the House of Savoy;
- (7) the Order or Enterprise of the Knights of St. George,⁴⁵ founded by King Pere IV 'the Ceremonious' of Aragon at some time between 1370 and his succession to

⁴¹ Described in the letters by which the foundation of the Order was proclaimed as 'une compaignie de chevaliers qui seront appelez les Chevaliers de Nostre Dame de la Noble Maison', and in the letters founding the Order's canonical institute (Paris, Archives Nationales JJ 81, no. 570) as *consortium seu societatem militum Beate Marie Nobilis Domus apud Sanctum Odoenum prope Sanctum Dyonisium in Francia*. The former document, which contains what are in effect the statutes of the order, has been preserved in a single copy (Paris, Archives Nationales anc. Chambre des Comptes reg. C, fol. 120) and published several times, most recently by Léopold Pannier, *La noble maison de Saint-Ouen, la villa Clipiacum et l'Ordre de l'Étoile* (Paris, 1878), pp. 88-90. It has never been properly edited.

⁴² The evidence for this project is to be found in a series of papal letters conferring privileges upon it, published by E. Déprez, *Clementis papae VI Epistolae patentes, clausae, et de curia quae ad Franciam pertinent* (Paris, 1910), nos. 883-888, 'annus tertius', cols. 31-37.

⁴³ Described in the prologue to its statutes as *la tres noble Compaignie du Saint Esperit au Droit Desir*. The statutes (uniquely preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 4274) have been published several times (most recently in a facsimile edition by comte Horace de Salviac de Viel-Castel [Paris, 1853]), but never properly edited. I am currently preparing a critical edition.

⁴⁴ Called *l'Ordre du Collier* in all of the medieval sources. The primitive statutes, if they were ever written down, were lost by 1409, when the second version was promulgated. The original of the latter has been preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Turin (Ordini militari: Ordine della Santissima Annunziata, Mazzo I.N.4), and a transcription of its text was published (along with most of the later redactions) by A. Todaro della Galia, *Collezione degli Statuti, Ordinanze ed Editti, Editi et Inediti, del Nobilissimo Ordine Supremo della SS. Annunziata* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 10-15. None of the early redactions of the statutes has been the subject of a critical edition. I am currently preparing an edition of the statutes of Amé VIII.

⁴⁵ Described in the prologue to its statutes as 'empresa de nobles et de cavallers ... los quals sien nomenats los cavallers de sant Jordi', and in a letter of its founder dated 6 May 1379 (published by Rafael Tasis, *La vida del rei En Pere III* [Barcelona, 1954], plate III) as 'ordre nostre de Sent Jordi'. The statutes (preserved in Barcelona, Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón Reg. 1232, fol. 109) were published in the *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón* 6 (Barcelona, 1850), no. IX, pp. 76-78, but the order was unknown to earlier historians of the knightly orders and seems to have been ignored almost completely by more recent historians.

- the dukeship of Athens in 1377, and evidently defunct by the death of his son Martí, last of his line, in 1410;
- (8) the Order of St. Michael the Archangel or of the Ermine,⁴⁶ founded by Duke Jean IV of Brittany shortly after his return from exile in England in 1380, and maintained by his successors after his death in 1399, probably as a cliental or honorific pseudo-order, until the formal annexation of the dukeship of Brittany to the French Crown in 1532;
 - (9) the Order of the Ship, here in question, founded as we have seen in 1381 and dissolved on the death of its founder in 1386;
 - (10) the Society of the Dragon, or the Draconists,⁴⁷ founded as a monarchical order by King Zsigmond of Hungary (*alias* Sigismund von Luxemburg-Brandenburg, later king and emperor of the Romans) in 1408, and apparently defunct, at least as a monarchical order, within a short time of the election of Mátyás Hunyadi to the Hungarian throne in 1456;
 - (11) the Order of the Golden Fleece,⁴⁸ founded by Duke Philippe III of Burgundy in 1430/31, and still maintained by his descendants in both Spain and Austria;
 - (12) the Order of the Ermine,⁴⁹ founded by King Ferrante of mainland Sicily in 1465,

⁴⁶ The statutes of this order do not seem to have been preserved, and the most important item of evidence for its history that I have discovered is a letter of the founder's son, Duke Jean V, dated 25 November 1437 (published by H. Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* ... 2 [Paris, 1707], cols. 315-16) and ordering his procurators to collect the collars of the order from the heirs of the deceased members, as the statutes ordered.

⁴⁷ Referred to in its statutes simply as a *societas* whose members were to be distinguished by the *signum Draconis*, it was variously designated in other contemporary documents by such names as the *Gesellschaft mit dem Trakchen* and the *Fraternitas Draconum*. The statutes promulgated on 12 December 1408 seem to have been preserved since 1764 in the Hungarian National Archives (Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár DL. 9470?) (see *A Magyar kir. Országos Levéltárban közszemlére kitett okleveleknek jegyzéke* [Budapest, 1882], pp. 10-11, no. 24), and were published first by J. F. Miller among other 'Monumenta diplomatica nunc primum ex autographis edita' in *Acta literaria Musei Nationalis Hungarici* 1 (Buda, 1818), pp. 167-90, and more recently by György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae* 10.4 (Buda, 1841), pp. 682-94. This very important order has received some attention from critical historians in Germany and Hungary, but has been virtually ignored by historians everywhere else. A modern Hungarian translation of its statutes has been published (along with the references to the manuscript and catalogue cited above) by Béla Baranyai ('Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkány-rendje', *Századok* 40 [1926] 574-80), but the Latin original awaits a critical edition.

⁴⁸ Invariably designated *l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, but described in the prologue to its statutes as 'un ordre et fraternité de chevalerie, ou aimable compagnie de certain nombre de chevaliers'. A number of fifteenth-century redactions of the statutes of this order have been preserved, some of which were published by Jean-Baptiste Maurice, *Blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de la Toison d'Or* (The Hague, 1667), but despite the unparalleled attention the order has received from historians, none of the early redactions has been the subject of a modern critical edition. For a partial list of the surviving statute books, see G. Dogaer, 'Des anciens livres des statuts manuscrits de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or', *Publications du Centre européen d'études burgondo-médianes* 5 (1963) 65-70.

⁴⁹ In the Italian version of its statutes it is called *l'Ordine del Arminio*, but in a letter of 3 October 1474 (published by Pontieri, *Per la storia del regno*, pp. 69-70), it is referred to as the *impresa de lo Armellino*. The former document, of which at least one manuscript was at one

- and dissolved during the course of the wars that followed his death in 1494 and resulted in the reannexation of his kingdom to the Crown of Aragon in 1502;
- (13) the Order of My Lord St. Michael the Archangel,⁵⁰ proclaimed by King Louis XI of France in 1469, and maintained (in almost complete disregard of its constitution) until the revolution of 1789.

In addition to these thirteen I have identified fourteen orders that were certainly established by princes during the course of the same period of a century and a half (six of them in the fourteenth and eight in the fifteenth century) and may have been endowed with monarchical constitutions at some point in their history.⁵¹ In the absence of their statutes, however, it is impossible to classify any of these orders with certainty, and some of them may have been confraternal rather than monarchical, while others may well have been mere pseudo-orders throughout their (generally brief) histories.⁵²

It is noteworthy that of the twenty-seven orders of knighthood that were either certainly or possibly monarchical, nineteen were founded by kings and eight by effectively sovereign dukes, most of whom saw themselves as the heirs or equals of kings.⁵³ It is also significant that at some time during the period between 1325 and 1470 at least one monarchical order was certainly founded or maintained in the court of almost every kingdom in Western Christendom.⁵⁴

time preserved in the Archivio della Badia della SS. Trinità, Cava, was published on the basis of that manuscript (otherwise unidentified) by G. M. Fusco, *I capitoli dell'Ordine dell'Armellino* (Naples, 1845). A Latin translation of the statutes has been preserved in a manuscript of 1486 in London, British Library Additional ms. 28628. Almost nothing has been written about this order, scarcely known outside of Italy, and neither version of its statutes has been properly edited.

⁵⁰ Called in the preamble to the statutes of institution *l'Ordre de Monsieur Saint Michel Archange*, and described like the Order of the Golden Fleece as '... un Ordre de Fraternité, ou aimable compaignie de certain nombre de chevaliers' These statutes have been preserved in a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts (most of them described by P. Durrieu in *Les manuscrits des Statuts de l'Ordre de Saint Michel* [Paris, 1911]), and were published by Favyn as early as 1620 (*Le Théâtre d'Honneur*, pp. 616-39), but have never been the subject of a modern critical edition.

⁵¹ Among them the Austrian Orders of the Pigtail (*Zopf*), Salamander, and White Eagle, the Danish Order of the Elephant, and the Scottish Order of the Thistle.

⁵² Only four monarchical orders still survived in the year 1550: the Garter, the Annunziata, the Golden Fleece, and St. Michael. Two other orders, victims of the Protestant Reformation, were later revived: the Elephant, in 1580, and the Thistle, in 1697.

⁵³ The dukes of Brittany and Burgundy both saw themselves in this period as the heirs of the ancient kings of their principalities, and the dukes of Austria had recently adopted the title 'Archduke Palatine' in an attempt to assert their independence and equality with the prince-electors of the Empire. The counts of Savoy (dukes as lords of Chablais and Aosta long before Savoy itself was erected into a duchy) had recently been raised to the status of vassals of the Emperor as such rather than as King of Arles.

⁵⁴ The exceptions were the kingdoms of Portugal, Scotland, and the united kingdoms of Scandinavia, and the rulers of the last two founded orders that may have been monarchical (i.e., the Order of St. Andrew or of the Thistle, established 1460/88, and that of the Blessed Virgin

The monarchical orders of knighthood were in fact the natural successors of the original religious orders in an increasingly secular age in which royal and princely power were growing steadily and a sense of nationality was replacing the earlier belief in the fundamental unity of Christendom. In both the Holy Land and Spain the religious orders of knighthood, most notably those of the Hospital of St. John and the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, had demonstrated the military and political value of a closely-knit and well-organized 'order' of knights permanently maintained under the absolute control of a single commander, and it would not have required a genius to see the advantages of creating a similar order expressly to serve a royal crown or dynasty.

The time was not yet ripe, however, for the formal subjection of a strictly religious order to the authority of a lay prince (as would occur in Spain in the early sixteenth century), so the kings of the early fourteenth century who wanted a knightly order of their own had to think in terms of a strictly lay society. For such a society, inevitably quite different from the existing orders of monk-knights, they needed both a different model and, in an age that idealized the past and regarded all 'innovation' with the deepest suspicion, an historical precedent. As it happened, several precedents for a society of just the sort the kings had need of – composed of lay knights and closely attached to the courts of great rulers – existed in the pseudo-historical literature then much in vogue among the nobility, and generally accepted as true: preeminently the Society of the Knights of the Round Table, maintained by the legendary King Arthur of Britain. And these fabulous societies had something beside their general nature that must have recommended them strongly as models for the new royal orders: an intimate association in the minds of most contemporary noblemen with all that was best in the imagined chivalry of past ages. Although most modern historians have followed Huizinga's lead in regarding the knightliness or chivalry of the Late Middle Ages as a decadent and irrelevant survival from an earlier and more heroic age (usually placed in the twelfth century), more recent scholarship has demonstrated beyond much doubt that 'chivalry', in the sense of a code of values and behaviour specifically associated with the status of knight and compounded not merely of military but of religious, ethical and courtly elements, was only gradually forged by poets and moralists in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was probably not generally accepted by the majority of knights until the middle of the thirteenth century, when the almost simultaneous fusion and closure of the old knightly and baronial classes

Mary or of the Elephant, established 1448/57). Neither Navarre nor Poland seems to have produced a monarchical order, but the Order of the Stole and Jar was maintained for a time in the former, and the Hungarian Order of St. George in the latter.

had given rise to a true hereditary nobility closely identified with the newly-sacralized status of knight.⁵⁵ In fact, the chivalry of the fourteenth century must be regarded as mature rather than decadent, and far from being irrelevant, it was at the height of its influence. Not long before the first lay order was founded in 1326⁵⁶ chivalry had begun to assume the form of a secular religion for the nobility of most of Western Christendom: a religion in which the military saints Michael, George, and Maurice acted as tutelary deities, a collection of heroes headed by the Nine Worthies performed the rôle of saints, a hierarchy of heralds performed the rôle of priests, the tournament functioned as a solemn liturgy, and a vast and growing body of quasi-historical romances, romanticized histories, chivalric biographies, and handbooks both practical and philosophical functioned as holy scriptures. Since many of the most eminent heroes depicted in the romances had taken pride in belonging to a society that at once embodied and promoted the ideals of chivalry, it was perhaps inevitable that some king, eager to be seen both as a paragon of chivalry and as a worthy

⁵⁵ Our understanding of the history of both the status of knight and the ethos of knighthood has increased greatly in the last fifteen years, and many of the ideas of such early critical historians as Léon Gautier, Johan Huizinga, R. L. Kilgour, and even Marc Bloch, have been more or less thoroughly discredited. On the early history of knighthood and chivalry see especially G. Duby, 'Les origines de la chevalerie' in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 15.1-2; Spoleto, 1968), pp. 739-61, rpt. in his *Hommes et structures du moyen âge. Recueil d'articles* (Paris, 1973), pp. 325-41 and 'Situation de la noblesse en France au début du xiii^e siècle', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 82 (1969) 309-15, rpt. in *Hommes et structures du moyen âge*, pp. 343-52; P. Van Luyn, 'Les milites dans la France du xi^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 77 (1971) 5-56, 192-238; J. Flori, 'La notion de Chevalerie dans les Chansons de Geste du xii^e siècle: étude historique de vocabulaire', *Le Moyen Age* 81 (1975) 211-44, 407-45 and 'Sémantique et société médiévale. Le verbe adouber et son évolution au xii^e siècle', *Annales É.S.C.* 31 (1976) 915-40 and 'Chevalerie et liturgie: remise des armes et vocabulaire "chevaleresque" dans les sources liturgiques du ix^e au xv^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 84 (1978) 247-78, 409-42 and 'Les origines de l'adoubement chevaleresque: étude des remises d'armes et du vocabulaire qui les exprime dans les sources historiques latines jusqu'au début du xiii^e siècle', *Traditio* 35 (1979) 209-72 and 'Pour une histoire de chevalerie: l'adoubement dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 100 (1979) 21-53; Tony Hunt, 'The Emergence of the Knight in France and England 1000-1200', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981) 93-114; Linda Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth Century Occitan Epic', *ibid.*, 115-30; and W. H. Jackson, 'The Concept of Knighthood in Heribort von Fritzlar's *Liet von Troye*', *ibid.*, 131-45. On the state of knighthood and chivalry in the later medieval period, see especially P. Contamine, 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie en France à la fin du moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976) 255-85; Maurice Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour, and the Decline of Chivalry', *Medievalia et humanistica* N.S. 8 (1977) 1-20; and the collection of articles published in *Chivalric Literature. Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Larry D. Benson and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo, 1980).

⁵⁶ Despite the claims made by many orders to a much more remote foundation, I have found no evidence for the existence of any lay order before 1326, when the earliest known monarchical order was established.

successor to the royal founders of these legendary societies, should seek to recreate a society of this sort in his own court.

Both the religious orders of knighthood and the fictional societies served not merely as sources of general inspiration but as direct models for the earlier monarchical orders, and certain features of both were borrowed. From the fictional societies the founders of the first monarchical orders took the general idea of a body of knights outstanding for their chivalrous qualities, attached to a particular royal court, and meeting in a particular chamber in which each was provided with a permanent seat, usually identified with his armorial bearings. From the religious orders they took the idea that their foundations should be conceived of as (and generally entitled) 'orders', and should like other such orders be governed by a written rule in which the obligations and activities involved in membership were clearly set forth. They seem also to have borrowed the idea that knights of a particular order ought to be distinguished (on formal occasions at least) by a distinctive habit, usually including a long mantle charged on the left breast with a distinctive device.⁵⁷

Unfortunately for the founders of the first monarchical orders, however, neither the fictional societies of knights nor the religious orders provided a constitutional model that was really appropriate for the sort of society they had in mind. The writers who had invented and modified the various fictional societies, if they had ever thought much about the internal regulations of those societies (which is doubtful), had failed to describe them in any detail, and the very elaborate rules of the religious orders were designed to regulate complex, richly endowed, self-governing corporations, whose members normally had no outside obligations and lived together on a permanent basis under a truly monastic discipline. The kings and princes who founded the first monarchical orders had no hope of imposing a similar discipline on the lay barons and knights they wished to attract into their societies, and no intention of providing their orders with the sort of endowment that would have been necessary to maintain a significant body of knights on a permanent footing. Not surprisingly, therefore, they turned for a model to the lay devotional confraternity, a type of society whose members, while undertaking significant obligations and participating in a variety of corporate activities, continued to live normal lives in their own homes and to support themselves from their own private income or earnings.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ By the end of the thirteenth century, the knights of most of the religious orders had come to be distinguished by a long mantle, white in most orders but black in that of the Hospital of St. John, generally charged on the left breast with a cross of a shape and colour peculiar to the order. (See, e.g., Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 255-56; Lomax, *La orden de Santiago*, p. 93; and O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order* 1.33-38.

⁵⁸ For the nature and history of the late medieval confraternities, see especially G. Le Bras,

Rare in the twelfth century, confraternities of many types had spread steadily across Western Christendom in the thirteenth century and proliferated wildly in the fourteenth and fifteenth, to the point where practically everyone belonged to at least one, and some belonged to several such societies. Their popularity was due in part to the spiritual benefits they offered their members (in a period when lay piety and eschatological fears were also growing steadily) and in part to the ease with which their format could be adapted to different 'secondary' purposes: not only third orders and charities but craft guilds of every sort were normally organized as confraternities. The confraternity was thus the obvious model for those lay orders that were meant to be permanent and truly corporate bodies.

All of the monarchical orders whose statutes have come down to us were true confraternities, and their statutes included most or all of the features characteristic of such societies. Like other confraternities they were societies governed by corporate statutes that imposed strict qualifications for membership and imposed a variety of obligations upon their members. Like most confraternities they were placed under the patronage of some appropriate member of the court of heaven (most commonly one of the several patrons of chivalry mentioned above, or the Blessed Virgin Mary), maintained a hall and a chapel dedicated to their patron, and met annually on their patron's feast day to celebrate their patron's mass, deal with the society's business, admit new members, dole out rewards and punishments to members on the basis of their conduct during the previous year, settle any disputes that might have arisen among the members, and participate in a banquet and other revelries. Like most confraternities, too, they commonly provided funerals, prayers, and masses for their deceased members, and often some form of permanent memorial in the order's chapel. The members or 'companions' of the monarchical orders, like the members of less exalted forms of confraternity (and like the members of royal and princely households and contractual retainues), were almost always distinguished by some form of *devise* or badge. In the fourteenth century this badge took a variety of forms, and was worn either hung or tied around some part of the body or pinned or embroidered on the left breast like the crosses of the religious orders. Only in the fifteenth century did the heavy metal collar of the type familiar today become the normal form of badge even for monarchical orders.

Although the confraternity provided a useful general structure for the monarchical orders and included a number of features that could easily be

'Les confréries chrétiennes: problèmes et propositions', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th Ser., 19-20 (1940-41) 310-63; and J. Heers, *L'Occident aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux* (Paris, 1963; rpt. 1970), pp. 336-41.

adapted to the secondary goals of promoting and rewarding chivalrous conduct and promoting harmony among the members, it was an essentially egalitarian and democratic sort of organization that required certain significant additions and modifications if it was also to serve the generally more important purpose of promoting and rewarding loyalty and service to the crown. In a period when the nobility of most kingdoms was still relatively powerful and independent, and the heavily-armed knights and men-at-arms drawn from the class were still generally regarded as the most effective warriors, kings and princes had to depend to a considerable extent upon the political and military support of at least some of their noble subjects. Since the traditional ties between vassal and lord based upon a landed fief were everywhere in a state of decay (more or less advanced according to the region), most kings and princes were obliged to find other means of attracting and binding noblemen of all ranks to their house and service. A variety of substitutes for (or supplements to) the traditional form of bond were employed by the kings and greater princes of Western Christendom in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, including the *fief-rente* or feudal annuity, the non-feudal pension, and the equally non-feudal contract of retinue, known in France as an *alliance* and in England (where it was most fully developed and most widely employed) as an 'indenture'.⁵⁹ The monarchical orders and their unincorporated derivatives, the cliental pseudo-orders, may be seen, at least in part, as two more types of instrument developed in the same period to accomplish the same goals, and as one might expect, the founders of both types of order imposed upon their ordinary members patrono-cliental bonds strikingly similar to (and no doubt inspired by) those imposed in the other forms of relationship. The nature and extent of the cliental obligations specified by the statutes of the monarchical orders varied greatly from one order to another, but in most orders the obligations of loyalty and service owed to the princely president were greater than those owed to the other companions, and in some orders they were considerably greater. Of course even the most extensive and binding ties between companion and president would have been of little use to the founders of these orders and their heirs if the presidency of their orders had been elective, like that of most confraternities, so it was necessary to modify the normal constitutional format by making the presidency both life-long and hereditary. Most founders seem furthermore to have felt that it would be unwise to give the companions of their order the unrestricted right (normal in confraternities) to co-opt new members, and assigned to themselves and their heirs as president more or less extensive rights of control over the process of nomination and

⁵⁹ On these relationships, see above, nn. 34 and 35.

election to the order. In a number of orders the president simply appointed all new members, without even consulting the surviving companions.⁶⁰

THE ORDER OF THE SHIP: FOUNDATION AND HISTORY 1381-86

Although very little is known about the history of the Order of the Ship, the events leading up to its foundation and early dissolution are well established.⁶¹ Its founder, Carlo 'di Durazzo', had been born in 1355 as the only son of Ludovico, a very junior cadet of the royal house of mainland Sicily (or Naples) founded in 1265 by Count Charles of Anjou, the younger brother of King Louis IX of France.⁶² Carlo probably spent his earliest years in the court of his cousins Queen Giovanna I and her second consort Ludovico 'di Taranto',⁶³ the founder of the Order of the Knot. Shortly after the death of King Ludovico in 1362, Carlo's father was murdered by the late king's brothers, who saw in him a dangerous rival for the hand of the newly-widowed queen regnant. The orphaned Carlo was at first taken under the protection of Queen Giovanna herself, but in 1365 was adopted by his childless second cousin King Lajos

⁶⁰ This was true both of the Sicilian Order of the Knot and of the French Order of the Star.

⁶¹ There does not appear to be a critical monograph devoted primarily to the life or reign of Carlo 'di Durazzo', but Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo* (Milan, 1936), and Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954) give brief accounts of his reign in Italy, and Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria* (Rome, 1938), pp. 432 ff. gives an account of his reign in Hungary. Camera's description of the Order of the Ship (p. 298) seems to have been based entirely on the accounts given in the various early works on knightly orders.

⁶² Carlo was the son of Ludovico (d. 1362), second son of Giovanni (d. 1335), by appanage count of Gravina and lord of Monte Sant'Angelo in mainland Sicily, from 1318 to 1333 prince of Achaia in Greece, and from 1333 until his death first duke of Durazzo in Albania. It was from the latter principality (held in succession after Giovanni's death by his elder son Carlo [d. 1348] and Carlo's daughter Giovanna until 1368, when it was reconquered by the Albanians) that all of Giovanni's agnatic descendants took their surname after 1335. Duke Giovanni himself was the youngest of the five sons of King Carlo II of mainland Sicily (reg. 1285-1309), the only son with issue of King Carlo I (reg. 1265-85), the youngest son of King Louis VIII of France.

⁶³ Giovanna I (v. 1326-82) was the elder of the two daughters of Carlo, duke of Calabria, the only son of King Roberto of mainland Sicily (reg. 1309-43), who was himself the third son of King Carlo II. After the premature death of her father in 1328 Giovanna was proclaimed (on 4 November 1330) the universal heiress presumptive of her grandfather King Roberto, and succeeded him on his thrones when he died in 1343. She had been married in 1333 to her agnatic cousin Endre (Italian Andrea), a younger son of King Károly I of Hungary, who was himself the only son of Carlo-Martello, eldest of the five sons of Carlo II of mainland Sicily. Only two years after her accession, however, Endre had been murdered, quite possibly with Giovanna's connivance, and in 1348 she married another of her agnatic cousins, Ludovico 'di Taranto', third son of Filippo, prince of Taranto and Achaia, fourth son of King Carlo II. Ludovico ruled as king consort from 1352 until his death in 1362, when Giovanna resumed the reins of government. In 1363 she married Jaume, infant of Mallorca, who died in 1375, and in 1376 she married Otto, duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, who survived her.

'the Great' of Hungary and later that year was brought to the Hungarian court to be raised as the heir presumptive to Lajos' throne. King Lajos of Hungary was the head of the senior branch of the Angevin house,⁶⁴ and like his father Károly I, the founder of the Order of St. George, he maintained a court famous throughout Europe as a school of chivalry in the traditions of northern France.⁶⁵ Thus, though born in Italy and raised in Hungary, Carlo 'di Durazzo' received an education very similar to the sort given to French princes in the same period, and there is some reason to believe that he was fluent in French as well as Italian and Hungarian.

Like most young princes of his day, Carlo soon found himself playing the role of a pawn in the game of dynastic politics. In 1370, when he was fifteen, he was married through the contrivance of his adoptive father to another of his second cousins, Margherita 'di Durazzo',⁶⁶ who as the child of the deceased only sibling of the childless Queen Giovanna – herself beyond the years of childbearing – was regarded as the heiress presumptive to the Sicilian throne. Thus, for a short time, Carlo 'di Durazzo' had good reason to hope that he would one day wear both of the crowns of his Angevin house.

The birth in 1370 of the first of three daughters to the long barren wife of King Lajos,⁶⁷ however, quickly ended his chances of succeeding easily to the

⁶⁴ Lajos (or Louis) of Hungary (v. 1326-82) was the third but eldest surviving son of King Károly I of Hungary (called Carlo-Roberto or Caroberto in Italian), whose father Carlo-Martello, eldest of the five sons of Carlo II of mainland Sicily, had laid claim to the throne of Hungary in the right of his mother Mária (daughter of King István V of Hungary) in 1292, and died without realizing that claim in 1296. Excluded from the succession to the throne of his still-living grandfather Carlo II in favour of his uncle Roberto, Carlo-Roberto had been forced to take up his father's claim to the throne of Hungary, and after waging almost continuous war against the Magyar barons between 1300 and 1312 had succeeded in making himself master of that kingdom. Lajos had followed him on the Hungarian throne on his death in 1342, and following the murder in 1345 of his younger brother Endre, first consort of Giovanna I of mainland Sicily, had unsuccessfully attempted to assert his own hereditary claim to the Sicilian throne, occupying Naples itself in 1347 and 1350. In 1370 he succeeded to the throne of Poland, which he ruled with Hungary until his death in 1382. On his life see especially Hóman, *Gli Angioini*, pp. 289 ff.; and idem, 'Hungary, 1301-1490', *Cambridge Medieval History* 8 (Cambridge, 1936), chap. 19, pp. 599-603.

⁶⁵ Hóman, 'Hungary', 602.

⁶⁶ Margherita (d. 1412) was the fifth and youngest child of Carlo, duke of Durazzo, count of Gravina, and lord of Monte Sant'Angelo (d. 1348), by Maria (d. c. 1367), younger sister of Queen Giovanna. Her position as heiress presumptive was due to the death or disqualification of her four older siblings. Her only brother, Ludovico, had died as a child in 1344; her eldest sister, Clemenza, had died unmarried in 1363; her next eldest sister, Agnese, had renounced her rights of succession; and her one remaining sister, Giovanna (duchess of Durazzo after their father's death in 1348), had been declared ineligible by the pope (the overlord of the kingdom) when she married her cousin Louis Capet d'Évreux-Beaumont in 1362.

⁶⁷ Erzsébet (or Elizabeth) of Bosnia, whom Lajos had married as his second wife in 1353, gave birth in rapid succession to three daughters: Mária (v. 1370-95), whom Lajos designated his

Hungarian throne, and he was left dependent entirely upon his wife's expectations of following her aunt on the throne of Naples. The papal schism of 1378, precipitated in part by Queen Giovanna's refusal to recognize the election of her subject, the archbishop of Bari, to the throne of St. Peter, set off a complex chain of events which led among other things to Carlo's claiming his wife's inheritance before it was fully due. The new pope, Urban vi, quickly declared his recalcitrant vassal Queen Giovanna to be deposed for heresy and schism, and allied himself with Lajos of Hungary, who still held Giovanna responsible for the murder of her first consort, his younger brother Endre. Together pope and king seized upon the latter's ward, the partially disinherited Carlo 'di Durazzo', as the instrument of her removal. Carlo, no doubt anxious to secure what remained of his expected inheritance, agreed readily enough, and was accordingly dispatched to Naples with a large force of Hungarians and Italians. *En route* he stopped in Rome long enough to receive the crowns of mainland Sicily and Jerusalem from the pope's own hands on 2 June 1381. Carlo's army then marched on Naples, where Giovanna, after formally disinheriting her niece in favour of her distant cousin Duke Louis I of Anjou (the second son of Jean II of France), was finally forced to surrender on 26 August. She was imprisoned for the few months that remained of her life in the Castel dell'Ovo, the erstwhile seat of the Order of the Knot, while Carlo set up his own court as King Carlo III in the nearby Castel Nuovo. There he was again crowned king of Jerusalem and Sicily on 25 November.

It was during the festivities that followed that event that, on 1 December according to the statutes, Carlo proclaimed his new order of knighthood, that of the Ship. Nearly twenty years had elapsed since the extinction of the original Sicilian Order of the Knot. Carlo himself could have had no clear recollection of its ceremonies and feasts, having been barely seven years old at the time of King Ludovico's demise, but there must have been many in the court who remembered them very well, and it is likely that a copy of the order's statutes would have been available to Carlo. There can have been no thought in Carlo's mind of reviving the old order, which was inextricably associated with the rival Taranto line of the royal house, the murderers of his father. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that in establishing a new order so shortly after his coronation he was following the example set by Ludovico on the day of his coronation in 1352. It is also evident from the content of its statutes that the

heiress apparent in Poland, but who after his death was elected 'king' of Hungary by the Hungarian nobility and had to give up the throne of Poland to her sister, Caterina (v. 1371-78), who died young; and Jadwiga (v. 1371-1400), whom Lajos designated his heiress presumptive in Hungary, but who after his death was rejected by the Hungarian nobility and designated by her mother as queen of Poland instead.

new order was modelled partly, though not entirely, on its Sicilian predecessor.⁶⁸ The Hungarian Order of St. George, to which Carlo had surely been admitted by 1381, also served as a model for his new society, but Carlo seems to have drawn inspiration from no more than a handful of its known ordinances, and most of the refinements and innovations that are to be found in the statutes of the Order of the Ship appear to represent Carlo's own ideas.⁶⁹

The only significant item of contemporary evidence I have found for the history of the Order of the Ship is the manuscript of the statutes here edited. In a sort of epilogue to the statutes proper this manuscript includes a list of the seven original companions and a brief description of the occasion on which they 'took' the Order, in the great chapel of the Castel Nuovo, on 1 December 1381, 'in the presence of many gentlemen, and a great crowd of people.' I have found no evidence that the Order thus founded ever met again (although at least eight other men later claimed in one way or another to have been admitted to the Order),⁷⁰ or that Carlo put any part of his elaborate plan for his Order into effect. If he did not (and this too, is uncertain, for there is nothing to indicate that the Order did not function on an *ad hoc* basis for several years), the reasons for his failure to do so would not be difficult to discover. Like Jean II of France, whose Order of the Star had similarly dissolved within a few years of its foundation, Carlo was obliged to spend most of his short reign fighting to keep his throne, and probably had neither the time nor the money necessary for the effective establishment of his Order. Moreover, as if his troubles in Italy were not enough for him, Carlo claimed the Hungarian thrones as the heir male of his house following the death of his adoptive father King Lajos in 1382, and after three years during which Hungary was effectively governed by Lajos' widow Erzsébet of Bosnia in the name of their third daughter Mária, he accepted the invitation of a coalition of Hungarian magnates to invade Hungary to enforce his claim against that of Queen Mária and her new husband Sigismund von Luxemburg, who later founded the Order of the Dragon. Carlo's invasion was at first successful, and on 31 December 1385 he was crowned King Károly II of Hungary in the capital city of Buda. His Hungarian adventure was soon to prove fatal to all his ambitions, however, for on 7 February 1386 he was attacked in the apartments of his stepmother the

⁶⁸ See below, pp. 213 ff.

⁶⁹ See below, p. 205.

⁷⁰ Their names are given in Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, p. 298, without any indication of provenance. Unfortunately, his list of names does not appear to be entirely trustworthy. For example, instead of Louis d'Enghien-Brienne, who is clearly named in the epilogue to the statutes here edited, Camera gives as count of Conversano Pierre de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol. Pierre was the grandson of Louis by the latter's daughter Marguerite, and did not succeed his father as count of Conversano until 1397.

queen-dowager, apparently at her instigation, and died of the wounds he received only a few days later. In all probability the Order of the Ship, founded only four years earlier, dissolved within a short time of his death, for his only son and successor on the throne of mainland Sicily, Ladislao,⁷¹ was a child at the time, and his widow Margherita, upon whom the regency devolved, seems to have founded some sort of order of her own before Ladislao came of age.⁷² There is no evidence that either Ladislao (reg. 1386-1414) or his sister Giovanna II (reg. 1414-35) attempted to revive their father's defunct Order, and the later kings of mainland Sicily, descended from Carlo's rivals, had no reason to do so.⁷³

THE PENNSYLVANIA MANUSCRIPT (P)

The statutes with which Carlo endowed his Order were set forth in French in a book that he referred to therein (in chap. 8h) as the *Livre des estatuz et chapistrez*. This book was long preserved in at least two contemporary manuscripts, but only one of these – Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania ms. French 83 – now survives in a legible condition. This manuscript (which for convenience we shall call P) is a vellum codex of twenty-one folios bound in an eighteenth-century vellum cover. The origin and subsequent history of this manuscript, which contains no other work, are not entirely clear. According to Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, who described it in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800*,⁷⁴ it was probably prepared for the founder of the Order himself in or about December 1381, but this guess as to its origin is almost certainly wrong. In the first place, the manuscript is much too plain to be the master copy which, according to

⁷¹ On his life and reign, see Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*.

⁷² According to D'Engenio (*Napoli sacra*, p. 672), Queen Margherita and her son Ladislao in 1388 '... instuirono la compagnia dell'Argata, & per insegna portauano nel braccio sinistro vn Argata ricamata d'oro in campo rosso, simil a quell'argate di canna e d'altro, de quali si sogliono seruire le donne ne'loro feminili esercitii: onde i Napolitani con quei vascelli andauano perseguitando le galee della Reina.'

⁷³ René 'the Good' (d. 1380), duke of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar and count of Provence, the grandson of that Duke Louis of Anjou whom Giovanna I had adopted as her heir in 1381, managed to seize the throne of mainland Sicily after the death of Giovanna II in 1435. Some years later, in 1448, he founded the confraternal Order of the Crescent, noted above. Alfonso 'the Magnanimous', king of Aragon and island Sicily, who displaced René from the Neapolitan throne in 1442, was already the head of the Order of the Stole and Jar, founded by his father Ferran I shortly after his election to the throne of Aragon in 1412. His natural son Ferrante, who succeeded him on the Neapolitan throne in 1458 and ruled to 1494, founded his own monarchical order, that of the Ermine, in 1465.

⁷⁴ Philadelphia, 1965.

chapter 151, was to be kept in the Order's chapel.⁷⁵ In the second place, it contains numerous errors and omissions of the sort commonly made by scribes when preparing copies, but rare and unlikely in original manuscripts. Finally, the arms on fol. 1r (Per fess gules and or, a four-branched flowerless thornbush, sable), though attributed by Zacour and Hirsch to King Carlo himself, are in fact those of the 'dello Spino Secco' branch of the Malespina family, lords of Val di Trebbia, Villafranca, Cremolino, and Tresana-Lusoleo.⁷⁶ Since the painting of the arms appears to be coeval with the rest of the manuscript, and since the Malespina family was in the late fourteenth century one of the most prominent baronial houses in Italy and therefore very likely to have provided a companion to the Order, it is probable that the manuscript was prepared for a member of that family and presented to him at the time of his initiation into the Order. Chapters 8j and 14 require that a complete copy of the *Livre des estatus et chapistrez* be given or sent to each new companion immediately following his admission, so there is every reason to suppose that most or all of the members of the Order received such a copy, presumably prepared by one of the royal scribes with access to the original, and that the present manuscript is one of these copies. Unfortunately, since no comprehensive list of the Order's members has come down to us, and the Malespina did not usually difference their arms for cadency, it is impossible to determine precisely which member of that great and numerous family was admitted to the Order, or at precisely what date. As the name Malespina, however, does not occur in the list of 'kings, counts, and knights' who 'took' the Order on 1 December 1381, it must appear that the manuscript was produced at some time after that date. As a *terminus ad quem* for its production, the date of Carlo's death in Hungary in February 1386 may be adopted with some confidence, since it is exceedingly unlikely that anyone would have bothered to have a copy of the statutes made after the effective dissolution of the Order.

⁷⁵ The master copy of the statutes of the Knot is lavishly illuminated, and Carlo would almost certainly have wanted the master copy of the statutes of his order to be decorated in a comparable fashion.

⁷⁶ See D. L. Galbreath and Léon Jéquier, *Manuel de blason* (Lausanne, 1977), p. 183, fig. 506, for the arms of the Malespina dello Spino Secco, thus distinguished from another branch of that house, the Malespina dello Spino Fiorito, because the thornbush in their arms was devoid of flowers. For a genealogical stemma of the Malespina, see A. M. H. J. Stokvis, *Manuel d'histoire, de généalogie, et de chronologie de tous les états du globe* ..., 3 vols. (Leiden, 1888-93; reissued 1966), 3/2.899. Before seizing the throne in 1381, Carlo 'di Durazzo' probably bore the arms of his late father, Ludovico, namely, France ancient debruised by a label of three points gules (for Capet d'Anjou and mainland Sicily) within a bordure compony gules and argent. On becoming king he assumed the arms previously borne by Ludovico 'di Taranto' as king-consort: Per pale mainland Sicily and Jerusalem. When he took the title King of Hungary in 1385, he assumed the arms: Tierced in pale, Hungary ancient, France ancient, and Jerusalem. See Otto Neubecker, *Le grand livre de l'héraldique* (Paris, 1977), p. 98.

The subsequent history of the manuscript is completely obscure until the eighteenth century, when it seems to have come into the possession of the antiquarian Matteo Luigi Canonici (v. 1726-1805), who provided it with a new vellum cover with decorative endpapers characteristic of his collection. In 1835 (according to the *Catalogue*) it was purchased by Walter Sneyd, whose armorial bookplate with the legend *Ex libris Gualteri Sneyd* adorns the front endpaper. The University of Pennsylvania acquired it along with seven other manuscripts from Sneyd's collection.

ms. French 83 now consists of twenty-one of an original twenty-four folios, the last three having been cut out, probably because (like fol. 21v) they were blank. The remaining folios are approximately 325 mm. high and 230 mm. wide, but vary somewhat both in size and shape throughout the manuscript. Many have been creased to some extent, and these creases occasionally obscure the text. In addition, fols. 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 14 are so thin that the text shows through on one or both sides, making it difficult to read. The folios have been gathered in three quires originally of eight folios each in such a way that hair-side faces hair-side and flesh-side faces flesh-side throughout, producing an effect of alternating off-white and yellow-brown double-page spreads. The catchword 'Aucumes' is visible at the bottom of fol. 16v, the last folio of the second quire; if there was a similar catchword at the bottom of fol. 8v, it has been trimmed away. Pricking is evident only on the outer edge of a few leaves; elsewhere it appears to have been trimmed away. The pages were not numbered by the scribe, but some later owner has numbered each of the folios in pencil in the upper right corner of the recto page.

On each page a rectangular writing space has been ruled in pale brownish ink, approximately 240 mm. high and 160 mm. wide, leaving inner, outer, upper, and lower margins of approximately 27, 40, 25-30, and 53 mm. respectively. Within this space, thirty-nine horizontal lines have been ruled approximately 6 mm. apart, to provide for a maximum of forty lines of text. On each page the text is set forth between these lines in a single column approximately as wide as the ruled writing-space, and is roughly justified at both margins, occasionally through the use of flourishes. The text is written in a rather small semi-formal gothic bookhand of the type that G. I. Lieftinck⁷⁷ and Jacques Stiennon⁷⁸ call *littera textualis*. The text of the first eight folios (corresponding to the first quire) is written in very clear, well-formed letters in dark brown to black ink, but thereafter the letters are both paler and less carefully formed. On fols. 1v, 9r, 11r, 14v and 16v a number of words have

⁷⁷ Gerard Isaac Lieftinck, 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture de la période dite gothique' in *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du ix^e au xvi^e siècle ...*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff et al. (Paris, 1953).

⁷⁸ Jacques Stiennon and G. Hasenohr, *Paléographie du moyen âge* (Paris, 1973), pp. 118-19.

been smudged, apparently because water was splashed on them at some point in the history of the manuscript.

Although there is no general title, the prologue has been provided with a rubric set off from the body of the text by a blank line that by its position and its wording ('Cy commence le prologo de l'ordre de la Nef') serves as a title for the whole text. The first word of the prologue proper (*Le*) has been provided with a large decorative capital set into a square frame of gold leaf stretching from just above the highest line to just below the twelfth. The *L* has been painted in light and dark blue within this frame, and itself frames a roughly square field of dark red upon which has been set a representation of the badge of the Order – a brown cog with castles fore and aft, a bowsprit and a single mast topped by a large crow's nest, and set in an ovoid patch of blue sea – supported on either side by an angel, robed in blue and nimbed in gold. A rather crude mauve arabesque descends from the frame down the left margin of the page and across the lower margin. In the latter it is interrupted by another decoration: a heater-shaped shield bearing the arms of the Malespina 'dello Spino Secco', set in the centre of an octofoil made up of eight interlaced annuli, and in its turn supported by two angels like those in the historiated capital, but somewhat larger. Like the arabesque, both sets of angels, the ship, and the shield are rather crudely drawn. The lower, left, and left-hand third of the upper margin are also strewn with thirty-odd gold roundels, presumably intended to be decorative.

The text of the statutes proper, which begins on fol. 2r, is divided into 151 *chapistres* or chapters, all but one of which (77) are provided with a summary-title written in a hand that differs from that of the text only in being slightly smaller. In most cases the title is set off from the text by a blank line above and a blank line below it, but where the final line of either the preceding chapter or the title itself is short, the scribe has often saved space by beginning either the title or the text (or both) on the immediately following line. The first title to be set in this way is that of chapter 11, which is not separated on either side from the adjoining chapters. The headings of the first fourteen chapters begin at the left margin, but that of chapter 15 begins on the line after chapter 14 half way across the page, and thereafter the titles begin at whatever point on the line is most convenient for saving space. The title of chapter 20 is actually written on the same line as the last words of chapter 19. It is clear that the scribe intended each title to begin with a paragraph sign one line high, provided by the rubricator, but only the first fifty-four titles were actually provided with such signs, painted alternately in red and blue, and the remaining titles are preceded by a blank space in which two vertical lines in pale brown ink are often visible. The text of each title begins with a majuscule letter written by the scribe himself in the same hand and ink as the rest of the title.

The text proper of the first fifty-four chapters begins with a large decorative capital painted by the rubricator within a square or upright rectangular space two or more text-lines deep left by the scribe for the purpose. The capital of chapter 55 has been partially painted in, but thereafter the spaces provided for these capitals contain nothing but small minuscule indications of the letters that were to have been painted in them, and many of these are illegible or virtually invisible. In most cases the spaces provided for the letters are three lines deep, but statutes 1 and 18 were provided with spaces five lines deep, and statutes 25, 52, 79, and 103 with spaces four lines deep. The *P* that was to have begun chapter 131 was provided with a square space four lines deep, below which is a narrow space no fewer than seven lines deep, evidently intended to accommodate its stem. Chapters 121, 122, 123, and 149, by contrast, were provided with spaces only two lines deep. Chapters 1, 18, 25, and 131, which either have or were meant to have unusually large capitals, stand at the head of the first, second, third, and eighth sections of the text, but chapters 52 and 79 do not begin sections, and chapters 40, 69, 112, and 145, which do, are not distinguished by large capitals, while chapter 121, which begins section VII, was to have had an unusually small capital.

Of the fifty-four capitals actually painted in the body of the text, only those of chapters 23 and 25 are decorated in any way, and the decoration in these two cases consists of nothing more than a few lines and curls drawn in the same paint with a fine brush or pen. The manuscript is otherwise unadorned, except for diagonal strokes in red paint that have been added to some of the small capitals written by the scribe in the ink of the text proper. In addition to the first letter of the title of each chapter, the first letter after the lombardic capital with which each chapter begins (or was meant to begin) has been written in a gothic majuscule, as has the first letter of each clause of the text that the scribe has chosen to recognize. Such clauses are often, but not always, followed by a punctus, either on the line or slightly above it. No other form of punctuation is used with any frequency or consistency.

Although the scribe seems in general to have been fairly careful in his transcription of the master copy of the statutes, he made a number of the usual sorts of errors and omissions, and his script is not always easy to read. There are forty-five places in the text where one or more words, in some cases amounting to a whole line of text, have clearly been omitted, and a comparable number where the scribe omitted a letter or letters from an individual word. The scribe also made a number of errors that he later caught and corrected. In most cases these corrections involved removing a redundant word or group of words either by subpunctuation (the usual method) or by striking it out with a horizontal line. In one instance, at least, the scribe attempted to correct an error by erasing a word, and on fol. 10v he wrote an erroneously omitted word

above the line and placed a caret sign below. As for the script, it is often difficult to distinguish between the scribe's *c* and *t*, *n* and *u*, such combinations of minims as *m*, *ni*, *iu*, and *un*, and between *f* and tall *s*. In fact, the scribe has made no consistent distinction between *ff* and tall *sf*, crossing the two *f*'s with a single stroke that more often than not fails even to touch the first *f*. Words in which either *sf* or *ff* is possible have therefore been transcribed somewhat arbitrarily with a double *f*.⁷⁹ The scribe has also made a rather random use of most of the standard abbreviations, and these are not always easy to interpret.⁸⁰

THE TURIN MANUSCRIPT (T)

The statutes of the Order of the Ship were long preserved in at least one other copy, ms. L III 29 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin. The early history of this manuscript (which we shall call for convenience T) appears to be no better known than that of the Pennsylvania manuscript, but two items of internal evidence suggest that it may have been one of the copies made for distribution to the original companions of the Order on 1 December 1381. Not only was the Turin manuscript a deluxe copy of the sort that one would have expected to be prepared for such an occasion, but it included as a sort of appendix a statement to the effect that one Nichole d'Alemagne 'took and received the Order' from the Prince's hands 'on the sixth day of the said month and of the said year', i.e., only five days after the formal adoption of the statutes. In all likelihood this appendix, of which there is no equivalent in P, was added to the manuscript within a short time of the reception of the companion named in it, for if it had been added much later there would almost certainly have been a longer list of names. Thus the manuscript itself was almost certainly completed within a few weeks of the foundation of the Order. Presumably it was prepared either for one of the eight original companions named in the manuscript, or for Nichole d'Alemagne himself, for if it had been prepared for a knight admitted to the Order at a later date his name would have been added to (or possibly replaced) d'Alemagne's. Both the lack of any other names and the fact that the text contains a number of scribal errors not reproduced in P make it unlikely that T was the master copy kept by the Prince himself.

⁷⁹ This preference for *ff* over *sf* is justified by the fact that what appears to be tall *sf* occurs in a number of words in which there is no reason to expect an *s*: *differeront* (32c), *office* (131d), *officiax* (131d), and *office* (143d). The words *official* (131c) and *office* (148t) also occur with the *ff* clearly written, as does *deffaudroit* (24c), and *deffaillloit*, often written with what appears to be an *sf*, occurs with only one *f* (24c). The spelling in *ff* is also supported in every case by T.

⁸⁰ See below, p. 218, for a list of abbreviations.

Nothing further is known of the history of the manuscript before 1749, when it was listed in a published catalogue⁸¹ as forming part of the library of the Turin Athenaeum, of which the present Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria is the successor. The manuscript was still intact and in good condition as recently as 1903, as it was transcribed in or shortly before that year by the Italian historian Silvio Pivano. Unfortunately, like most of the other manuscripts in the collection, it was very badly damaged in the fire that swept through the Turin library during the night of 25-26 January 1904, and while a few of the folios were merely charred around the edges or badly shrunk, most were burnt to the point where they are completely illegible. In order to preserve the text, Pivano decided to publish his transcription, and after comparing it carefully to what remained of the manuscript, he included it as an appendix to a general article on medieval knighthood that he published in 1905,⁸² accompanied by a brief historical introduction. I have myself compared Pivano's published transcription (in which he expanded the abbreviations but made no attempt to modernize either spelling or punctuation conventions) to those pages of the manuscript that are still legible, as well as to the text of P, and found it to be generally very accurate, though not entirely free from minor errors of interpretation.⁸³

Clearly the Turin manuscript is no longer in a state to be edited, and accordingly cannot serve as the base text for a critical edition. The transcription by Pivano, however, appeared sound enough to serve as a source for filling the obvious lacunae in P and for correcting other scribal errors, and in fact on comparing the two texts I found it extremely useful for those purposes. Indeed, as is usually the case each text supplies gaps and helps in the interpretation of the other, so I have treated Pivano's transcription (corrected where it is obviously in error) as a supporting text, even though it cannot be wholly verified.

Since neither the published catalogue nor Pivano gives an adequate description of the manuscript itself, I include here a description based in part on that in the catalogue and in part on my own examination of the remains of the manuscript, especially those few folios which were largely spared by the fire. According to both the catalogue and Pivano, the manuscript originally consisted of 34 folios of fine vellum. The folios must originally have been

⁸¹ J. Pasinus, A. Rivatella, F. Berta, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1749).

⁸² 'Lineamenti storici e giuridici della cavalleria medioevale', *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 2nd Ser., 50 (1905), especially 295-336.

⁸³ On the manuscript, see also M. Lacroix, *Notices et extraits de manuscrits concernant l'histoire de France et de la littérature française conservées dans les bibliothèques d'Italie* (Paris, 1847), p. 324; and E. Stengel, *Mitteilungen aus französischen Handschriften der Turiner universitäts-bibliothek* (Halle, 1873), p. 3.

slightly more than 230 mm. high and 150 mm. wide, as these are now the dimensions of the sixth surviving folio (bearing the last part of chap. 10, chaps. 11 and 12, and the rubric-title of chap. 13), which seems to be the least shrunk. On each page a writing space 165 mm. high by 115 mm. wide is ruled, leaving inner, outer, upper, and lower margins of approximately 12, 50, 15, and 60 mm. respectively. Two vertical lines ruled 16 to 18 mm. apart divide the writing space into two columns roughly 45 mm. wide, and 29 horizontal lines ruled roughly 5.5 mm. apart within the writing space provide a framework for up to 31 lines of text on each page.

The upper part of fol. 1r was originally decorated with a large illuminated miniature in which (according to the catalogue) the Holy Trinity, the patron of the Order, was represented in the form of a ship, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove was depicted holding a smaller ship in its claws over the head of the founder, who was shown standing in an attitude of prayer accompanied by groups of at least three companions standing in a similar attitude to his left and right. The founder and the companions were all depicted wearing what was no doubt meant to be the formal habit of the Order. Of the miniature very little is now discernible. The upper three fifths of the badly burnt page has a painted area now 100 mm. high and 115 mm. wide, but originally rather larger. The upper zone of this is now light blue, the central zone is white, and the lower zone (somewhat wider than the others) is red. In the centre, covering part of the white and red zones, is a large ovoid area in which white is mixed with gold. No figures are now visible on the recto side of the folio, but on the verso the figure of the founder in his robe and of the dove holding the ship – both of which were originally painted in the ovoid white-and-gold area just described – are now clearly visible in reverse in the blank central margin as a result of the action of the fire on the vellum, and the figures of the companions, originally painted within the red zone at the bottom of the miniature, are also visible, though much less clearly. The representation of the founder is of particular interest, as it is the only one of a companion of the Ship in the formal habit of the Order known to survive, and is moreover one of the earliest surviving representations of a knight of any lay order of knighthood.⁸⁴ Carlo is

⁸⁴ The earliest representations of knights in the habit of a lay order are found in the only known manuscript of the statutes of the Order of the Knot (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 4274), almost certainly prepared before the first formal meeting of that order in May 1353. A portrait of Sir Nigel Loring in what may be part of his Garter habit has recently been identified by Stella Mary Newton in a capital of the *Liber vite* of St. Alban's Abbey, which seems to have been painted in the 1360s (*Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* [London, 1980], p. 45). The famous miniature of the knights of the Star in a manuscript of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 6465) was probably painted at some time between 1364 and 1375, a dozen years or more after the only meeting of that order in January 1352.

depicted wearing a loose ankle-length yellowish-white surcoat with tight wrist-length sleeves, and a red floor-length mantle, open at the front, with an attached hood pulled up to conceal the back part of his head. The ship over his head looks rather like a brown banana, and the dove (wings spread and head uppermost but looking down) is now a brownish yellow. The figure of the founder is now 35 mm. high and 11 mm. wide, the ship is about 11 mm. wide, and the dove is about 15 mm. from wingtip to wingtip. There were no other miniatures in the manuscript, so it is a pity that this one was so badly damaged.

The text (which begins at the bottom of fol. 1r) is set forth in two equal columns 45 mm. wide, and is very carefully written in a formal gothic book-hand of the sort that Lieftinck and Stiennon call *littera textualis formata*. The text of the chapters proper is written in black or very dark brown ink, with an 'm' height of 3 mm. The chapter titles are written in a dense red ink in the same hand as the text, but very slightly larger. Standard gothic majuscles are used throughout to mark the beginning of clauses the scribe chose to recognize, and certain other words. The first two chapter titles, those of the prologue and of chap. 1, begin with lombardic decorative capitals two text-lines high, but the remaining titles all begin with standard gothic majuscles formed within one pair of ruled lines. The text of the chapters proper begins with a decorative capital several lines high, followed by a standard gothic majuscle letter formed within two ruled lines. The capital of the prologue is five lines high, but thereafter the capitals are generally only four, and occasionally only three, lines in height. The surviving capitals are pink, blue, green, or white, outlined in a contrasting colour drawn from the same set of four, and set in a roughly rectangular frame whose field was originally covered in gold leaf. The frames are 20 to 30 mm. wide, and generally protrude into the margin to the left (either the left margin of the page or the otherwise blank central column). Most have decorative flourishes growing out of the letter itself which extend upwards and downwards in the same left margin.

No doubt because the titles are written in contrasting red ink, the surviving text is written continuously, without breaks between chapters. Titles begin immediately after the last word of the preceding chapter, on the same line if there is room, and occasionally spill over onto the last part of the first line of the chapter they introduce, opposite the upper part of the decorative capital. If the title itself ends in the middle of a line, however, the rest of the line is left blank, since the capital of the chapter must begin at the left margin of the column.

The scribe of T was rather more careful than the scribe of P in copying his text from the master, but I was nevertheless able to identify over twenty more or less obvious transcription errors (some of which are probably errors in Pivano's transcription rather than that of the scribe), and there may well be others. In addition, as we shall see, the text of T lacks at least 175 words or

groups of words found in P, and some of these may have been omitted erroneously. Since the letters are very carefully formed, the surviving text is seldom difficult to read, but groups of minims are occasionally susceptible of more than one interpretation, at least at first glance. Like the scribe of P, the scribe of T seems to have made a random use of most of the standard abbreviations, but Pivano expanded these in his published transcription without any indication of what principles he followed, so it is now impossible to comment upon them further.

LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY⁸⁵

The texts of both manuscripts of the statutes of the Order of the Ship are expressed in the Francien dialect of Middle French, and are so similar in their phrasing that they must have been derived (either directly or indirectly) from a master copy expressed in that language.⁸⁶ Since it is fairly certain that the court of Naples had long used an Italian dialect as its normal medium of spoken communication,⁸⁷ Carlo must have chosen to use Francien as the medium for his chivalric ordinances either because it was the language of his French dynastic ancestors and relatives (to whom he seems on the evidence of the statutes themselves to have been closely attached), or because he regarded Francien, the original language of most of the chivalric romances, as the aulic language of chivalry, and thus the most appropriate vehicle for the ideas he wanted to express.⁸⁸ In either case he was also following the precedent established by his predecessor King Ludovico, who had had the statutes of his order expressed in the same French dialect.

The language common to the two redactions of the statutes is a relatively pure and standard Francien, very close to that spoken in the contemporary French court. Aside from the Italianate *prologo* of the prologue title of P (which is probably a misreading), there is nothing to suggest that either the secretary who composed the original text or the scribes who copied out the manuscripts were not native speakers of Francien, or possibly (since both redactions contain

⁸⁵ As I am an historian and not a philologist, I have not attempted a minute examination of the language of the text, which appears in any case to be of relatively little interest. I should like to thank my wife, Professor Maureen B. M. Boulton of Brandeis University (who is a philologist), for her advice on linguistic questions throughout this edition.

⁸⁶ Unlike the differences among the three surviving Latin versions of the statutes of the Order of the Garter, the differences between the two surviving versions of the Ship statutes are not the sort that would have been produced by independent translations of an original in some other language.

⁸⁷ See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne 1^{re}* 3.13 n. 1.

⁸⁸ It should be noted that the statutes of the monarchical orders, and of the lay orders in general, were in most cases written in the vernacular of the particular kingdom or province in which the order was founded, rather than either Latin or French.

a few obvious picardisms⁸⁹) of the closely related Picard dialect. The language exhibits most of the characteristic features of late fourteenth-century Francien,⁹⁰ including the breakdown of the traditional two-case system,⁹¹ confusion of gender,⁹² awkward Latinate constructions (including a sort of 'ablative absolute'⁹³), and the frequent use of pleonastic doublets.⁹⁴ The author made relatively little use of subordinate clauses, however, and most of the text is expressed in 'run-on' sentences in which a series of principal clauses are connected by means of the conjunction *et*.

While essentially similar in language, the two manuscripts differ considerably in orthography. That of the scribe of T (at least as rendered in Pivano's transcription) is remarkably uniform for the fourteenth century, while that of the scribe of P exhibits the extreme lack of consistency more characteristic of the period, and in P words that admitted of more than one spelling are usually spelt in every possible way, even within a single chapter.⁹⁵ In P moreover the letters -s, -z, and (to a more limited extent) -x are used quite randomly to represent the final sibilant of the plural of nouns and adjectives,⁹⁶ while in T the use of -s and -x for this purpose approximates fairly closely to modern usage. In P the letters *s* and *c* also alternate randomly in the initial position before *e*, *i*, and *y*,⁹⁷ and the letter *n* is commonly written instead of the more usual *m* before *m*, *b*, and *p*,⁹⁸ when it is not written with an abbreviation stroke or sign. In T, on the other hand, *y* is commonly used in such words as *celluy*, *benoyte* and *hayne* where P, in conformity with modern (and Old French) usage, employs *i*. Aside from these distinctions in usage, the only regular differences observable between the orthography of T and that of P are the following: T has *compagnon* and *compagnie* where P generally has *compaignon* and *compaignie*; T has *voulenté*, *voulientiers*, *adhouré*, *fourme*, *flourins*, etc., where P has *volenté*, *volentiers*, *adhoré*, *forme*, *florins*, etc.; and T has *dicte* where P has *dite*. None of these appears to be of any real significance.

⁸⁹ Common to T and P: *anchois* (7a), *manchongier* (91a), and *manchonge* (91a).

⁹⁰ See F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* 1 (Paris, 1905), pp. 401 ff.

⁹¹ e.g., nominative singular *advocas* (2j), *advocat* (24a).

⁹² e.g., *la clergie* (Pr), *le clergie* (Pr).

⁹³ e.g., 'Et lors, sceue la traison et le traiteur proué ...' (68c), 'La dite court seant, le prince fera ...' (71a).

⁹⁴ e.g., 'A cellui ou a ceulz a qui ou' au quelz se mandera et enuoiara l'ordre et devise ...' (13).

⁹⁵ The very common word *compaignons* (1t), for example, is also written *compaignons* (1a), *compagnon* (8a, 10), *compangnons* (42), *compaignons* (36t), while *lieutenans* (100b) is also written *lieutenanz* (100a), *lieuxstenans* (104), *lieustenanz* (100t), and *autiers* (147t) is also written *autieux* (147a) and *autielz* (147f).

⁹⁶ See the variant spellings of the last two words in the preceding note.

⁹⁷ e.g., *cellui* (13) and *sellui* (15b).

⁹⁸ e.g., *renommee* (Pr), *menbres* (Pr), *conpaignons* (36t).

THE TEXT OF THE STATUTES

The two manuscripts of the *Livre des estatus et chapistrez* that have just been described preserve versions of the text which differ somewhat in content and organization as well as in orthography. ms. T, which is almost certainly the older, contains slightly more than 200 words or groups of words (varying in length from short phrases to whole sentences) for which no equivalents exist in P,⁹⁹ and the latter in turn contains nearly 200 words or groups of words for which no equivalents exist in T.¹⁰⁰ In addition, in P numerous words and phrases are substituted for equivalent words in T,¹⁰¹ the tense and grammatical number of the same or an equivalent word is frequently altered,¹⁰² and the order of words and phrases, both identical and equivalent, is often changed more or less radically.¹⁰³ Most of these numerous differences are minor and do not affect the meaning of the text; the vast majority of words and phrases contained in one text and not in the other are pleonastic, intensive, or explanatory, intended merely to clarify the meaning of a statement without altering it, and many of the omissions from each text (especially P) are clearly the result of scribal error. Most of the remaining differences similarly have little or no effect on the meaning of the ordinances in which they occur. As a result it is difficult to account in a wholly satisfactory fashion for the stylistic differences between the two texts. Presumably both texts ought to have been copied from the master called for in P, chaps. 8j and 14, so the most natural explanation for the peculiarities of P (certainly the later text) is that the language of the master was itself modified between the time T was copied from it and the time P was copied. As the alterations found in P are not in most cases obvious improvements in the language, and are certainly not amendments to the substance of the text represented in T, it is difficult to understand why the founder would have ordered them made. On the other hand, as the *Livre des*

⁹⁹ e.g., the phrase *et leur semblera* after the word *voudront* in chap. 10, the phrase *et donnee poissance* added after *lui octroiera* in chap. 11, and the phrase *roi, duc, prince ou haut* before the word *seigneur* in chap. 11. The most frequent additions are such expressions as *ainsi, le dit, and comme dit est*, which abound in both texts but do not always coincide.

¹⁰⁰ These are essentially similar in nature to those listed in the previous note.

¹⁰¹ E.g., where T has *pars, mais, reverence, non poissant*, P has *parties, ains, remembrance, impotent*; where T has *l'appellation a luy faite*, P has *veue et sceue l'appellation*; where T has *sellee de leur seel*, P has *fait de leur seaus*; where T has *ou l'un d'eux*, P has *ou aucun des discordans*, and so forth.

¹⁰² E.g., where T has *defaillera, voudroit, sont et seront, differroit et attendroit*, P has *aura failli, vourra, sera et soit, differeront*.

¹⁰³ E.g., where T has *sur ce fera*, P has *fera sur ce*; where T has *sauf son honneur et son damage grant*, P has *sanz grant damage et sauf son honnour*; where T has *prenra de mot a mot la copie*, P has *prenra la copie ... de mot a mot*.

estatus was not a literary text but a legal document setting forth rules meant to govern the behaviour and relationships of the most important people in the kingdom, it must seem extremely unlikely that a mere copyist (or a reader dictating the text to several scribes at once) would have dared to alter its language in the ways in which the scribe (or dictator) of P would have had to do to produce his text from an unmodified master. Since it is also difficult to see why a scribe would have wished to introduce such changes when it would have been so much easier simply to copy (or read) the original word for word, it can only be concluded that the text of P represents a version of the master altered for stylistic reasons at the request of the founder.

Despite the numerous minor differences just described, the ordinances contained in the two manuscripts are essentially identical in content and largely identical in organization. P actually lacks two ordinances found in T (chaps. 133d and 137), but as both of these were almost certainly omitted as a result of scribal error (both fit neatly into progressive sequences of similar ordinances where such errors are particularly easy to make and equally easy to detect) I have simply restored these to the text of P on the basis of T and numbered all subsequent chapters in P as if they had not been omitted. The order or placement of the chapters in P also differs in several places from that in T. P conflates T chaps. 7 and 8 into a single chap. 7; T chaps. 9 and 10 into a single chap. 8; T chaps. 64 and 65 into a single chap. 64; and T chaps. 143 and 144 into a single chap. 143. P also divides the ordinances of one pair of chapters differently without reducing the number of chapters: T chap. 104 corresponds to P chap. 102a, and T chap. 104A (for some reason left unnumbered by Pivano) corresponds to P chap. 102bc plus chap. 103. P also reverses the order of T chaps. 18 and 19 (which correspond to P chaps. 17 and 16) and places several chapters later in the sequence than the corresponding chapters of T: P chap. 34 (= T chap. 34) is placed between the equivalents of T chaps. 36 and 37, and P chaps. 64 and 65 (= T chaps. 64, 65, and 66) are placed between the equivalents of T chaps. 68 and 69. Finally, P places two chapters – 119 and 120, corresponding to the last two chapters in T (153 and 154) – much earlier in the sequence, between the equivalents of T chaps. 119 and 120. In no case is the change from the organization of T to that of P an improvement, and in most cases the change makes the organization in P less logical than that in T. Many of the changes (the reversal of chaps. 18 and 19, for example, the placement of several chapters later in the sequence, and most or all of the conflation) could easily be the result of scribal error, but it is very difficult to understand how a scribe could accidentally have jumped ahead as many chapters as he would have had to do to misplace the equivalents of the last two chapters of T thirty-four places ahead of where they were meant to be, in a less appropriate but not impossible position. Like the changes in wording, some of the changes in the

order of the chapters can only be explained as being due to alterations in the text of the master, and it is at least possible that they all resulted from such changes.

Given the probable date of the manuscript, the text of the *Livre des estatutis* contained in T is almost certainly very close to that prepared for adoption at the time of the proclamation of the Order by Carlo on 1 December 1381. There is no reason to believe that anyone other than Carlo was responsible for the content of the statutes,¹⁰⁴ but whether he actually composed them in the form in which they have been preserved in T, either by dictation or in writing, is unclear. It is perhaps more likely that he indicated to one of his more trusted secretaries (and one whom he knew to be fluent in French) what he wanted the statutes to require, and allowed the secretary to determine (subject to his approval) precisely how his requirements should be expressed. The language of the statutes has a legalistic quality that strongly suggests that they were written in their final form by someone used to composing legal documents (though as Middle French was still a weak vehicle for the expression of abstract or complex ideas, the phraseology nevertheless often seems very awkward and even obscure to a reader accustomed to the relative clarity of Modern French).

It is also unclear exactly when the statutes were composed. As the epilogue explicitly states that the first nine members not merely 'took the Order' but 'swore as the chapters of the Order say' on 1 December 1381, the statutes must have existed in essentially their present form in at least one copy by that date, and as we have seen there is good reason to believe that ms. T itself, though not the master, probably existed at that date or within a few days of it. The *terminus a quo* for the composition is less obvious. It is possible that Carlo first thought of founding a new order only after being invited to seize the throne of mainland Sicily in the spring of 1381, and composed its ordinances during all or part of the time between his departure from Hungary in April or May and his coronation in Naples in November. The fact that Carlo was obliged to have his ordinances proclaimed and adopted before he had worked some of them out in detail (notably P chaps. 146a-c, 147g, and 148) indicates that the final draught was prepared under the pressure of time. On the other hand, the precision, complexity, and sheer prolixity of the statutes in general suggest that they were the result of a long and careful deliberation on Carlo's part, and it is possible that Carlo had been working on the idea for years, and was merely obliged to set down his long-contemplated ordinances before he was quite ready.

¹⁰⁴ Léonard (*Histoire de Jeanne* 1^{re} 3.15) postulated that Nicola Acciaiuoli, a Florentine who had served as the tutor of Ludovico 'di Taranto' before his marriage and risen to be Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom, was the real author of the statutes of the Order of the Knot.

However long it took Carlo to compose the statutes of the Order of the Ship, there can be little doubt that the result of his labours (unless he borrowed heavily from a late version of the statutes of the Hungarian Order of St. George unknown to scholarship) were highly original. Although undoubtedly inspired by the earlier orders of the Knot and St. George of Hungary, Carlo did not imitate his (known) models nearly as slavishly as had his predecessor King Ludovico.¹⁰⁵ The originality of Carlo's statutes is clear from their relative number and length alone: while the surviving statutes of St. George include only 66 distinct ordinances expressed in about 1400 words, and the statutes of the Knot include 72 distinct ordinances expressed in 3200 words, those of the Ship contain 383 ordinances¹⁰⁶ expressed in approximately 17,000 words, more than five times as many ordinances and words in each case. Of the 383 ordinances of the Ship, only 27 (well under ten percent) correspond even approximately in subject matter to ordinances of St. George, and only 7 have strikingly similar provisions.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, only 41 (just over ten percent) correspond in subject matter to ordinances of the Knot, and only 35 of the 72 Knot ordinances are represented in any form among those of the Ship.¹⁰⁸ Carlo may well have used other models for his foundation, including the religious Orders of the Hospital of St. John (then in Rhodes) and the Teutonic Knights, with which he would certainly have been familiar,¹⁰⁹ but if he did use them he

¹⁰⁵ Nearly forty percent of the ordinances of the Order of the Knot were clearly based upon ordinances of the Order of the Star, and some passages are textually identical.

¹⁰⁶ On my use of the term 'ordinance', see n. 112 below.

¹⁰⁷ Ship, chaps. 3b, 5b, 54a, 59, 77a, and 111a-b resemble St. George, chaps. 2a, 11b, 11a, 1-10a-18, 16c, and 25 respectively.

¹⁰⁸ The most important ordinances of the Knot not represented in the Ship statutes are the following: Prologue ord. c, specifying the number of companions; chap. 3d, specifying a special costume for the companions who achieved the Order's goal of 'Right Desire'; chap. 4, specifying a secondary badge; chap. 6b, declaring that the Prince would pay the travel expenses of companions who could not afford to attend the Order's annual meeting; chap. 11b, specifying a special costume to indicate shame; chap. 12 (a-c), setting forth the obligation of the companions to obtain permission from the Prince before going on long journeys; chap. 13 (a-c), setting forth the obligation of the Prince to maintain companions impoverished by their adventures; chap. 14 (a-c), establishing the table of honour; chap. 16 (a-d), dealing with membership in other orders; chap. 19 (b-e) specifying the obligations of the Prince and companions with respect to the conduct of funerals; and chaps. 20b, 21, and 22, dealing with the tomb to be provided by the Prince to deceased companions.

¹⁰⁹ The punishment prescribed for those who deserted the Order's banner in battle (described in chap. 130d) is similar to one prescribed in the statutes of the Order of St. John; see E. J. King, *The Rule, Statutes, and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099-1310* (London, 1934), Rule of Raymond du Puy, chap. 104. The rules governing the election and admission of new members (described in chaps. 1-8) bear a resemblance to those of the defunct Order of the Temple, upon which the Rule of the Teutonic Knights was directly based; see de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, pp. xxxvij-xxxix, and chaps. 657-686. The statutes of the Order of the Ship also resemble those of the religious orders in general in their length and precision: unlike the other lay orders, most of the contemporary religious orders of knighthood had ordinances numbering in the hundreds, the result of two centuries or more of sporadic additions and amendments to their original rule.

borrowed from their statutes only in a small way, for the great majority of the ordinances in the *Livre des estatuz* have no parallel in the statutes of any religious order of knighthood. I have indicated in the notes to the text all the ordinances of earlier orders which do bear a resemblance, either close or approximate, to those of the Ship and might therefore have served as sources for them.

Although the statutes provide for the alteration or suppression of ordinances and the addition of wholly new ones (P chaps. 79, 80), P contains no additional ordinances and no alterations to those found in T that appear to alter the meaning of the text in the way that one would expect a formally adopted amendment to do. This could be interpreted as indicating that P was copied within a relatively short time of the composition of the statutes, before any amendments had been adopted, but it is just as likely that no amendments were adopted at any time during the brief history of the Order, so that all versions of the statutes, though differing somewhat in wording and organization, contained essentially the same regulations. Certainly this is true of the versions contained in mss. T and P. Since this is the case, and since the text here edited is that contained in P, I shall restrict my remarks henceforth to that version of the statutes. With the exception of those few differences of organization noted above, however, most of the observations I shall make about the content of P are equally applicable to the text of T.

Like the statutes of most of the earlier monarchical orders,¹¹⁰ the *Livre des estatuz et chapistres* is organized into a prologue and a series of clearly distinguished *chapistres* or 'chapters'. In P the text contains no fewer than 152 chapters which, although unnumbered in the manuscripts, are distinguished from one another by summary-titles¹¹¹ set off clearly from the chapters proper.

¹¹⁰ Among the constitutional documents of the monarchical orders that I have been able to examine, only that of the Star was not clearly divided by one means or another into prologue and chapters (see above, n. 41).

¹¹¹ The summary-titles provided for the chapters of the Order of the Ship resemble the chapter titles given in the tables of contents that (in some manuscripts at least) precede the text proper of the statutes of the Orders of the Band, the Golden Fleece, and St. Michael, but are unique to my knowledge in being interpolated into the text rather than set before it. The extent to which they actually 'summarize' the contents of the chapters they precede varies greatly. The titles of many of the shorter chapters (e.g., chaps. 27, 66, 84) do in effect summarize the principal or sole ordinance of the chapter, merely omitting a few of the refinements or redundancies contained in the text of the latter. In a number of cases (e.g., chap. 66) the title is almost as long as the chapter it introduces. In most cases, however, the title merely indicates in a general way what the chapter is about. Unlike the chapters themselves, the titles typically begin with the word *comme* (in the sense 'how'), or more rarely with another interrogative term, such as *quel* or *quelle(s)* (chaps. 1, 2, 12, 94, 148, and 149), *quantés* (chaps. 31 and 34), *de quoi(v)* (chaps. 49 and 55), *con(m)bien* (chaps. 73, 74, 75, and 123), *que* (chap. 102), or *qui* (chap. 129), sometimes

As is true of the capitular divisions of most of the earlier orders, these chapters typically include not one but several more or less distinct ordinances, which as usual are not distinguished in any way in the text.¹¹² Generally speaking, the ordinances included within a single chapter are closely related to one another, but this is not always the case¹¹³ and the limits of the chapters are in many cases quite arbitrary, facilitating the sort of conflation and redivision that took place in P. To cite but one set of examples, the six ordinances dealing with the addition of oars to the basic badge of the Order are placed in three chapters (131-133), one of four ordinances and two of one ordinance each, while the six closely parallel ordinances dealing with the addition of anchors are all included in one chapter (134) and the seven ordinances dealing with the addition of cords are placed in seven chapters (135-141). Altogether, some 60 of the chapters (slightly more than a third) contain only a single ordinance; the remainder contain between 2 and 16,¹¹⁴ with an average of three and a half ordinances per chapter. As would be expected, the chapters that include numerous ordinances are generally much longer than those that contain only one or two, and the chapters vary in length between 11 words (147) and nearly 300 (1).

Although the limits of the individual chapters are rather arbitrary, the sequential organization of both chapters and ordinances is on the whole very logical (especially in ms. T), much more so than in the constitution of any earlier order. In fact, Carlo organized his chapters into nine principal groups or sections, most of them distinguished in the text by a special sectional heading,¹¹⁵

preceded by the adverb *premierement* or a preposition such as *par*. The small number of titles that do not begin with one or another of these interrogative terms are with few exceptions divisional headings rather than chapter titles.

¹¹² I have used the term 'ordinance' in my study of the statutes of the monarchical orders to designate a statutory statement or declaration specifying a discrete action, establishment, right, obligation, or exception. In most cases the ordinances of the Ship are expressed in what we would now consider to be a complete sentence, and correspond to the smallest independent lexical units into which the run-on text of the chapters can be divided in accordance with modern notions of grammar and style. In some cases, however, especially where they constitute an exception or series of exceptions to the immediately preceding ordinance, they take the form of a subordinate clause appended to the preceding 'sentence'. Chapter 1, for example, is made up of seven quite distinct ordinances, six of which are expressed in sentences, and one of which (b) is expressed in a subordinate clause. Since the arrangement of ordinances into chapters is often quite arbitrary, and ordinances that one founder saw fit to group in a single chapter were treated as distinct chapters by another, I have found it essential for purposes of comparison to distinguish and number the ordinances as well as the chapters contained in the constitutional documents of all the lay orders.

¹¹³ The ordinances of chapter 1, for instance, could just as easily have constituted three distinct chapters, each with a definable subject.

¹¹⁴ In fact only four chapters contain more than six ordinances: chapter 2 stands alone with sixteen; chapter 8 has ten; and chapters 113 and 147 have seven.

¹¹⁵ All but section IV have such headings, which consist in most cases of a short phrase of the type 'Les chapistres espritueulz' (sec. II), 'Des exeques du prince' (sec. III), generally beginning

and several distinguished in the manuscript with larger capitals.¹¹⁶ All but one of these sections are concerned with a single easily definable subject,¹¹⁷ and only one of the eight remaining sections contains chapters not obviously related to that subject.¹¹⁸ Like the chapters, the sections vary significantly in length – from seven to forty-three chapters – and the four longest sections (I, III, IV and V) are further subdivided into between two and eleven subsections. Most of these subsections are not indicated in any formal way in the text or manuscript, but they may be recognized by an abrupt change of subject from one chapter to the next within a section. To facilitate reference, I have assigned Roman numerals to the sections, capital letters to the subsections, Arabic numerals to the chapters, and minuscule letters to the ordinances, where they do not correspond to a chapter. The general organization of the chapters into sections and subsections can be shown most clearly in the following table:

Prologue: Purpose of the foundation and reasons for the choice of its badge

- I. Election and admission of new members (chaps. 1-17)
 - A. Election and reception of ordinary companions who can be present (chaps. 1-8)
 - B. Election and reception of great lords and others *in absentia* (chaps. 9-17)
- II. Spiritual obligations of membership (chaps. 18-24)
- III. Obligations arising from the death of a member (chaps. 25-39)
 - A. The selection or election of a new Prince of the Order (chaps. 25-30)
 - B. Obligations of the companions to a deceased Prince (chaps. 31-34)
 - C. Obligations of the Prince and companions to a deceased companion (chaps. 35-39)
- IV. Mutual obligations of the members in life (chaps. 40-68)
 - A. Obligations of the companions and of those knighted by them to the Prince (chaps. 40-54)
 - B. Obligations of the Prince to the companions (chaps. 55-57)
 - C. Obligations of all members to one another (chaps. 58-61)
 - D. The settlement of disputes (chaps. 62-66)
 - E. Obligations of loyalty (chaps. 67-68)

with the word *de* in the sense 'about'. Four of the headings are prefixed to the summary-title of the first chapter of the section (chaps. 1, 25, 121, and 131), two of them replace that title (chaps. 18 and 112), and two of them are conflated with it (chaps. 69 and 145). Where the chapter title itself is both present and distinct, it is usually preceded by the adverb *premierement* (chaps. 1, 25, and 131). The title of the first chapter of section IV (chap. 40) similarly begins with *premierement*, even though there is no sectional heading preceding it, and it is therefore likely that the sectional heading was merely omitted by the scribe.

¹¹⁶ Sections I, II, III, and VIII. Section VII, by contrast, was to have had an unusually small capital.

¹¹⁷ Section VI, headed 'Aucunes ordenances et estatut'.

¹¹⁸ The vast and somewhat amorphous section V.

- V. The annual General Court and other annual meetings (chaps. 69-111)
 - A. Attendance at the Court (chaps. 69-76)
 - B. Legislative and judicial business (i) (chaps. 77-81)
 - C. Trinity services and the costume to be worn that day (chaps. 82-83)
 - D. Legislative and judicial business (ii) (chaps. 84-87)
 - E. The recounting and recording of adventures (chaps. 88-91)
 - F. The arbitration of disputes (chap. 92)
 - G. The wearing of the Order's badge (chaps. 93-94)
 - H. The confession and accusation of transgressors (chaps. 95-98)
 - J. Lieutenants for holding the Court in the absence of the Prince (chaps. 99-110)
 - K. Attendance at other feasts of the Order (chap. 111)
- VI. Miscellaneous statutes (chaps. 112-120)
- VII. The banner of the Order and its display (chaps. 121-130)
- VIII. The augmentation of the Order's badge (chaps. 131-145)
- IX. The Order's chapel and its establishment (chaps. 146-152)
- Epilogue: The Foundation of the Order and the first companions.

As can be seen from this table, the organization of the chapters in section V, dealing for the most part with matters related to the annual meetings of the Order, is less than perfectly coherent. Subsection H, dealing with the wearing of the Order's badge during the whole year, logically belongs in section VIII, while subsection C, dealing with the annual religious services, and subsection E, dealing with the books of adventures, seem to have been misplaced among sections dealing with legislative and judicial business of various sorts. Similarly three of the nine chapters of section VI, which in general is a catch-all for statutes that did not obviously fit in any of the organized sections, logically belong in earlier sections.¹¹⁹ Otherwise, the sections are both consistent and logically arranged internally. The sequence of the sections themselves is rather more arbitrary, and might have been improved by placing section III, dealing with obligations arising from the death of a member, after section IX, and miscellaneous section VI at the very end.

The chapters of the Order are preceded by a prologue, identified as such by a brief title. Like the prologues with which the statutes of most of the earlier monarchical orders had begun, this contains a declaration that the founder (identified by name and titles) had at a certain specified time and for certain specified reasons founded a new order of knighthood, dedicated to a certain

¹¹⁹ Chapters 116 and 118 clearly belong in sec. IV, and chapter 117 in sec. V. Their placement in sec. VI suggests that they were afterthoughts, written when Carlo had finished composing those sections, but before he had finished composing the whole constitution. Why they were not simply inserted into appropriate places in the rough draught of the constitution is unclear.

specified member of the heavenly court (in this case the Holy Trinity). Unlike most of the earlier prologues, however, including that of the Knot, this one is both long (more than 1500 words, as compared to 333 words in that of St. George and to 176 words in that of the Knot) and philosophical, presenting a sort of ideological background for the foundation as well as an explanation of its intended functions and of the symbolic meaning of its badge, couched in an interlocking series of metaphors.¹²⁰

As these metaphors are both obscure and inconsistent, the prologue as a whole requires elucidation. After stating in quite simple terms the founder's devotion to the Holy Trinity, the prologue goes on to represent the Second Person of the Trinity as having been sent to earth in a *verge* or 'rod' and a *virge* or 'virgin', and as having been born of the latter as a flower that surpassed all others in 'odour, virtue, and power', and from which all other 'flowers of goodness' come. The floral metaphor is then further extended to represent the three Estates of Clergy, Knightage (or Nobility), and 'Little People', which are described as flowers planted by God (the Holy Trinity) in a garden in France. The number and relationship of these three flowers – 'two above and one below' – are said to represent the Holy Trinity itself, and the peculiar odour of each of the flowers is said to represent the peculiar virtues of the Estate of which it is the symbol or embodiment. The floral metaphor is tied to the play on the words *verge* and *virge* (the first of which does not seem to fit very well in the context in which it is first used) by the explanation that the 'rod' referred to was that of Aaron, which flowered 'out of the course of nature', just as did the Virgin Mary when she gave birth to Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity, here represented by a flower. The image of the three flowers was probably intended to allude to the royal arms of France, on which the number of fleur-

¹²⁰ This prologue may be compared not only to that of the statutes of St. George of Hungary, but also to the preamble of the letters whereby Jean II of France endowed the chapel of his Order of the Star in October 1352 (preserved in Paris, Archives Nationales Reg. JJ 81, fol. 288r and published by A. Vattier, 'Fondation de l'Ordre de l'Étoile', *Comité archéologique de Senlis*, 2nd Ser., 10 [1885] 42-45), and the letter by which Ludovico 'di Taranto' announced to the founding members of his Order of the Knot that they had been chosen to belong to that company (published in Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, p. 171). It also bears some resemblance to the rather shorter prologue of the statutes of the Order of the Band (see above, n. 39), and to the much longer introduction provided by Philippe de Mézières to the ordinances of his proposed Order of the Passion. The earliest version of these ordinances, composed in 1368, has been preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine ms. 1943², fols. 1-44. The late Abdel Hamed Hamdy announced his intention of publishing a transcription of this text in 1964 ('Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (Alexandria University, Egypt)* 18 [1964] 41), but so far as I have been able to discover he did not do so before his death. Hamdy did publish a transcription of one of the manuscripts of the second redaction (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 813), composed at some time between 1389 and 1394 (*ibid.*, 43-104).

de-lys had been reduced to three – two above and one below – in 1376, only five years before the foundation of the Order. In any case the prologue goes on to represent the founder of the Order himself (who as we have observed was a member of the French royal house) as a flower ‘issued and descended in a right line from that garden and [those] flowers’, who had been planted by the Holy Trinity specifically to ‘guard and defend’ the Catholic Faith and the three Estates, all of which, according to the prologue, were currently in great peril. The prologue then abandons the floral metaphor completely in favour of a marine metaphor, in which the troubled state of the world is represented as a troubled sea, onto which the founder intends to set forth like the heroes of old in a ship ‘without sail, without yard, and without banners, without anchors, without oars, and without ropes.’ No metaphorical explanation is offered either here or later of why this ship, which is of course the badge of the Order itself, should be thus stripped of most of its accoutrements, but the ship is eventually related to the earlier metaphors through the observation that ships make the sea navigable ‘against the common course of nature.’ The prologue next explains, in non-metaphorical terms, that Carlo intended to emulate his ancestors by maintaining and defending the Faith and the three Estates, and by reconquering the Holy Land from the ‘miscreants’, and that as it was impossible for him to do this alone, he had founded an order of knighthood (unnamed in the text), which in addition to helping him to accomplish these ends would also serve to praise and increase the reputation of ‘good knights’, to exalt chivalry, and to perpetuate the memory of their deeds, both good and bad, so that others might be encouraged (or discouraged) by their examples.¹²¹ The prologue then introduces the ship as the *ensengne et devise* that would identify the *frere et compaignon* of the Order, and the idea that the stripped-down ship mentioned earlier could be ‘garnished’ in some unspecified way through feats of arms. It concludes with a long *apologia* for the ship as the ‘most noble [ensign] that could be’ for the Order, declaring that the device represents simultaneously the Ark of Noah, the ships of the Greek and Roman heroes (including, no doubt, but only implicitly, the Argo of Jason and the Argonauts), the Blessed Virgin Mary (that ‘virginal vessel’ in whom, it declares in a return to the floral

¹²¹ The founders of the Orders of the Band, the Star, and the Knot had all specified the ‘exaltation of chivalry’ as their principal purpose in founding their orders; the last two had also specified the ‘increase of honour’, without further explanation. Carlo’s extended justification is in effect an exegesis of the more cryptic statements of purpose contained in the prologues of the Star and the Knot. Except in its references to knights and chivalry, it bears a close resemblance to the statements of justification often inserted into the preambles of letters patent conferring peerships, dukeships, and other dominical dignities in France in the same period. See, for example, the letters of 23 December 1350 by which Jean II conferred the County of Angoulême, preserved in Paris, Archives Nationales Reg. JJ 80, no. 768.

metaphor, the three flowers of the Trinity 'repose' ¹²²), and finally the Catholic Faith itself (which is also represented, in a rather inconsistent fashion, as a 'great fisherman'). A ship had been a common symbol of the Church (and by extension of the Faith) since the time of Ambrose, at least, and the ship of Noah was commonly regarded as a pre-Christian prefiguration of the 'vessel' through which mankind was to be saved from eternal death, but the other allusions were relatively original.

The last lines of the prologue introduce the 'chapters' that explain exactly how the various goals of the Order were to be accomplished. The first seventeen chapters form a section dealing with matters related to the selection and admission of new members. This was a subject that, though normally dealt with at some length in the statutes of both the religious orders of knighthood¹²³ and ordinary confraternities, had been badly neglected, if not totally ignored, in the statutes of most of the earlier monarchical orders, including that of the Knot.¹²⁴ Carlo (perhaps influenced by the provisions of the Order of St. George on this subject) clearly felt that the subject warranted a more careful treatment, and devoted no fewer than sixty-four ordinances to it. The six ordinances of chapter 1 set forth the four feasts during which new 'companions' could be admitted, introduce the fundamental distinction to be drawn throughout the admissions procedure between 'high princes and lords' and other postulants, and establish the basic rights of the 'Prince' of the Order and the ordinary companions with respect to the selection of new companions of both types. The next seven chapters (constituting with chapter 1 subsection I.A) are concerned with the selection and admission of ordinary postulants who are able to present themselves at one of the four annual feasts. The second chapter sets forth the sixteen personal qualities a new companion was required to have, or not to have – by far the longest list in the statutes of any monarchical order. Chapter 3 describes the procedure to be used for the election, chapters 4 through 7 the various things the newly-elected postulant was required to do before he could be formally received into the Order, and chapter 8 the ceremony of reception itself. In general the actions ordained in these chapters are very similar to those ordained in the corresponding statutes of most confraternities, but some of

¹²² Rather in the fashion, one imagines, of the contemporary statuettes of the Virgin that opened up to display an image of the Trinity.

¹²³ The statutes of the Temple, for example, included a section of some thirty chapters dealing with this subject (see above, n. 13).

¹²⁴ Among the statutes of the earlier orders, only those of the Garter dealt at any length with this subject (Red. C, chaps. 17-24). The statutes of the later Orders of the Golden Fleece, which was modelled on the Garter, and St. Michael, which was modelled on the Golden Fleece, also included long sections concerned with election and admission (in chapters 41-62 and 44-55 respectively).

them seem to have been borrowed from the current ritual used to admit a squire into the general order of knighthood. The seven chapters of subsection I.B, by contrast, deal with relatively novel matters: the appointment, election, and reception of postulants (especially 'high princes and lords') who could not attend the Order's assembly, and the delegation to 'high princes' who had been either appointed or elected to the Order of the right to appoint and receive a specified number of companions. Of the older orders, only that of the Garter permitted reception *in absentia*, and no other monarchical order ever permitted the delegation to other princes of the right either to name or to receive companions.

The second section of the statutes, comprising seven chapters and thirteen ordinances, sets forth what are termed in the section heading the 'spiritual obligations' of the companions. In general both the obligations themselves and the penalties provided to encourage the companions to carry them out are very similar to those imposed in the Orders of the Star and the Knot, but are significantly more extensive. In addition to weekly observances intended to commemorate the Passion, Carlo imposed both daily attendance at mass and daily recitation of prayers, and an obligation (out of love and fear of God, the patron of the Order) never to blaspheme.

The third section, made up of fifteen chapters and thirty-five ordinances, deals with obligations and activities arising from the death of a member of the Order. The first six chapters, constituting subsection III.A, are concerned with the provision of a successor to a deceased Prince. In every other monarchical order this question was dealt with quite simply, by attaching the presidential office to the crown of the founder's principal dominion, but Carlo, perhaps fearing that his crown might fall into the hands of his rival Louis of Anjou or one of his heirs (as indeed it did), decided to allow his successors as Prince to nominate their own successor from among their sons or (if they had no sons) from among their agnatic cousins. The Order of the Ship was thus unique in being a dynastic rather than a state order. So concerned was Carlo to assure the continuity of his Order, indeed, that he gave the companions of the Order the unparalleled right to elect a Prince in the (undoubtedly unlikely) case that his agnatic kindred (i.e., the House of Capet) failed completely.

The remaining two subsections of section III set forth the obligations of the surviving members of the Order, first to a Prince, then to an ordinary companion of the Order, immediately following his death. Most of the earlier orders had required the survivors to provide a funeral and a specified number of masses for recently deceased companions, and several had required the provision of some sort of memorial in the Order's chapel as well. Carlo improved upon his models principally by requiring greater numbers of masses both for and from a Prince, and also for a Prince or companion who had fallen

in battle, and by providing an annual memorial mass for all those who had died.

Section IV, setting forth the mutual obligations of the Prince and the companions in life, is considerably longer than any of the first three, and includes no fewer than seventy-seven ordinances arranged in twenty-nine chapters. More than half of these ordinances, and nearly half of the chapters, are comprised in subsection IV.A, which specifies the obligations of the companions to the Prince. Although similar in their general nature to those required of the companions of other monarchical orders, the obligations imposed on the companions of the Order of the Ship are vastly more extensive and more precisely stated, and together subsections IV.A and B read like an exceptionally detailed contract of retinue. The Ship statutes are also unique in extending many of the cliental obligations of the companions to all those thenceforth knighted either by the Prince or by any of the companions, in effect creating a two-tiered system of membership. The obligations of the Prince to the companions, set forth in the ten ordinances of subsection IV.B, are expressed in much more general terms, and are much less extensive. The most novel are the obligations to settle disputes involving companions and to do justice, not merely to the companions, but to all of his vassals and men.

The remaining subsections of section IV promulgate more general sorts of obligations. The four ordinances of subsection IV.C contain what are best termed the fraternal obligations of the companions: to bear loyal company to one another, to aid one another in all difficulties, and to conceal the dishonourable acts of fellow companions, save those directed against another companion. These obligations are similar to those undertaken by the knights of St. George (chaps. 4, 10a, 18), by members of most fraternal orders, and indeed by brothers-in-arms, but considerably greater than the corresponding obligations imposed by the founders of most of the earlier monarchical orders, including the Knot. The sixteen ordinances of subsection IV.D are concerned with the avoidance and settlement of private disputes involving the companions. Although most confraternities and (in imitation of their customs) most fraternal orders adopted ordinances of this sort, only two of the earlier founders of monarchical orders had seen fit to do so, and their legislation on this subject was as usual much less extensive and consequently much less precise than that promulgated by the founder of the Order of the Ship. The most original feature of the Ship ordinances on this subject is the central role they give to the Prince of the Order in the whole process. The last two chapters of section IV make up a somewhat heterogeneous subsection broadly concerned with loyalty and treason. The first ordinance, requiring the companions not to reveal the Order's secrets, had been anticipated in the statutes of the Band (chap. 22c), but the other six, requiring the companions to reveal any treason

committed by one of their number not merely against other companions but (much more remarkably) against anyone else, are entirely novel.

The fifth section of the statutes, dealing for the most part with questions related to the tenure of the annual General Court, is by far the longest, containing ninety-eight ordinances expressed in forty-three chapters and arranged in eleven subsections. The weight allotted to the Order's principal annual meeting is in keeping with the precedents set by most of the earlier founders, and much of the content of this section was anticipated in a general way in the statutes of earlier orders. Nevertheless, the ordinances of this section are as usual much more precise and elaborate in their provisions than those of any other order, earlier or later, and in many respects unique. In subsection V.A Carlo not only provided for a movable site for the meeting but set forth penalties for failure to attend, carefully graded according to the rank of the offender and the number of his failures. In subsections V.B, D, F, and H (separated for no obvious reason) he specified with unprecedented precision the procedures to be followed in the settlement of disputes, the alteration of the Order's statutes, and the indictment, trial, and punishment of offenders against the statutes. He even provided rules to cover confession and false accusation, and prescribed punishments that included in addition to the usual temporary and perpetual expulsion (or 'deprivation') both internal and external denunciation.¹²⁵ In subsections V.C (dealing with the religious services and the costume to be worn at them), V.E (dealing with the reporting and recording of the companions' adventures), and V.G (dealing with the wearing of the Order's badge), Carlo elaborated specifically, and in relatively minor ways, upon the equivalent usages of the Order of the Knot, themselves based upon those of the Star. The twenty-three ordinances he promulgated in subsection V.J (providing for the tenure of the General Court by lieutenants in case the Prince could not be present) are by contrast wholly original, and the three ordinances of subsection V.K (requiring attendance at three minor meetings every year) were anticipated in the statutes of only two earlier orders, St. George and the Band.

Section VI contains a motley collection of ordinances, some of them (chaps. 117, 119, and 120) very similar to ordinances adopted by most earlier founders, others more unusual. Chapters 114 (on belonging to private military companies), 115 (on just wars), 116 (on the obligations of vassals of the Prince), and 118 (on aid to sick and imprisoned companions) were without precedent in

¹²⁵ The statutes of the Ship in fact contain an unusually high number and proportion of penal ordinances. No fewer than thirty-six of the Ship ordinances state penalties for failing to obey some previously stated rule, or nearly one out of every ten. The statutes of the Knot, by contrast, contain only three ordinances specifying penalties (a rate of one in twenty-four), and all three are included in a single chapter (11a-c).

the statutes of monarchical orders (though the last is similar to ordinances of several fraternal orders). Chapter 112 (on the Order's common seal) was foreshadowed only in the statutes of the Garter, and chapter 113 (on honouring ladies) only in the statutes of the Band.

Section VII, setting forth in twenty ordinances the regulations governing the display of the Order's banner, is an elaboration of a single three-ordinance chapter of the Knot statutes (10), itself based on two adjacent ordinances of the Order of the Star (12a, b). Unlike the latter, the Ship ordinances make it clear that the companions of the Order were intended to function as a single military unit, apparently at the core of the royal army. Section VIII, describing in thirty-three ordinances the various feats of arms the companions had to perform before they could augment their ship-badge with oars, ropes, a yard, anchors, sails and banners, in various colours and positions, is similarly an elaboration of the Knot statutes that specified the circumstances in which the companions of that order could untie and retie their knot-badge (chaps. 3, 24, and 25). The ordinances of this section are also quite original in the details of their provisions, however, and Carlo seems to have expected a good deal more of his companions than his predecessor on the Sicilian throne had of his.

The last section of the statutes is made up of seven chapters and seventeen ordinances concerned with the Order's chapel (or chapels) and the clergy to be attached to it (or them). In endowing his Order with a chapel staffed by its own clergy, and in making that chapel the centre of the Order's activities and the home of its records and memorials, Carlo was merely following the pattern of most of the earlier monarchical and confraternal orders, and indeed of confraternities in general. Where he broke new ground was in specifying that the Order might have more than one chapel, and in specifying the dedication of the altars in the chapel.

When examined in more detail than is possible here,¹²⁶ the statutes thus reviewed reveal a society in which chivalrous and pragmatic elements were ingeniously interwoven. Like most monarchical orders, the Order of the Ship was in part a society for the promotion of Christian chivalry, and many of its ordinances, designed to appeal to the desire of most contemporary noblemen to be honoured and remembered as a paragon of knightly virtue (and to promote its founder's own reputation as a patron of chivalry) can best be understood against the background of the chivalric handbooks and biographies then so much in vogue.¹²⁷ Even more importantly, however, the Order of the Ship was

¹²⁶ For a more extensive analysis and comparative study of the statutes of the Order of the Ship, see the chapter on this Order in my forthcoming book, *The Knights of the Crown*.

¹²⁷ Like the statutes of the other monarchical orders, those of the Ship embody in statutory form many of the ideas on how a true Christian knight should conduct himself contained in such popular handbooks as the *Libre del orde de cavayleria* of Ramon Llull (French version edited by

a political organization comparable to a political party in a modern one-party state, and furthermore a military *corps d'élite* comparable both to the old Germanic *comitatus* and to the Nazi SS, intended primarily to carry out the will of its leader the 'Prince', and to defend his person and throne. In fact the great majority of the Order's ordinances are wholly or largely pragmatic in intent, and were clearly designed either to secure loyal and effective service from the 'companions' or to promote order and cohesion among them. Even the 'chivalrous' ordinances dealing with the recording of deeds, the use of the Order's banner, and the augmentation of the Order's badge were calculated to promote heroic action in the Prince's service, and differ only in detail from the strikingly similar inducements to heroism maintained in most modern armies. No previous order had been so carefully designed to accomplish these practical ends, and there is little reason to doubt that, had Carlo been given more time to establish and endow his foundation, it would have proved a highly effective instrument for the promotion of his policies and interests. The success of the very similar order of the Dragon, founded by his rival for the throne of Hungary, Sigismund von Luxemburg, in rather similar circumstances twenty-seven years later,¹²⁸ is sufficient proof of the viability of Carlo's even more elaborate plan for a society in which chivalrous trappings disguised and sweetened a form of political and military clientship that was at once more demanding and less costly than the traditional feudo-vassality.¹²⁹

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In editing the statutes of the Order of the Ship, I have followed the usual editorial conventions. Punctuation and capital letters have been introduced in

Vincenzo Minervini [Bari, 1972]), and the *Arbre de batailles* of Honoré Bouvet (published by G. W. Coopland as *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet* [Liverpool-Cambridge, Mass., 1949]), and the text here edited can itself be read as a tract on chivalry. The chivalrous statutes have a peculiar interest in this context, however, because unlike the handbooks of such men as Llull and Bouvet they were officially promulgated by a king and formally accepted by prominent barons as the basis for their daily behaviour.

¹²⁸ On the history of this order, see Baranyai, 'Zsigmond Király', and Hóman, *Gli Angioini*, pp. 527-31.

¹²⁹ One of the greatest advantages of the monarchical order as an instrument for securing loyal service was that it required no fixed outlay of either land or money to the client. In practice, of course, the princes who maintained such orders did not rely exclusively on the bonds created by the oaths of membership, and rewarded their 'companions' in more material ways with offices, pensions, and fiefs. Indeed, it is likely that those nobles who agreed to join the order did so in the hope that such tangible rewards for service would be distributed more freely to members than to non-members. Ship chap. 56a should probably be interpreted as a promise by Carlo to favour his companions in precisely these ways; it is highly unlikely that he would have been so naïve as to overlook or underrate the value of economic incentives.

accordance with the usages of Modern French, and scribal word division has frequently been altered, principally through the insertion of apostrophes in such elided constructions as *sil*: *s'il*, *cest*: *c'est*, and *qu'ilz*: *qu'ilz*. Roman numerals have been expanded, and the usual distinctions have been established between *i* and *j* and between *u* and *v*. The acute accent has been employed to distinguish stressed from unstressed *e* in final position, and the diaeresis has been employed to mark vowels in hiatus which do not constitute a diphthong. In general the base text has been emended only in order to correct obvious scribal errors involving the omission, addition, or repetition of a word, syllable, or letter, but occasionally words or phrases have been changed or added in order to improve the grammatical structure or sense of a sentence, and letters have been inserted to clarify the meaning of a word. Words and letters added to the base text have been set within square brackets [], and all other changes have been indicated in the footnotes. The paragraph signs of the manuscript have been omitted, and the statutes and ordinances have been provided with Arabic numerals and minuscule letters respectively, as explained above.¹³⁰ The latter, in order that they may be clearly distinguished from the text, have been set within pointed brackets < >. Finally, scribal abbreviations have been resolved as indicated in the following list.¹³¹

- (1) Superscript [˘], resolved when placed over a vowel as *m* before another *m*, a *b*, or a *p*: *cōme* (16); *remābrance* (20); *sollēpnitez* (36b); otherwise as *n*: *secōde* (Pr); resolved when placed over a consonant as follows: *q̄* (Pr) as *que*; *simplem̄t* (Pr) as *simplement*; *ferm̄ent* (Pr) as *fermement*; *s̄te* (Pr) as *sainte*; *n̄re* (Pr) as *nostre*; *l̄res* (11a) as *lettres*; *q̄nt* (11a) as *quant*; *p̄r n̄r* (21b) as *pater noster*; *d̄te* (25a) as *dite*; and *ḡnt* (149b) as *grant*.
- (2) Superscript [˙], resolved as *re*: *p'nre* (Pr); as *er*: *mist'e* (Pr); as *ri*: *t'nite* (Pr); or as *ue*: *q'* (134a).
- (3) Superscript ^ʎ, resolved as *r*: *ʎmes* (38a).
- (4) The sign *9*, resolved before *m*, *b*, and *p* as *com*: *9paignon* (4a); *9me* (E); otherwise as *con*: *9stantinoble* (47t); *9qster* (47a).
- (5) Superscript *9*, resolved as *us*: *to 9* (51c).
- (6) The sign *7*, resolved as *et* (passim).
- (7) The sign *ƒ*, resolved as *ser*: *ƒont* (4a); as *seigneur*: *mon ƒ* (Pr); and as *sire*: *mon ƒ* (E).
- (8) The sign *ꝑ*, resolved as *per*: *ꝑsone* (Pr); and as *par*: *ꝑ* (Pr).
- (9) The digraph *Ꝗ*, resolved as *prop*: *Ꝗos* (Pr); *Ꝗre* (47a).
- (10) Superscript *i*, resolved as *ui*: *ḡ* (Pr); and as *ri*: *ḡnce* (17a).

¹³⁰ See above, p. 208.

¹³¹ In this list and in nn. 89-98 above, Pr = Prologue, E = Epilogue, t = chapter title, and other letters and numbers in round brackets () designate chapters and ordinances.

Unless otherwise indicated, words and letters placed within square brackets [] have been supplied from T. I have not attempted to indicate all of the places in which the text of T differs from that of P, but I have given in the footnotes to the text all those variants where the meaning of the text is or might be affected in any significant way by the differences in wording, or where the wording of T was interesting for some other reason. Since I am editing the text of P and not that of T, I have not indicated in the notes the various errors and lacunae in the latter except where they correspond to those in P, and have left the text quoted in the form in which it appears in Pivano's transcription.

Cy commence le prologue¹ de l'ordre de la Nef.²

(f. 1r) Le Pere et le Fils et le Saint Esperit, un Dieu en trois personnes, adorons et tenons fermement sans doubtaunce, mes simplement ainssi le creons. <a> La seconde personne envoya en terre en une³ verge et⁴ Virge,⁵ char humaine prendre pour les pecheours rachater de paines perdurables, et de ceste verge et Virge nasqui la flour sur la quelle repose et maint⁶ le Saint Esperit, et qui sur toutes flours a odour, vertu et poissance, de la quelle viengnent et naissent toutes autres flours de bonté et de bien, et sans qui nulle ne puet naistre ne venir a perfection. Fist jadis et edefia en France un jardin ou quel planta et fist naistre flours tres nobles sur toutes autres terriennes, souef⁷ flairant, et de tres douce odour et de tres grant biauté, et aus quelles nulle ne s'appelle⁸ qui par nonbre sont trois et non plus plantees. Premièrement, non par main de home humain, mes par celui qui de nient crea et fist tout le monde, et qui la verge, seste⁹ de Aaron, fist flourir et porter fruit outre le cours de nature; et qui le monde en trois estas establi, ordena et fist, c'est asavoir en clergie, chevalerie et menu peuple laboureu[r]s,¹⁰ donna et voutl donner a ces trois flours vertu, poissance et odour, par quoi ces trois estas du monde peussent estre et fussent desoremés soustenu et raempli de lour odour, vertu et poissance, et par mistere les ordena trois et planta, en senefiant la Benoitte et Sainte Trinité, deulz dessus

¹ So T; P *prologo* (not *prologu[e]* as Zacour and Hirsch have transcribed it), which appears to be an Italianism.

² For a discussion of the prologue as a whole, see above, pp. 209-12.

³ *verge*, n. m., staff; an allusion to the staff of Aaron.

⁴ *et*, virtually illegible in P.

⁵ *Virge*, n. f., Virgin, i.e., the Blessed Virgin Mary.

⁶ *maint*, ps. ind. 3 of *maindre*, dwell.

⁷ *souef*, adj., sweet.

⁸ So T; P *nulle sa ne sappelle*, the letters *sa* subpunctuated.

⁹ T om. *seste*.

¹⁰ On the division of society into three 'orders' or 'estates', see especially Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978). It is significant, in this context particularly, that the Second Estate is here identified absolutely with the knightage, *la chevalerie*.

et une desoubz. Les deuls dessus senefiant le[s] deuls plus haus estas du monde: la premiere, a destre, senefie la clergie; la seconde, a senestre, senefie chevalerie; et la tierce, desous, senefie le menu peuple, laboureurs de divers labours. Des quelles flours la premiere a en soy odour d'entendement et de sapience, la seconde a en soy odour de hardement¹¹ et de poissance, la tierce a en soy odour de humilité et d'obedience. Des quelles sont yssues et nees maintes flours tres belles et tres souef flairant, qui par leur vertu, poissance et odour ont toute nostre foy catholique et tout le monde assasié,¹² raempli et conforté, et par leur tres douce et bonne odour toutes puours et odours mauveses ont chaciés et boutees hours du monde, come il apert es ystoires enciennes de Charlemaine et autres maint, qui de cestui jardin et de ces flours sont né et yssu,¹³ par les quelles a esté Crestienté et nostre foy garde, soustenue et sauvee, le clergie gardé, deffendu et maintenu, chevalerie sourmontee et essauce, et le menu peuple en bonnes pais gardé et de tous maulx deffendu. Et maintes fois leurs corps, biens et avoir ont mis et exposé en tres grans perilz, et combatu contre mescreans et Sarrazins, et les vaincu par leur vertu et poissance, ainssi come Dieu leur a volu donner grace, pour ces trois estas sauver et garder, et par especial la sainte foy catholique, pour l'eglise et son estat maintenir et acroistre, (f. 1v) et pour l'onneur de chevalerie essaucier.¹⁴ Et tant ont esté les perils plus grans, plus tost et plus volentiers se sont exposé et mis en peril pour les choses desus dictes, sanz la mort en rien doubter, car plusours de leur en ce faisant ont receu mort honorable et bonne, ainssi come a tous est notoire. Mes au jour d'ui sont les perilz plus grant et plus apperissant qu'il ne furent jamés, et la mer plus troublee par vens contraires et [horribles, par tempestes]¹⁵ espouventables, et par autres tres grans perilz, ainssi est faite come [non navigable.] La foy catholique est en peril tres grant,¹⁶ l'eglise est desceue, [chevalerie anul]lee et le menu peuple destruit. < b > Pour quoy celui qui premier le [jardin dessus dit] et les flours planta une flour: fist naistre et yssir de tel vertu, [puissance et odour come dessus] est dit pour garder et deffendre nostre foy et les trois estaz [dessus dit. Laquelle f]jour nouvelle – c'est asavoir tres excellent prince et seigneur monseigneur [Charles] de Duras, par la grace de Dieu Roy de Jerusalem et de Scicile, qui de ce jardin et flours est yssu et descendu par droite ligne – considerant les biensfaiz, prouece, vertu et foy de¹⁷ ces antecessours, qui de ce

¹¹ *hardement*, n. m., boldness.

¹² *assasié*, p. p. of *assasier*, fill.

¹³ T ysse.

¹⁴ *essaucier* or *essaucer*, v. tr., exalt.

¹⁵ This and the next six passages in brackets were badly smudged at some time after P was copied and have been rewritten, in a later hand crudely imitating that of the scribe, on the same line as the original. The rewritten words are all supported by T.

¹⁶ p. t. g. so T; P *grant peril tres quant*.

¹⁷ P *des*.

jardin et flours ont esté estrait, non obstant les perilz tres grans du jour d'uy, et la mer ainssi troublee, se veult et a voulu exposer aux perilz et fortunes de la mer, pour nostre foy soustenir, le clergie garder et deffendre, chevalerie acroistre et essaucer, et le menu peuple tenir en paiz, a mis sa neif en la dite mer, et exposé a tous perilz, sans voile, sans treif¹⁸ et sans banieres, sans ancras, sans tymons¹⁹ et sans cordes. Car aussi come telle neif la mer troublee est en peril, estant en la mer ainssi le dit prince, ces trois estas dessus dit, et par especial pour nostre foy maintenir, se veult et a volu du tout, sans la mort redoubter, metre, exposer et abandonner a tous perilz, et sa neif metre en la mer troublee. Et come celui prince et seigneur catholique, qui ces antecessours veult de tout son pouoir ensuir,²⁰ a volenté et propos, a l'aide de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist, de nostre foy contre tous a son pouoir maintenir, garder et deffendre, et les trois estaz dessus dit aussi, et de passer oultre mer pour la mort de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist vengier, et oster la Terre Sainte des mains aux mescreans, et la metre en la main des Crestiens, afin que Diex y soit adhoré et loé come il doit estre, et nostre foy essaucer a l'aide de Dieu et de la Verge²¹ Marie et de tous les sains de paradis. < c > Et pour ce que par un seul home sans aide d'autres nullement ne se pourroit ce faire, le dit prince, meu de devocion, de vertu et de foy, et de tres grant bien, a fait et ordené une ordre de chevalerie en l'onneur de la Benoitte et Sainte Trinité, Pere et Filz et Saint Esperit, en l'an de l'incarnation de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist mil trois cens quatre vins et un, et de l'aage du dit seigneur l'an vint et quatreme non compli, afin que la Benoitte Trinité luy donne force²² et pouoir de bien et loialment garder l'ordre telle come elle est devisee et ordenees par les chapistres si dessous escript, et fait sur ce, pour les bons chevaliers aloser,²³ et pour leur non acroistre, et pour chevalerie essaucer, et pour ce que des bons soit memoire perpetuel, et pour que ceuls qui après venrront pregnent essamples aus bontés et proheces des trespasés, et pour donner cuer et hardement a tous de bien faire, et pour les bons et preuz amer, honorer, et tenir chier, et pour (f. 2r) les mauvés et couars²⁴ haïr et deprisier, come il est de raison, et come l'ordre veult et commande, come par les chapistres de celle appert clerement. < d > Et pour ce que tous ceulz qui l'ordre prendront soient des autres conneu, et que par vraie charité et amour soient uny comme frere et compaignon doivent estre, pourteront por ensengne et devise tous les jours de leur vie depuis qu'il auront

¹⁸ *treif*, n. m., yard (of sail).

¹⁹ *tymons*, n. m. pl., steering oars, rudders.

²⁰ *T en ...*

²¹ *Verge*, n. f., here Virgin rather than rod.

²² *T* adds *voulente*.

²³ *aloser*, v. tr., praise.

²⁴ *T dedains*.

l'ordre prise et receue, une neif dedens la mer, sanz voile, sanz treif et sanz tymons, sanz banieres, sanz ancrs et sanz cordes, jusques a tant que par fait d'armes garnissent la dite neif et devise des choses dessus dites, ainssi et par tel maniere come veult et commande l'ordre et les chapistres d'ycelle. Et ceste enseigne [et devise a esleu et prise] le dit prince pour la plus noble qui peust estre et qui mielz a l'ordre soit convenable et mielz seiant, car par cestui vaisseau et enseigne fu jadis ou temps du deluge l'umain lignage sauvé et gardé, par cestui est la mer contre le commun cours de nature aux homes faite navigable et habitable, et par cestui ont maint bon chevalier et preudomme diverses terres et pais cerchié et conquis et aquis honnour, loenges, vertus et prouueces demonstrees, qui sans cestui vaisseau nullement ne l'eussent peu faire, [comme appert] par les Greyois,²⁵ Rommains et autres assés. Cestui est le vaisseau de mer qui plus comprend que nul autre. Cestui entre les autres est plus fort et plus deffensable contre les fortunes de mer. Cestui est le virginal vaisseau en qui les trois flours reposerent, c'est la Sainte Trinité par qui de ebulacion²⁶ somes amenees a port de salut. Cestui est le vaisseau du grant pecheour qui maintes fois et par especial maintenant par fortunes et tempestes de mer est en peril de perir, mes toutes fois perir ne peut, car a l'aide de la Sainte Trinité et de la Virge Marie et de tous les sains de Paradis, le dit prince et ces compaignons garderont et deffendront le dit vaisseau, c'est nostre foy, de tous contraires, et l'essauceront de tout leur poueir, a l'onour de la Benoite Trinité, de la Virge Marie et de toute la court celestial de nostre foy catholique, et des trois estas dessus dit, et par especial en accroissement de honnour de chevalerie, ainssi comme veulent et commandent les chapistres²⁷ de l'ordre qui s'ensuient, par tel maniere et forme comme cy dessoubz sont escript.

1. *Cy commencent les chapitres de l'ordre, et*²⁸ *[premierement] de recevoir novvialx compaignons en l'ordre, quant et comment. Premierement, en quelles festes et conbien ilz dureront.*

< a > Premier[me]nt que en quatre festes de l'an, c'est assavoir la feste de la Trinité, la feste de Tous Sains, la feste de Noël et la feste de Pasquez, en ces quatres festes se puissent et doivent recevoir novvialx compaignons, et non autrement, ne en autre temps ne feste, < b > se n'estoit aucun haut prince ou seigneur, a qui le prince, au conseil et volenté des compaignons qui lors seroient presens avec le prince, ou de la plus grant partie de lour, la dite ordre et

²⁵ *Greyois*, n. m. pl., Greeks.

²⁶ *ebulation*, n. f., fervour; T *tribulation*.

²⁷ For a discussion of the significance and use of this term, see above, pp. 206-207.

²⁸ So T; P *est*, the letter s subpunctuated.

devise (f. 2v) pourra mander et envoyer toutes fois qui leur plaira et semblera bon.²⁹ <c> Et chascune des quatre festes dessus dites durera trois jours devant le jour de la feste et trois jours après, excepté la feste de la Trinité, qui est la mestre feste, qui durera huis jours devant et huis jours après. <d> Et en chascune de ces quatre festes dessus dites pourra le prince, au conseil et volenté des compaignons presens a celle foiz,³⁰ c'est assavoir des deus parties des compaignons au moins,³¹ mander et envoyer [l'ordre] a tous absens tels come les chapistres sur ce fait veuillent et commandent qu'il soient.³² <e> Chascun veuillent entrer en l'ordre doivent supplier au prince qu'il lui plaise a le recevoir.³³ <f> Et en l'une de ces quatre festes dessus dites le pourra le prince nommer³⁴ aux compaignons et dire la requeste de cellui, et nul autre le prince ne pourra ce faire.³⁵ <g> Et sera sur ce lez compaignons³⁶ assembler et lors s'enformeront de celluy veuillant entrer en l'ordre, s'il est tiex comme veult l'ordre, et s'il a les condicions telles come il s'ensuient.

2. *Quel et quelles condicions doit avoir qui en l'ordre peut estre receu.*³⁷

<a> Premièrement, tout voulant entrer en l'ordre sera chevalier de bonne renomme. Il sera bon et vray catholique. <c> Il sera sain de ces membres en tel maniere qu'il se puisse travailler³⁸ en fait d'armes honorablement. <d> Il sera chevalier lay, non religieux. <e> Il sera vaillant home³⁹ et preuz de la personne, ou home de qui on ait esperance le temps a venir qu'il soit vaillant et preuz, ou tel par quoi l'ordre et compaignie puisse estre essaucié, et honnour avoir, et estat. <f> Il sera sages et prudent. <g> Il sera gentil homme, et de noble lignage. <h> Il sera coneu par aucun des compaignons, qui luy portera tesmoing de son estre et estat. <j> Il ne sera ne juges, ne advocas, ne medecin.⁴⁰ <k> Il ne sera mercheant ne usurier. <l> Il ne sera heretique ne scismatique. <m> Il [ne] sera obligié a [nul] autre ordre

²⁹ Cf. chap. 9, where this practice is more fully explained.

³⁰ P *foiz* obscured by fold.

³¹ i.e., by a majority of two thirds.

³² i.e., chaps. 10-17.

³³ Cf. St. George, chap. 21a, requiring that the king and the justiciar be informed of the name of any postulant before it is presented to the members.

³⁴ P *prince rece nommer*, the letters *rece* subpunctuated.

³⁵ Cf. St. George, chap. 21b, specifying that the king and the justiciar must approve all candidacies before the chancellor presents the name of the candidate to the members.

³⁶ T adds *presens*.

³⁷ Cf. Garter, Red. C, chap. 2, which specifies that only a knight of noble birth and spotless reputation is to be admitted to that order.

³⁸ P *travaillier* obscured by fold.

³⁹ P *vaillant 7 preuz home*, the words *7 preuz* struck out.

⁴⁰ T om. *ne medecin*. Its addition could be an amendment.

contraire a ceste.⁴¹ < n > Il ne sera infamé ne parjuré. < o > Il ne sera larron ne traitres. < p > Il ne sera provisionaire de nulluy du monde qui soit ennemi ou contraire du prince ne de nul des compaignons de l'ordre ou de la compaignie quant il prenra nouvellement la devise et ordre. < q > Il ne sera briquex⁴² ne d'autre male conversacion.

3. *Comme le prince doit en chascun nouviau compaignon recevoir demander a tous les compaignons leur volenté.*

< a > Et lors le prince et compaignons enformés et certefiez de cellui voulant prendre l'ordre, et de condicions et qu'il auront trouvé, tel comme l'ordre veult et commande, demandera le prince a tous les compaignons, et a chascun a par soy, sa volenté et deliberation sur cellui recevoir. < b > Et se tous, ou au mains les deus pars des compaignons, si acordent a le recevoir, il sera receu, et non autrement, par la maniere [et] forme qui s'ensuient.⁴³ (f. 3r)

4. *Comme tous entrant en l'ordre pardonra tous mau[x ta]llens et haines a tous les compaignons s'il peut faire bonnement.*

< a > Premièrement, au dit voulant recevoir l'ordre par l'acort et volenté du prince et des compaignons comme dit est, tous les nomz des compaignons de l'ordre luy seront nommé et dit. < b > Et se il avoit guerre, haine ou male volenté encontre aucun des compaignons, ou question et descort, quel qui fust, il luy pardonnera, et remettra toute guerre, haine et male volenté, et fera paiz avec lui de toutes question et descort, se bonnement le peut faire, sauf son honnour et sans grant damage. < c > Et se il ne peut faire paiz avec lui sanz grant damage et sauf son honnour, il metra toutes guerres, hainez, malez volentéz, questions et descors qu'il eussent entre eux en l'ordenance du prince du tout en tout, et jurera de tenir fermement⁴⁴ tout ce que le dit prince ordenera et voudra qu'il soit sur ce fait. Autrement ne pourra estre receu en la dite ordre.

⁴¹ Several earlier founders, including Ludovico 'di Taranto' (Knot, chap. 16), had sought to restrict membership in other orders, but none had forbidden it completely. Unlike some earlier and later founders, Carlo did not think to make provision either for the possibility that one of his companions might want to join another order after being admitted to that of the Ship, or for the possibility that he or one of his successors as Prince might want to admit a king or prince who was already the president of his own order.

⁴² *briquex* (T *brigieux*), adj., noisy, foul-mouthed (?).

⁴³ Cf. St. George, chap. 20a, requiring the consent of the whole membership for election. Cf. also Garter, Red. C, chap. 17, which required a mere plurality for election.

⁴⁴ T adds *et avoir agreable*.

5. *Come tous les chapistres de l'ordre lui seront leu.*

< a > Item, luy seront leus tous les chapistres et estatus de l'ordre, < b > tous ceulx qui sont de serement, et que tous doivent jurer, il jurera de tenir et observer par son serement. < c > Lez autres promettra, ainssi come dient et commandent les chapistres de la dite ordre, sur les poines sur⁴⁵ ce faites et establies.⁴⁶

6. *Comme tous seremens a entrer en l'ordre chascun dira telx come il les aura devant fait.*

Chascun voulant entrer en l'ordre dira et declarera⁴⁷ touz les seremens, fois et obligations qu'il ait a autre, et a qui il aura foi,⁴⁸ serement ou obligation, et par quelle maniere et commant, sanz rien celler.

7. *Come chascun entrant en l'ordre recevra le⁴⁹ corps Nostre Seigneur.⁵⁰*

< a > Anchois⁵¹ que le voulant prenre en l'ordre soit receu et que lui soit donnee la devise, jeunera un jour devant qu'il soit receu. < b > Se jour se confessera de ces pechiéz.⁵² < c > Et lors qu'il aura jeuné ainssi, et soit [t] confessé comme dit est cy dessus, venra l'une des quatre festes dessus nommees a la grant messe, ou⁵³ sera la personne du prince. < d > Et sera jeun et confés comme est dit, et oïra la dite messe a genoulx devant le grant autel, < e > et prenra et recevra le corps de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist devotement, confés et contrit de ces pechiéz, afin que celui Seigneur qui reçoit luy vueille donner grace et puissance de faire chose au temps a venir, par quoy lui et la compaignie aient et puissant honneur, avoir et essaucement.⁵⁴ (f. 3v)

⁴⁵ T om. *les poines sur*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Knot, chap. 1b, which requires a similar oath of obedience to the statutes. Carlo seems to have regarded certain ordinances (most of them in section IV, which sets forth the mutual obligations of the Prince and companions in life) as more important than others, and required a separate oath for each. He indicated which ordinances were to be treated in this unprecedented fashion by appending to each the clause: 'Et ce jureront tous les compaignons'. Cf. St. George, chap. 11b, requiring an oath of obedience to all the preceding (but not the following) statutes.

⁴⁷ T adds *au prince present les compaignons*.

⁴⁸ *foi*, n. f., faith, here in the sense of a vassalic oath of fealty, as distinct from a *serement* or oath of some other sort.

⁴⁹ P *les*.

⁵⁰ T chap. 7 = P chap. 7ab, and T substitutes for this title *Comme et combien doit jeuner quil pregne lordre*.

⁵¹ *Anchois*, adv., before.

⁵² T adds *comme bon crestien*. T ends chap. 7 here, and gives to chap. 8 (= P chap. 7cde) the title P gives to chap. 7.

⁵³ P *messe a genolz ou*, the words *a genolz* struck out.

⁵⁴ *essaucement*, n. m., exaltation.

8. *Comme le prince et touz ces compaignons s'agenoilleront et les clers qui la messe auront chantee avec cellui compaignon,*⁵⁵ *et comme la devise luy sera donnee.*

< a > La messe finee et oïe, et le corps Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist receu par cellui chevalier comme dit est, le prince et touz les compaignons a ce presens, confés et contrit de leur pechiéz, avec le nouviau compaignon s'agenoilleront vers le grant autel, en priant Dieu devotement pour celluy nouviau compaignon que Dieu le veuille recevoir en grace et lui donner force et pouoir de tenir l'ordre, et essaucier a son honnour et de la compaignie. < b > Et les chappellains et clers qui la messe auront chantee aussi s'agenoilleront avec le prince et compaignons come dit est, et chanteront devotement cestui psalme: *Exaudivit⁵⁶ te dominus*, etc.,⁵⁷ avec une antienne et oroison de la Sainte Trinité.⁵⁸ < c > Dite la messe et chantee la dite psalme, oroison et antienne come dit est, le prince, les compaignons, et les chappellains et clers se leveront, et le nouviau compaignon demoura a genoulz, et lors lui seront touz les chapistres de l'ordre leus entierement, < d > et donc jurera sur les saintes evvangillez de tenir l'ordre et tous les chapistres ainssi et par telle maniere comme il sont fait et ordené. Ceulz de serement jurera, [ceulx] de promission⁵⁹ prometra, et ceulx de ordenance tenra sanz autre promission. < e > Et se par aventure failloit sanz amonnestement⁶⁰ d'autrui, les poines sur ce establies portera et acomplira, selonc ce que commandent les chapistres de la dite ordre. < f > Et les chapistrez juréz et promis par cellui chevalier, et les autres sollempnités faites come dit est, le prince le recevra par la main, et luy baillera et donrra la devise de l'ordre. < g > Et le baisera en la bouche, et touz les autres compaignons aussi, en signe d'amour et de fraternité. < h > Et lors sera escript ou livre des estatus et chapistrez de l'ordre, c'est ass[av]oir en cestui livre, avec les autres compaignons en son ordre. < j > Et si tost comme il aura prise l'ordre et devise, soit tenu de prenre et prenra la copie de tous les chapistres et ordenances et estatus de la dite ordre, de mot a mot entierement, ainssi comme il sont escript en cest livre. < k > Et ce jureront touz novvialx entrans en l'ordre.

⁵⁵ T om. the remaining words of this title.

⁵⁶ For < b > *Et ... Exaudivit*, T reads *Et les clers dessus dit chanteront ceste psalme toute entierement exaudiat*.

⁵⁷ *Exaudivit te dominus*, Ps 19/20, a prayer for the victory of the king in battle. The knights of the Knot had similarly to sing the *Veni creator spiritus* (Knot, chap. 7e).

⁵⁸ T divides the chapter here, and inserts the title: *Comme la devise de lordre luy sera donnee*.

⁵⁹ T adds *comme lordre commande et veult*.

⁶⁰ *amonnestement*, n. m., advice, counsel.

9. *Des absens recevoir. Et premierement comme le prince a tous roys et autres haus seignours peut mander l'ordre.*

Toutes foiz que le prince voura, sanz [autrui] apeller,⁶¹ pourra envoyer et mander l'ordre et devise a quelconque roy, duc, prince, ou autre haut seigneur.

10. *Comment autres chevaliers absens se pouent recevoir.*⁶²

En ces quatre festes dessus dites pouront le prince et les compagnons, c'est assa(f. 4r)voir par la volenté des deus pars des compaignons presens a celle fois, mander et envoyer [l'ordre et devise]⁶³ a touz chevaliers qu'il voudront, mais toutes fois qu'il soient tel comme est dit devant.

11. *Comme par la licence du dit prince par autre que par le prince pouront estre receu en l'ordre noviaux compaignons.*

< a > Le prince par l'acort des deus pars des compaignons pourra donner licence et poissance a toute roy, prince, duc ou autre haut seigneur a qui l'ordre et devise il aura mandee et envoié de donner l'ordre et devise a autres chevaliers, et a tant de chevaliers comme le dit prince de l'ordre lui octroiera par ces lettres quant il lui enverra l'ordre.⁶⁴ < b > Et aura puissance celui⁶⁵ seigneur a qui sera l'ordre envoié de recevoir les seremens fais⁶⁶ de l'our⁶⁷ ou nom du prince et de la compaignie, et de leur donner la devise de l'ordre et par tel maniere les recevra et donra l'ordre, come il aura receue lui meesmes.

12. *Par quel personne mandera aus absens l'ordre.*⁶⁸

< a > Quantes et toutes foiz que le prince mandera et enverra l'ordre et devise a aucun come dit est, il enverra par aucun honeste home, connus⁶⁹ a ce

⁶¹ sanz [autrui] apeller seems to mean in this context 'without calling upon, or summoning [anyone]', i.e., without consultation.

⁶² T adds *et en quel temp.*

⁶³ These words (also om. in T) are supplied from chap. 1b.

⁶⁴ It is unclear from the wording of this clause whether the 'high lord' to whom this licence might be given was to have the power to appoint a certain specified *number* of companions, or merely to receive into the Order certain specified companions (possibly his subjects or neighbours) already elected to membership. Both the verb *donner* and the expression *tant de chevaliers* are more suggestive of the former interpretation, but the wording of chap. 12 could be interpreted either way, and that of chap. 16 is more suggestive of the second interpretation.

⁶⁵ T adds *roy duc prince ou haut.*

⁶⁶ P *fois.*

⁶⁷ For *envoïé ... l'our*, T reads *et devise sera ainsi mande pour donner a autres de recevoir seremens et fois de ceulx a qui il donra l'ordre.*

⁶⁸ P *de l'ordre.*

⁶⁹ T *commis.*

par le prince, portant les lettres du dit prince contenans le pouoir que le prince aura donné au porteur des dites lettres. < b > Et se le prince⁷⁰ donne licence et pouoir a celui a qui sera mandee l'ordre de recevoir et donner la dite ordre et devise, es dites lettres sera contenu le nombre a quelx⁷¹ il pourra donner.

13. *Comme et quant l'ordre se mandera, touz les chapistres se manderont aussi.*

A celui ou a ceulz a qui ou au quelz se mandera et enverra l'ordre et devise come dessus est dit, tous les chapistres de l'ordre, c'est assavoir tous ceulx qui sont contenu en cest livre, seront mandé et envoié.

14. *Comme a tous receus en l'ordre par autre que par le prince, tous les chapistres lui seront donné et baillié.*⁷²

Ce sellui a qui l'ordre sera ainssi mandee comme est dit avoit poissance du prince d'autres recevoir en l'ordre, a tous ceulx qui recevra en l'ordre et compaignie baillera tous les chapistres de l'ordre entierement, comme dessus est dit.

15. *Comme ceulz a qui l'ordre sera mandee jureront.*

< a > Celui a qui l'ordre sera mandee jurera en la presence de celui qui l'ordre et devise luy aura de par le prince portee. < b > Et il recevra le serement de sellui ou nom du prince et de la compaignie. < c > Et ceulz qu'il recevra, se (f. 4v) il en a poissance,⁷³ lui jureront aussi ou nom du prince et de la compaignie dessus dite.

16. *Comme et par quel maniere seront les absens receus.*⁷⁴

Ceux a qui l'ordre sera mandee seront receu par telle maniere et forme come se le prince les receust en propre personne, excepté des festes, car tous les jours que l'ordre lui sera mandee pourra recevoir l'ordre, et donner a tous ceulx que le prince lui aura mandé et donné licence par ces lettres.

⁷⁰ T adds *par ses lettres*.

⁷¹ T *le nombre et a quans et combien*.

⁷² *baillié*, p. p. of *baillier*, grant.

⁷³ The meaning of the clause *se il en a poissance* is obscure, but it could mean 'if he has authority over them' (i.e., as their lord).

⁷⁴ In T the order of this and the following chapter has been reversed so that P chap. 16 = T chap. 19 and P chap. 17 = T chap. 18.

17. *Comme tous absens receus en l'ordre, de leur recepte et serement feront lettre seellée de leur seaus.*

< a > De⁷⁵ tous absens receus par licence du prince comme dit est, toutes foiz qu'il seront receu et prenront l'ordre et feront les seremens acoustumés,⁷⁶ celui a qui il feront le serement, et qui leur donrra l'ordre et devise ou nom et de par le prince, de la dite recepte et serement qu'il auront fait [prenra letre sellee] de leur seaus, la quelle il sera tenu de porter ou mander au dit prince le plus tost qu'il pourra.⁷⁷ < b > Et lors sera escript ou livre avec les autres compaignons.⁷⁸

18. *Les chapistres espiritueulz.*⁷⁹

Premierement, le dit prince, cognoissant que selonc le psalmiste le commencement⁸⁰ de sapience est de doubter son creatour, le prince et tous les compaignons de l'ordre doubteront et ameront leur creatour de tout leur cuer et courage.

19. *Comme nulz ne blasfemera le nom de Dieu.*

< a > Pour chose du monde quelle que soit, le prince et chascun des compaignons jamés ne blasfemera le nom de Dieu, ne de la Virge Marie, ne de saint ne sainte de Paradis. < b > Et ce par aventure aucun le fesoit autrement, le plus tost qu'il pourra se confessera, et avecque la penitence qui lui sera donnee, jeunera un jor tel comme il vourra.

20. *Comme chascun est tenu de jeuner tous les vendrediz.*⁸¹

En l'onnnour et remembrance de la mort et passion que souffri pour nous Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist en l'arbre de la crois le jour de vendredi, le prince et chascun des compaignons jeuneront touz les venredis de l'an se maladie ou autre juste cause ne l'en excusoit.

⁷⁵ P *Pe*.

⁷⁶ P *a9 stumes*.

⁷⁷ The wording of this ordinance is obscure, but it appears to mean that the agent of the Prince who received the oaths of the new companion was to have a letter of receipt prepared and sealed with the seal of the newly-received companion, and was then to send the receipt to the Prince.

⁷⁸ Presumably this means that his name was to be added to the list of companions kept in the master copy of the *Livre des estatus*. No such list is included in either P or T.

⁷⁹ This is clearly the heading of the second section of the statutes rather than of chap. 18. The latter heading seems in this case to have been conflated with the first sentence of the text of the chapter, which begins with the word *Premierement* like the titles of chaps. 1, 25, and 131.

⁸⁰ P *commandement*.

⁸¹ Cf. Knot, chap. 5a, which requires the companions of that order to fast every Thursday.

21. *Comme chascun est tenu de dire tous les venredis le petit office de la crois ou Pater nostre qui ne saura lire.*

< a > En l'onnour de la dite passion et mort de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist, le prince et chascun des compaignons touz les venredis de l'an diront le petit office de la crois, qui commence: *Patris sapientia*,⁸² c'est assavoir ceulz qui sauront lire. < b > Et les autres qui ne sauront lire diront touz les venredis⁸³ dessus dis vint cinc *Pater noster* et vint cinc *Ave Maria*. (f. 5r) < c > Et quiconques faillera, pour chascun jour qu'il aura failli de dire ce dessus dit jeunera le premier lundi ensuiant, se maladie ou autre juste cause ne lez excusoit.

22. *Comme chascun se vestira de noir tous les vendredis de l'an.*

En la remanbrance de la dite mort et passion de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist, le prince et tous les compaignons ce vestiront de noir touz les venredis de l'an, se maladie ou prison ou jour de bataille qu'il convenist porter⁸⁴ armes, ou autre juste cause ne les excusoit.⁸⁵

23. *Comme tous les jours de l'an chascun est tenu de oïr messe.*

< a > En l'onnour de la Sainte Trinité, Pere et Filz et Saint Esperit, et de la benoite Virge Marie, et de touz sains et saintes de Paradis, [le prince] et chascun⁸⁶ des compaignons orront tous les jours de l'an messe. < b > Et ce aucun par aventure defalloit d'oïr messe comme dit est, le jour qu'il n'aura oïe messe, s'il estoit jour de menger char, ne mangera char, et s'il estoit jour qu'il ne mengiast char, il ne mangera chose aut[r]e excepté pain seulement, se maladie ou autre cause juste ne l'escusoit.

24. *Comme touz les jours chascun dira l'office de Nostre Dame.*

< a > En l'onnour et remembrance⁸⁷ de la benoite Virge Maria, pour qu'elle vuille estre advocat du prince et de touz les compaignons envers la Sainte Trinité, le dit prince et chascun des compaignons qui sauront lire diront tous les jours de l'an l'office de la gloriose Virge Marie ou les sept psalmes penitenciaux,⁸⁸ le quel qu'il voudront et ameront miex. < b > Et qui ne saura lire dira

⁸² The Little Office of the Cross was a penitential office intended to commemorate the Passion and commonly used as part of the devotional regimen of pious laymen in this period.

⁸³ P *venrendis*.

⁸⁴ P *portes*; T *porter*.

⁸⁵ Cf. Knot, chap. 2d, which requires the companions of that order to wear a plain badge and a simple costume on Fridays, to commemorate the Passion.

⁸⁶ So T.

⁸⁷ T *reverence*.

⁸⁸ The Seven Penitential Psalms, i.e., Pss 6, 31/32, 37/38, 50/51, 101/102, 129/130, and 142/143, were in this period generally recited after Lauds on Fridays in Lent.

tous les jours cent *Pater noster* et cent *Ave Maria*. <c> Et se aucun par aventure defailloit de ce faire, pour chascun jour qu'il deffaudroit donrra et sera tenu de donner pour Dieu en l'onnour de la Virge Marie la quinte part de un florin d'or,⁸⁹ pour l'ame de trespasés et pour le salut des vis⁹⁰ de la compaignie.

25. *Des exeques du prince et des compaignons. Et premierement comme le prince peut eslire son successeur en l'ordre.*

<a> Le prince, estant en sain et bon propos et memoire, doubtant de la mort ou pour autre juste cause, doie⁹¹ et puisse eslire un de ces filz legitimes, se plusours en avoit, le quel qui voudroit, son successeur et prince de la dite ordre. Et ou cas qu'il n'eust fil masle legitime, puisse et doie eslire un de son lignage, de⁹² lignie masle et non autrement, pour son successeur et prince de l'ordre. <c> Et eslira le meillour a son avis, et se soit en (f. 5v) sa⁹³ conscience et voulement.

26. *Comme le successeur du prince pourra eslire son successeur.*

Et celui ainssi esleu par le prince comme dit est pourra et devra eslire son successeur un de ces filz,⁹⁴ ou autre de son lignage ou cas qu'il n'eust fil masle, par telle maniere come est dit du prince cy devant.

27. *Se cellui que le prince eust esleu ne le veult accepter, les conpaignons esliront un autre.*

Par le prince esleu un successeur et prince de l'ordre, son fil ou autre de son lignage comme dit est devant, et cellui esleu par le prince ne le vousist accepter, mais⁹⁵ le refusat, les compaignons esliront un autre pour successeur, et prince,⁹⁶ aussi comme ce le prince [de successeur et prince] n'eust porveu ou esleu.

28. *Comme ou cas que le prince n'eust lignie masle, les compaignons esliront un autre.*⁹⁷

<a> Ou cas que le prince ou son successeur n'eussent filz ou autre de leur lignage de lignie masle come est desus dit, ilz ne pourront eslire ne ordener de

⁸⁹ P *dort*.

⁹⁰ *vis*, n. m. pl., living.

⁹¹ P *doiere*.

⁹² T adds *droite*.

⁹³ P *en / en sa*.

⁹⁴ T adds *legitime*.

⁹⁵ P *mis*.

⁹⁶ So T; P *prendre*.

⁹⁷ T *prince*.

successour et prince de l'ordre. < b > Ains les compaignons present a la mestre prochaine court venant, par commun acort, ou par la plus grant partie, esliront un de leur compaignons, le meilleur et plus habile a ce. Et seront tenu de pourveoir de prince, et de eslire a celle court prochaine, ainssi comme dit est. Et ce chapistre jureront tous les compaignons, a fin que l'ordre ne fallist par deffaut de prince.

29. *Comme, mort le prince, tous les compaignons doivent venir a la court.*

Sceue la mort du prince, tous les compaignons seront et sont tenu de venir a celle court, se bonnement les pouent faire, pour porveoir de nouviau prince, ou cas que le dit prince n'eust esleu successour et prince.

30. *Comme au successour de l'ordre tous sont obligié comme a son predeces-sour.*

< a > A celui prince et successour esleu par le prince ou par les compaignons seront tenu touz les compaignons, et chascun a par soy, comme il⁹⁸ estoient au premier prince ou a son predecesseur. < b > Luy aussi sera tenu come estoit son predecesseur aux compaignons et a l'ordre et compaignie ensement.⁹⁹

31. *Quantes¹⁰⁰ messes chascun des compaignons fera dire por l'ame du prince.*

< a > La mort du prince sceue, chascun compaignon de l'ordre soit et sera tenu de faire por l'ame du dit prince chanter a note quinze messes, et mes(f. 6r)ses fera dire en lisant trente, se il en son lit se mourist comme bon Crestien, et sanz fait d'armes, se n'estoit roy ou duc ou prince qui fust compaignon de l'ordre; < b > car roy ou duc ou prince sera tenu, sceue la mort du dit prince, de faire dire et chanter pour l'ame du dit prince les messes dessus dites et oultre davantage fera pour l'ame du dit prince selonc son estat plus que les autres, ainssi comme bon luy samblera.¹⁰¹

32. *Comme por la mort du prince tous les compaignons se vestiront de noir.*

< a > Et chascun des compaignons, sceue la mort du prince, se vestira de noir pour la mort du dit prince pour l'espace de quinze jours continués, se en

⁹⁸ P come come il.

⁹⁹ ensement, adv., equally.

¹⁰⁰ Quantes, adj., how many.

¹⁰¹ The phrasing of this chapter in T is quite different, but the substance is identical. In T, chap. 34 (= P chap. 34) follows this chapter, a more logical place for it.

son lit le dit prince mouroit. < b > Et se en fait d'armes mouroit, comme est dit devant, chascun des compaignons se vestira de noir pour l'espasse de trente jours continués, se n'estoit en une des quatre festes. < c > Car lors differeront a vestir de noir jusques après la feste et court passee.¹⁰²

33. *Comme l'escu et baniere du prince après sa mort sera pendu en la chapelle.*

< a > Mort et trespasé de cest monde le prince, le successor du dit prince fera l'escu et baniere du dit prince presenter en la chappelle de l'ordre par les deus meillours chevaliers de l'ordre qui pour lors ce pourront bonnement trouver en la court et compaignie du successeur et prince de la dite ordre. < b > Et avant qu'il tiengnent¹⁰³ court a la feste de la Trinité, le prince nouviau fait et les compaignons feront le service du prince trespasé en commun, le mielz et le plus honorablement comme affiert¹⁰⁴ a roy, et mielz se mielz le pouent faire. < c > Et alors sera le dit escu et baniere pendu en la dite chappelle, ou plus honnorable et premier lieu. < d > Et de tous les prince de l'ordre si fera aussi: c'est asavoir l'escu et baniere du premier prince [sera mis et pendu] ou premier lieu, du secont son successeur ou secont lieu, du tiers ou tiers lieu, et ainssi par ordre de touz les princes de la dite ordre, chascun en son lieu et ordre come dit est. < e > Et se plusieurs chappelles de l'ordre fussent, en chascune sera pendu comme dit est.¹⁰⁵

34. *Quantes messes chascun fera dire pour l'ame du dit prince se en fait d'armes mouroit.*

Se le prince mourroit par fait d'armes, en son honneur faisant, chas[cun] des compaignons, de quel que estat soit, fera dire le service du dit prince au double, c'est asavoir du fere chanter et dire [les messes] au double. (f. 6v)

35. *Comme chascun des conpaignons pour l'ame de chascun des conpaignons trespasé sera et [est] tenu de faire.*

< a > Sceue la mort d'aucun des compaignons qui fust trespasé en son lit ou autrement, confés et communiéz comme bon Crestien, chascun des compaignons fera dire pour l'ame de cellui trespasé vint quatre messes, des quelles seront huit chantez a note, et seize dites en lisant.¹⁰⁶ < b > Et aussi se

¹⁰² It is unclear whether the death must fall during the feast or shortly before it, so that the mourning period would overlap or coincide with that of the feast. Cf. Band, Red. A, chap. 12.

¹⁰³ P *viengnent*.

¹⁰⁴ *affiert*, ps. ind. 3 of *aferir*, be suitable. For *comme affiert*, T has *quil le pourront faire*.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. chap. 38 below, and Knot, chap. 20a.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. St. George, chap. 2a, b, which requires each of the surviving members to have ten masses said for the deceased member, and to pay for these on the day of the funeral. Cf. also

vestira chascun des compaignons pour la mort de cellui trespasé pour l'espace de huit jors de noir.¹⁰⁷ < c > Et se par fait d'armes, en son honneur faisant et de la compaignie,¹⁰⁸ se mouroit, sceue la mort de cellui, chascun des compaignons soit et sera tenu de faire son service au double, tant des messes come de soi vestir de noir.

36. *Comme le prince est tenu, et de quoi fere, pour l'ame et mort de chascun des compaignons.*

< a > Le prince, sceue la mort d'aucun des compaignons, soit mort en son lit ou en fait d'armes comme dit est, sera et soit tenu de faire son service au double. C'est asavoir s'il est mort en son lit, fera chanter et dire quarante-huit messees, des quelles seront seize chantees a note et [trente-deus]¹⁰⁹ dites en lisant. Et se par fait d'armes se mouroit, il fera fere son service au double. < b > Et encore fera faire et chanter une messe solennement en sa chappelle, aussi comme se le corps du dit trespasé fust present, et les sollempnitéz qui a ce appartiennent, soit mort en armes ou autrement, comme est dit devant.¹¹⁰

37. *Comme tous sont tenu de dire en la cort les compaignons qui seront¹¹¹ trespasés.*

Tous les compaignons de l'ordre, et le prince aussi, sceue la mort d'aucuns des compaignons, a la premiere court qui se tenra soit tenu de dire et anoncier la mort de tous les compaignons de l'ordre qu'il saura trespasés depuis l'autre court devant celle.

38. *Comme l'escu de chascun compaignon après sa mort sera présenté au prince et pendu en la chapelle.*

< a > Les executeurs de cellui compaignon trespasé comme dit est, s'il a fait executeurs compaignons de l'ordre, soient tenu de presenter l'escu du dit compaignon au prince a la premiere court après sa mort, point a ces armes.¹¹²

Knot, chap. 23, which requires each of the surviving companions to have seven masses said for the deceased companion within one month of learning of his death.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Band, Red. A, chap. 12, which requires the knights of that order to wear a dark coat for ten days after the death of one of their number, 'as a sign of brotherhood'.

¹⁰⁸ T om. *et de la compaignie*.

¹⁰⁹ So T; P has a lacuna between *et* and *dites*, obviously intended for the words here inserted.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Knot, chap. 19a, which requires the Prince to provide a funeral in the chapel of the Order for each deceased companion within eight days of being informed of his death.

¹¹¹ For *qui seront*, T has *quil saura*.

¹¹² Cf. Knot, chap. 18a, which requires that each companion provide for the delivery of his sword to the Prince immediately after his death.

< b > Et se executeurs n'avoit fait qui fussent de l'ordre, ou de ce faire fussent negligent, le prince les compaignons supplieront a la dite court¹¹³ ce que par les (f. 7r) executeurs devoit estre fait. < c > Et lors fera le dit prince l'escu de celui trespasé pendre en la chappelle de l'ordre, selon sa chevalerie et estat.¹¹⁴ < d > Et se plusers chappelles de l'ordre estoient, en chascune sera pendu comme dit est.

39. *Comme pour tous les compaignons trespasés chascun an se chantera une messe sollempnee.*

< a > Le lundi prochain après la feste de la Trinité le prince et touz les compaignons presens a celle court feront chanter une messe sollempnee des mors por l'ame de touz les compaignons trespasés de l'ordre. < b > Et a celle messe seront present le prince et touz les compaignons presens a la court. < c > Et seront vestu de noir tant que la dite messe soit chantee, et non plus.

40. *[De quoy sont obligié les compaignons au prince.] Et premierement nulz des compaignons ne sera jamé contre le prince.*

< a > Pour chouse du monde, quelle que soit, nul des compaignons ne sera contre le prince en fait, en parole, ne autrement, ne ne fera ne actentera rien contre le dit prince pour cause du monde, < b > se n'estoit en deffendant son lige seigneur, de qui il tenist fieu¹¹⁵ ou heritage, ou pour autre de qui il eust provision ou eust serement devant qu'il preist l'ordre, et de ce serement eust fait mencion a l'ordre prenre. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons, et chascun par soi, par leur serement. < c > Et ou cas que pour aucune de ces causes dessus dites convenist que aucun des compaignons fust contre le prince, et avec autre, il sera et soit tenu de notefier et faire assavoir au prince comme il convient qu'il soit contre lui, et la cause pour quoy, anchois qu'il face rien contre le dit prince tant [de fait] que de parole. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons par leur serement. < d > Et qui autrement le feroit, il sera réputé parjuré et foy mentie, et puny¹¹⁶ come parjuré.

¹¹³ *le prince les compaignons supplieront etc.* The meaning of this clause is obscure. It could mean either '... the companions shall beseech the Prince [to do] what should be done by the executors', or '... the Prince [and] the companions shall beseech [the executors to do] what should be done by the executors'. The former is perhaps more likely.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Knot, chap. 20a, which requires the Prince to hang the sword of each deceased companion (bearing, according to chap. 4, his name and crest on the pommel) in the Order's chapel, as a memorial.

¹¹⁵ *fieu*, n. m., fief.

¹¹⁶ *P parjur*.

41. *Comme tous les compaignons [contre tous] aideront le prince.*

Tous les compaignons seront et sont tenu d'aidier le prince, et aideront de tout leur pouoir contre touz hommes,¹¹⁷ de quelque [estat] qu'ilz fussent, se n'estoit es cas dessus diz, et pour les causes dessus dites.¹¹⁸ Et ce jureront tous les compaignons.

42. *Comme les compaignons serviront le prince en toutes ces guerres.*

Touz les compaignons, et chascun a par soi, soient et seront tenu de servir le prince en toutes ces guerres justes, menees et a mouvoir, (f. 7v) chascun selonc son poueir et estat, et a ces despens, se n'estoit es cas et pour les causes dessus dites. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons.¹¹⁹

43. *Comme aux non poissanz et pouverez le prince est tenu de pou[r]veoir.*

< a > Se par impotenté et pouvereté aucun des compaignons ne pouoit suir¹²⁰ le dit prince en ces guerres a ces despens, ains¹²¹ n'eust de quoi; si tost comme il saura le dit prince avoir guerre, il senefiera au prince et fera asavoir [son estat et] sa non poissance. < b > Et lors devra et sera tenu le dit prince a luy pourveoir selonc l'estat du dit compaignon, en tel maniere qu'il puisse honnourablement servir le prince en ces guerres selonc son estat, si veult que le dit compaignon impotent le serve. < c > Car autrement et ou cas que le dit prince ne li vousist pourveoir comme dit est, et il n'eust de quoi, il sera quites et absoubz de sa foi et serement, quant en cest cas, de servir le prince. < d > Mais toutes fois le dit compaignon ne alleguera non poissance faintement. Et ce jureront tous les compaignons.

44. *Comme tous les compaignons, sceu que le prince ait guerre, sont tenu de y venir.*

< a > Touz les compaignons, et chascun a par soi, si tost comme il sauront le prince avoit guerre et [guerre]¹²² estre mené entre lui et autre, quel qui soit, se n'estoit es cas et pour les causes dessus dites, les poissanz, selonc leur estat et pouoir, sanz eulz desherités, venront au prince le servir en ces guerres a leur despens. < b > Les non poissans feront assavoir au dit prince leur impotenté, et manderont comme dit est. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons.

¹¹⁷ T adds *et fames*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Knot, chap. 1a, which requires the companions to give counsel and aid to the Prince.

¹¹⁹ T rearranges most of the phrases in this chapter, without changing the sense.

¹²⁰ *suir*, v. tr., follow; T *servir*.

¹²¹ T *mais*; P frequently replaces this familiar word with the less familiar equivalent *ains*.

¹²² Though lacking in both P and T, this word seems to be required by the syntax.

45. *Comme les poissant qui n'y pourront venir en persone y manderont gens d'armes.*

Se aucun des compaignons poissant servir a ces despens estoit enpoechié par maladie ou autrement que par pouvreté, sceue la guerre du prince, il mandera ou envoiera gent en la dite guerre du prince, selonc son estat et poissance, et a ces despens, sanz [soy] desheriter ou domagier trop fort, ou autre juste excusation ne l'en excusoit. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons.

46. *Comme tous les compaignons sont tenu de deffendre tous les biens moibles et immoibles du prince.*

(f. 8r) Chascun des compaignons soit et sera tenu de aidier a maintenir et garder et deffendre contre touz selonc son pouoir touz les drois, heritages, meubles, honnour et estat du prince, qu'il a de present et qui posside, ce n'estoit es cas et pour les causes dessus dites. Et ce jureront touz les compaignons.

47. *Comme tous les compaignons sont [tenu] de venir et estre a la conquete du roiaume de Jherusalem et de l'avance de Sicile, de l'empire de Constantinoble et de la conté de Provence et de Pymont.*¹²³

< a > Touz les compaignons, et chascun a par soi, selonc son estat et pouoir et a ces despens, se poissant est (s'il n'est puissant, fera come est dit dessus) sera et soit tenu de aidie[r a] conquerer, et venir en propre personne s'il n'est excusé par maladie, prison ou autre cause juste, toutes les foiz que le prince lui mandera et fera assavoir, ou cas que le¹²⁴ dit prince y fust en personne, ou aucun de ces filz, ou autre de son lignage de lignie masle, tous ces droiz, par especial le roialme de Jerusalem, et de Sicile entierement, l'empire de Constantinople entierement, et la conté de Provence et de Pymont entierement.

< b > Et se aucuns poissant par maladie ou autre juste cause n'y poueit venir en personne, il sera tenu de mander gens au dit prince en cest cas selonc son

¹²³ The Angevin kings of mainland Sicily all claimed the kingship of the defunct kingdom of Jerusalem and of the island of Sicily, detached from the mainland kingdom following the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, and held in 1381 by Maria I, seventh sovereign of the Aragonese line which that revolt had permitted to seize the throne. Carlo seems in addition to have claimed the throne of the 'Latin' Empire of Constantinople, established by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, either as the heir of his great-great-grandfather Carlo I, who had also claimed it, or as the heir of his cousin Prince Filippo II of Taranto, who had claimed it in the right of his mother Catherine Capet de Valois, daughter of the heiress of the Courtenay 'emperors'. The Counties of Provence and Piedmont had actually belonged to Carlo's immediate predecessor Queen Giovanna I, but had been seized after her deposition by her testamentary heir, Duke Louis I of Anjou. In the event, neither Carlo nor his heirs ever succeeded in recovering any of these 'lost' lands.

¹²⁴ P le inserted above the line with a caret mark.

estat et pouoir, et a ces despens, pour le dit prince en ce aidier. <c> Et mandera le prince a chascun des compaignons, et sera tenu de mander pour eulz toutes fois qu'il voudra ce enprendre¹²⁵ et commencer, c'est assavoir de conquerer et de mouvoir guerre¹²⁶ contre ceulz qui tiengnent occupé ses droiz dessus dis, ou aucun de ceulx. <d> Et aux non puissans, sera tenu de pourveoir comme dit est devant, si veult qu'il viengnent. Et ce jureront tous les compaignons.

48. *Comme touz les compaignons sont tenu de vengier la honte ou despit qui ou prince seroit fait.*

Se aucune villannie, honte, ou despit seroit faite au prince ou a la conpaignie en general, touz les compaignons, et chascun a par soi, soit et sera tenue de la vengier a son poueir. Et se jureront tous les compaignons.

49. *De quoi sont tenu les chevaliers fais d'ore en avant par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons.*

<a> Premièrement, touz hommes fait chevalier d'ore en avant par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons de l'ordre soient et seront tenu de venir en (f. 8v) personne et a leur despens, s'il sont poissant, a la conquete dez dessus diz roiaumes, empire et contés, toutes les foiz qu'il sauront que le prince, ou aucun de ces filz, ou autre de son lignage, son heritier et successeur en l'ordre et heritage, enprendra la conquete dessus dite. Et en personne il sera,¹²⁷ se maladie ou autre juste cause ne les excusoit. Et en cest cas, seront tenu de y mander gent a leur despens, pour chascun selonc son estat et pouoir, sanz soy desheriter¹²⁸ ou domagier trop grandement. <c> Et ce jureront tous les chevaliers fais par le prince ou par autre des compaignons de l'ordre quant il seront fait chevalier nouvel. <d> Et aussi le prince et tous les compaignons jureront que touz les chevaliers que [feront] d'ore en avant feront jurer ce dessus dit.

50. *Comme tous chevaliers fait d'ore en avant par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons qui n'eussent de quoi sont [tenu] de mander au dit prince leur non poissance et le prince leur devra pourveoir.*

<a> Que ou cas que aucun pour povreté des chevaliers ainssi fait comme dit est ne peust venir a la dite conquete a ses despens, si tost come il saura que

¹²⁵ *enprendre*, v. tr., undertake.

¹²⁶ P *mouvoir g guerre*.

¹²⁷ i.e., the knight is to go in person, rather than send a substitute.

¹²⁸ So T; P *desherités*, the final s subpunctuated.

le prince vuille et doie enprendre la dite conquete, et y estre en personne, ou son filz, ou autre de son lignage comme dit est dessus, ou que le dit prince luy manderoit et feroit assavoir par ses lettres ou autrement, il sera tenu de mander au dit prince, et mandera son estat et non poissance. < b > Et lors le prince, oïe sa non poissance, lui pou[r]verra et fera pourveoir selonc l'estat du dit non poissant de toutes choses neccessairez, tant de chevaux, armes, argent, et finance, por y venir et estre en la dite conquete. < c > Et se le dit prince, oïe sa non poissance, ne lui pourveroit¹²⁹ comme est dit, le dit chevalier sera absoulz du serement qu'il [avoit] de y venir. Et ce jureront touz les [chevaliers ainsi fait.]¹³⁰

51. *Comme tous chevaliers ainssi fait ne seront jamés contre le prince ne contre la compaignie, mes seront tenu de anoncier [et] porchacier leur bien et honnour.*

< a > Que tous chevaliers fait par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons de l'ordre, comme dit est, seront et soient tenu de pourchacier et anoncier et essaucier a leur poueir le bien, honnour et estat du dit prince, et de jamés non estre, par fait ou autrement,¹³¹ contre le dit prince et compaignie en general, par soi ne par autrui, puplicquement non occultement, < b > se n'estoit en deffendant son lige seigneur, ou autre de qui eust provision, et auquel fust tenu de serement avant qui fust chevalier fait, et non autrement. < c > Et ce jureront tous chevaliers ainssi [fait], come dit est. < d > Et ce leur feront jurer celz qui chevalier les feront. (f. 9r)

52. *Comme tous les compaignons et tous chevaliers fait par aucun d'eux pourteront honnour.*

< a > De l'ordre tous les compaignons et touz chevaliers¹³² faiz par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons, seront et soient tenu de porter honnour et reverence au dit prince, en touz lieux et quel que part qu'il soient. < b > Et ce jureront touz compaignons et chevaliers ainssi fait, come dit est. < c > Et les compaignons de l'ordre oultre ce seront tenu de obeïr a tous les commandemens justes et licitez du dit prince. Et ce jureront tous les compaignons.

¹²⁹ So T; P *pourveoir*.

¹³⁰ So T; P has erroneously *touz les compaignons*.

¹³¹ T om. *par fait ou autrement*.

¹³² So T. In P this is preceded by *Que tous chevaliers fait par le dit prince* [lacuna to end of line]. This appears to be a false start.

53. *Comme tous les compaignons et tous chevaliers ainssi fait comme dit est, anonceront*¹³³ *les prohiees et vertus du prince, et le*¹³⁴ *deffendront de honte et de deshonnour.*

< a > Chascun des compaignons de l'ordre,¹³⁵ et touz chevaliers fais par le prince et par aucun des compaignons, comme est dit dessus, seront et soient tenu en tous lieux, quel part qui soient, de annoncer et reciter les biens et vertus¹³⁶ du prince et de la compaignie, a leur pouer, toutes les fois que lie[u] et temps seroit de ce dire et faire, selonc l'avis de chascun, et de deffendre le dit [prince] de honte et de deshonnour, a leur pouer, et¹³⁷ la compaignie. < b > Et touz les compaignons de l'ordre, l'un a l'autre, sera et soit tenu de¹³⁸ ce faire et pourchacier a son pouer, comme dit est.¹³⁹ < c > Et ce jureront touz les compaignons, et touz les chevaliers fais par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons.

54. *Comme tous les compaignons et les chevaliers ainssi fait come dit est reveleront*¹⁴⁰ *au prince toutes chouses qu'il sauroient estre en son deshonnour ou damage.*

< a > Toutes chouses touchans l'onnnour et estat de la compaignie et du prince par quoy peust venir mal, honte,¹⁴¹ damage ou villainie au dit prince, ou a la compaignie, touz les compaignons, et chascun par soi, soit tenu,¹⁴² si tost comme il saura et pourra bonnement, de l'anoncier, reveler et faire savoir au prince, ou a cellui ou a ceulx des compaignons au quielx ou au quel pourroit venir honte, villanie ou damage,¹⁴³ < b > sur paine de perdre l'ordre,¹⁴⁴ et d'estre reputés et puniz comme parjuréz et traitres. Et ce jureront toz les compaignons. < c > Et aussi touz chevaliers faiz par le prince ou par aucun des compaignons, (f. 9v) come dit est, sera et soit tenu de ce annoncer et faire assavoir au prince, ci tost comme il sauroient et pourroient bonnement faire.

¹³³ P *annoncier*.

¹³⁴ P *et de le*.

¹³⁵ P *des compaignons come est dit de lordre*, the words *come est dit* subpunctuated.

¹³⁶ T adds *et prouueces*.

¹³⁷ P *a*.

¹³⁸ P *et*.

¹³⁹ This is apparently a mutual obligation.

¹⁴⁰ T *releveront*.

¹⁴¹ So T; in P the scribe has written what appears to be *hōine* or *hōme*.

¹⁴² P *par soi et soit tenu*.

¹⁴³ Cf. St. George, chap. 11a, requiring the members to inform the king of anything they hear that could prove harmful to the king or kingdom.

¹⁴⁴ P *perdre la vie lordre*, the words *la vie* subpunctuated.

55. *De quoy est tenu le prince au compaignons. Et premierement le prince est tenu de aidier et deffendre tous les compaignons.*

< a > Le prince et tous ces successeurs en l'ordre seront et sont tenu d'aidier et maintenir et deffendre tous les compaignons de l'ordre, et chascun a par soi, contre toutes personnes du monde, a ces despens, selonc son pouoir et l'estat du compaignon, qui de ce auroit mestier, en leur droit et justes queeles, < b > se n'estoit contre l'eglise de Rome,¹⁴⁵ et le roy Loys de Ungrie,¹⁴⁶ ou autre de quoi le dit prince tenist fie u ou eust serement avant [qu'il eust] l'ordre prise. < c > Et encore en ce cas, sera tenu de procurer paiz entre le dit compaignon et son adversaire. < d > Et ce jurera le prince, < e > et de ces vassaux et hommes fere justice.

56. *Comme le prince est tenu de procurer le bien de tous les compaignons et de empechier leur mal.*

< a > [L]e dit prince sera tenu de procurer le bien, honneur et estat de chascun des compaignons a son pouoir, < b > et d'anoncier et faire assavoir a chascun d'eulx toutes [choses]¹⁴⁷ par quoi peust avoir honte, damage ou villannie, si tost come il saura et pourra savoir,¹⁴⁸ < c > et de l'empechier a son pouoir. < d > Et ce jurera le prince.

57. *Comme le prince n'est obligié a nulle chose ce de lui n'est faite mencion.*

[L]e prince n'est ne sera obligié a nul chapistre de l'ordre par serement ce le chapistre ne fesoit mencion especial du dit prince et de son serement.

58. *Comme le prince et les compaignons sont obligié l'un a l'autre. Et premierement come ilz doivent maintenir bonne compaignie perpetuellement.*

[P]remierement, le prince et toz les compaignons ensamble perpetuellement maintendront et tenront bone et leal compaignie et fraternité l'un a l'autre, en touz lieux et toz cas, quel part qui se trouvassent. Et ce jureront tant le prince (f. 10r) comme tous les compaignons.

¹⁴⁵ The kingdom of Sicily was held by its king as a fief of the See of Rome.

¹⁴⁶ Carlo was the ward of King Lajos of Hungary, and had probably sworn an oath of loyalty to him.

¹⁴⁷ T *toute chose*.

¹⁴⁸ For *savoir* T has *bonnement*.

59. *Comme le prince et touz les compaignons se entrederont*¹⁴⁹ *en toutes ma[la]dies et prisons.*

[E]n toutes autres¹⁵⁰ aventures, bonnes et mauveses, le prince et touz les compaignons s'entraideront de tout leur pouvoir, justement, contre tous.¹⁵¹ Et ce jureront le prince et touz les compaignons.¹⁵² Et par especial en toutes¹⁵³ maladies et prisons et pouvretéz et autres merites.¹⁵⁴

60. *Comme l'un est tenu de couvrir la honte de l'autre.*

< a > [L]e prince et tous les compaignons seront et sont tenu de couvrir et abscondre la honte et deshonnour de chascun de lour, ou cas que les chapistres de l'ordre ne commandassent le contraire – car sur toutes choses garderont ce que conmande les chapistrez – mes toute traison ou autre mavestié¹⁵⁵ qui fust contre¹⁵⁶ le prince [faite ou traité, ou contre] aucun des compaignons, ou de la compaignie, qui ne se deust celer nullement. < b > Et en ce cas,¹⁵⁷ chascun le dira et sera tenu de reveler au prince et a la compaignie, ou cas qu'il en peust venir honte ou damage ou villanie au prince, ou aucun des compaignons, ou a la compaignie. Et ce jureront le prince et toz les compaignons.

61. *Comme chascun est tenu de relever le prince et chascun de autre c[h]euz en bataille.*

[S]'il avenoit que aucun des compaignons, et par especial le prince, en aucune bactaille fust abatu et cheu a terre, chascun soit tenu de lui aidier et relever a son pouvoir, se bonnement et sanz trop grant peril de son cors le peut faire.¹⁵⁸ Et ce jureront le prince et tous les compaignons.¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁹ *s'entredront*, fut. 6 of *s'entraider*, give mutual aid.

¹⁵⁰ T om. *autres*.

¹⁵¹ T adds *autres*.

¹⁵² T places this sentence, more logically, at the end of the chapter.

¹⁵³ P *en ta toutes*, the letters *ta* subpunctuated.

¹⁵⁴ *merites*, n. f. pl., punishments; T *necessites*. Cf. St. George, chap. 4, requiring the members to work to secure the release of any captured member; chap. 10a, requiring the members to counsel one another; and chaps. 18a, b and 23a, requiring the members to aid their brothers 'by counsel and favour' against all others, and to promote them in all things against all others. Cf. chap. 118 below, which includes a similar requirement.

¹⁵⁵ *mavestié*, n. f., evil.

¹⁵⁶ So T; P *entre*.

¹⁵⁷ T om. *en ce cas*.

¹⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that the companions, unlike the members of the old Germanic *comitatus*, were required to aid their Prince in battle only if doing so would not endanger their own lives. Cf. St. George, chap. 9.

¹⁵⁹ T inserts three chapters after this one: 64 (= P chap. 64ab), 65 (= P chap. 64c), and 66 (= P chap. 65).

62. *Comme le prince en toutes questions des compaignons est tenu de pourveoir de remede convenable.*

< a > [Q]ue le prince sceust le descort, question ou guerre entre aucuns des compaignons, tost et sanz delay, au conseil des compaignons presens por lors avec lui, y pourverront de remede convenable, tel come bon leur samblera.

< b > Et ce les descordans sont absent, par ces lettres ce que sur leur descort, question ou guerre aura ordené, leur (f. 10v) fera assavoir et mandera le plus tost qu'il pourra¹⁶⁰ bonement.

63. *Comme que de l'ordenance du prince se sentiroit grevé pourra appeller a la court general.*

< a > [E]t ou cas qu'il ne fussent content de l'ordenance du prince sur se, ou aucun des descordans, il leur deffendra par ces lettres,¹⁶¹ sur poine de privation de l'ordre, q[ue] nul de leur ne face chose de nouvel en leur descort, question ou guerre, l'un contre l'autre, soit de fait¹⁶² ou autrement, mes pourront appeller les descordans dessus diz de l'ordenance du prince dessus dite, ou aucun d'eux qui grevé se sentiront de la dite ordenance, devant le prince a la court general de la Trinité. < b > Et lors, au conseil des compaignons, ordenera et determinera du descort, question ou guerre dessus dis.¹⁶³ < c > Et ce qui¹⁶⁴ sera ordené par le prince,¹⁶⁵ tenrront les parties descordans, sanz jamés [en] appeller.¹⁶⁶ < d > Et seront tenu les dites parties de estre presens a la dite court. < e > Et ou cas que l'une des parties ne fust present,¹⁶⁷ se l'autre vieult et requiert le prince en la dite court de justice, sur ce le prince¹⁶⁸ luy fera justice, et determinera la question, au conseil des compaignons, non obstant l'absence de l'autre partie. < f > Et seront tenu tant le present [que l'absent de tenir l'ordenance et sentence du dit prince] sur ce come ce les deus parties fussent present.

64. *Comme nul des compaignons ne batra l'autre, ne metre main sur autre par maltalent.*¹⁶⁹

< a > [S]e par aucune aventure avenoit aucun descort ou paroles injurieuses

¹⁶⁰ P *pōura*. This could be expanded to *pourra*, but the superscript sign seems to have been misplaced.

¹⁶¹ For *par ces lettres*, T has *de bouce sil sont present, ou par ses lettres sil sont absent*.

¹⁶² So T; P *soit deffait*.

¹⁶³ Cf. chap. 78a.

¹⁶⁴ P *quil*.

¹⁶⁵ T adds *au conseil des compaignons en la dicte Court*.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. chap. 78b.

¹⁶⁷ T adds *a la dicte Court*.

¹⁶⁸ T adds *au conseil des compaignons*.

¹⁶⁹ *maltalent*, n. m., ill will (?).

entre aucun des compaignons, nullement [ne]¹⁷⁰ metront main l'un¹⁷¹ sur l'autre, por cause du monde, quelle que soit, se n'estoit en bactaille licite, en quoi convenist l'un estre contre [l'autre], comme en deffendant soi ou son seigneur lige, comme est dit devant,¹⁷² et que l'un fust d'une part et l'autre d'autre d'aventure.¹⁷³ Et ce jureront tous les compaignons.¹⁷⁴ <c> Se entre aucun des compaignons avoit descort, distancion,¹⁷⁵ question,¹⁷⁶ guerre ou haine, touz les autres compaignons, et chascun d'eux, sera et soit tenu de y mettre peiz et acort de tout son poueir.¹⁷⁷ Et ce jureront¹⁷⁸ touz les compaignons.

65. *Comme ilz doivent faire si ne les pouent metre a acort.*

<a> [O]u cas que entre les compaignons descordans ne peussent les autre metre peiz et acort, il deffendront ax (f. 11r) parties discordans, sur poine de privation de l'ordre et devise, qu'il ne facent ne attendent rien l'un contre l'autre, ne en fait ne en paroles, jusques a tant qu'il aient sceue sur leur descort la voulenté du prince. Et lors manderont¹⁷⁹ au dit prince tout leur descort et question, et leur propres noms, por ce que tost y pourvoie de remede convenable. <c> Et qui feroit le contraire sera privé de l'ordre et réputé et punis comme parjuré, et foi mentie. <d> Et le prince, ou cas que la partie offensue de ce l'acusast, et fust trouvé coupable,¹⁸⁰ escripra a tous roys [et] princes de grant estat¹⁸¹ son deffaut, et comme por ce deffaut est privé de l'ordre.

¹⁷⁰ So T; P *uillement*.

¹⁷¹ P *main sur lun*, the word *sur* subpunctuated.

¹⁷² i.e., in chap. 40b (though this is concerned with the Prince).

¹⁷³ T adds *comme peut avenir souvent*.

¹⁷⁴ T ends chap. 64 here, and inserts as the title to chap. 65 (= P chap. 64c) *Comme chascun est tenu de metre pais entre tous les compaignons descordans*.

¹⁷⁵ *distancion*, n. f., strain; T *dissention*.

¹⁷⁶ P *distancion gue question*, the letters *gue* struck out.

¹⁷⁷ T adds *et le prince aussi*.

¹⁷⁸ T adds *le prince et*.

¹⁷⁹ i.e., the disputants – a change of subject. Ords. 64c and 65a are more closely related to one another than to the immediately preceding and following ordinances, and should probably have been combined in a separate chapter.

¹⁸⁰ The wording here is obscure, but these two clauses probably mean '... in the case that the offended party (i.e., the disputant who is attacked by the other disputant) accuses him (i.e., accuses the attacker of attacking him), and he (again the attacker) is found guilty (of this offense)'

¹⁸¹ P *qñt est*. I have expanded this on the basis of chap. 68d. For the phrase *roys ... estat*, T has *roys princes et haus seigneurs*.

66. *Comme qui seroit contre la deffense dessus dite, et la partie offendue fust contente du malfateur, il est en la voulenté du prince de le priver de l'ordre ou non.*

[Q]ue ou cas que la partie offendue en ce cas dessus dit fust contente du malfateur depuis la deffense fait, comme dit est, et de ce ne l'acusast, il sera en l'arbitre¹⁸² du prince de priver de l'ordre celui offendant¹⁸³ ou de non priver.¹⁸⁴

67. *Comme toutes choses secrees de l'ordre chascun tenra secret.*

[L]e prince et tous les compaignons sont et seront tenu de celer et tenir secret toutes les choses secreez de l'ordre et de la compaignie,¹⁸⁵ et de non reveler a nul estrange du monde qui ne fust de la compaignie.¹⁸⁶ Et ce jureront¹⁸⁷ touz les compaignons.¹⁸⁸

68. *Comme chascun est tenu de reveler toz traitres et traisons et de les acuser.*

< a > [L]e prince et tous les compaignons, ou cas qu'il sceussent et venist a la congnoissance de leur aucune traison, pourpensee ou fait ou traité par aucun des compaignons, contre le prince, ou contre aucun des compaignons, ou de la compaignie, comme qu'il fust, le plus tost qu'il pourront le feront et notefieront a celui contre qui la dite traison vourroit et devroit estre faite et pourpensee.¹⁸⁹

< b > Et aussi le feront assavoir au prince, pour qu'il luy pourvoie de remede.¹⁹⁰ < c > Et lors, sceue la traison et le traiteur proué, le prince cellui traître privera de l'ordre et devise, et sera declarey (f. 11v) traître parjuréz et foy mentie. < d > Et ce sera escript par le dit prince a tous roys et princes de grant

¹⁸² T *la voulente.*

¹⁸³ T *malfateur.*

¹⁸⁴ The significance of this whole chapter is obscure, but in the light of what has been made of chap. 65d, it would appear to mean that if a disputant who accuses the other party to the dispute of doing something against him before the Prince has arbitrated the dispute in question accepts what the accused disputant has to say to the Prince in defense of his actions (if anything), the Prince is not bound to deprive the accused party.

¹⁸⁵ T adds *touchant le prince ou autre de la compaignie.*

¹⁸⁶ T om. *qui ne fust de la compaignie.*

¹⁸⁷ T adds *le prince et.*

¹⁸⁸ There is no suggestion here as to what these *choses secreez* might be, but they probably included such things as the shameful deeds of the companions referred to in chap. 60a. Cf. Band, Red. A, chap. 22c, which requires the knights of that Order to keep all of the ordinances of that Order secret.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. chap. 60b, requiring the companions to reveal to the Order all acts of treason committed by other companions against one another.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. chap. 60b, requiring the companions to inform the Prince of all acts of treason committed by companions.

estat,¹⁹¹ et comment et por quoi il est privé de l'ordre. <e> Et aussi se aucun des compaignons contre autre qui ne fust de la compaignie, quel qui fust, fesoit traison, si tost que le prince le saura et sera enformé sur se, de verité¹⁹² il privera de l'ordre comme dit est. <f> Et chascun des compaignons sera et soit tenu de accuser et reveler au prince tous traitres et toutes traisons, quelz qu'il soient, et contre qui il soient [faites ou pourpensees], soit de la compaignie ou non. Et ce jureront le prince et tous les compaignons.¹⁹³

69. *De tenir la court et quant.*¹⁹⁴

<a> [P]remierement, le jour de la Sainte Trinité, qui est le octave de la Pentecoste, chascun an se tenra court general, c'est assavoir de tous les compaignons de l'ordre. Et dura celle court huit jours devant la dite feste de la Trinité et aussi huit jours après la feste de la Trinité dessus dite.¹⁹⁵

70. *Comme tous les compaignons sont tenu de venir a ceste court.*

<a> [T]ous les compaignons de l'ordre seront et sont tenu de venir a la dite court de la Trinité, quel que part qu'il soient, se maladie ou autre juste cause ne les excusoit, <c> ou ce il n'avoient licence du prince de non venir a celle court, par ces lettres ou de bouce.¹⁹⁶

71. *Comme en ceste court se crierà ou l'autre court general se tenra.*

<a> [L]a dite court seant, le prince fera crier et assavoir publiquement en la dite court le royaume ou païs ou quel l'autre court general¹⁹⁷ prochain venant se tenra l'an revolu. Et es festes de Pasques devant la dite court prochain venant dessus dite, fera crier pupliquement en la mestre cité ou ville du dit roiaulme ou païs ou ce doit tenir la dite court, et fera nommer et crier la cité, ville ou chastel ou se tenra la dite court prochaine general.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ For *de grant estat*, T has *et haus seigneurs*.

¹⁹² So T; P *ancrite*, evidently a misreading, as this form is unattested.

¹⁹³ It is unclear whether this oath pertains only to this ordinance (68f) or to the whole chapter.

¹⁹⁴ This is clearly both the heading of the fifth section and the title of this chapter.

¹⁹⁵ It is not clear from this whether the feast of Trinity itself is included in either or both of these eight-day periods, but in all likelihood it was meant to be included in both. Thus the General Court would have begun on the day of Pentecost itself (the principal feast of the Order of the Knot) and continued for fifteen (rather than sixteen or seventeen) days until the evening of the first Sunday after Trinity.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Knot, chap. 6a, setting forth the obligation of the companions of that Order to attend the annual feast.

¹⁹⁷ P *court sera general*, the word *sera* subpunctuated.

¹⁹⁸ T om. *et fera nommer ... general*. It would appear that Carlo expected to be making frequent visits to his territories outside of Italy, all of which had yet to be reconquered when the

72. *Come chascun qui justement fust enpeschié est tenu de y mander un message.*¹⁹⁹

(f. 12r) [S]e aucun des compaignons deffailloit de venir a la dite feste et court, et sur ce n'eust licence du dit prince comme dit est, et eust juste cause pour quoi il ne peust venir a la dite court, il sera et soit tenu de mander²⁰⁰ y message convenable, selonc son estat, portant ces lettres²⁰¹ contenans la cause pour quoi il ne peust venir²⁰² en soy excusant, toutes fois se bonnement le pouent fere.

73. *Conbien paiera chascun pour le premier deffaut.*

< a > [S]e aucun des compaignons qui n'eust licence de [non] venir a la dite court par le prince, comme dit est, deffailloit de y venir, et ne mandast pour excuser personne convenable, se bonnement le pouoit²⁰³ faire, comme dit est devant, se il estoit roy, pour le premier deffaut poiera et sera tenu de donner la value de cent florins d'or a la chapelle de l'ordre, < b > les quelx seront despenduz au profit de la chapelle.²⁰⁴ Et aussi tout ce qui por ce deffaut par autres de l'ordre se poiera sera ainssi despendu comme est dit. < c > Et se il estoit duc ou prince de grant estat,²⁰⁵ por tel deffaut poiera quatre-vint florins. < d > S'il estoit conte, il poiera soissante florins; < e > s'il estoit baron, poiera quarante florins; < f > et se il estoit simple chevalier, poiera vint florins.

74. *Conbien poiera chascun por le secont deffaut.*

[P]our le secont deffaut, c'est asavoir se aucun defailloit encore a l'autre court de non y venir, et eust failli a l'autre devant desrain²⁰⁶ passé, par tel maniere come dessus est dit, il poiera tant comme pour le premier deffaut, selonc son estat, et encore ne portera d'un an la devise²⁰⁷ [et] por cellui an perdra son siege. Mes l'an conpli, si viennent a la court et poie son deffaut, lui sera la devise et son siege restitué comme devant.

statutes were drawn up, and did not wish to tie himself down by an annual meeting in a fixed location. He was the first to deal with this problem, later dealt with in the statutes of the Golden Fleece (chap. 22a) and St. Michael (chap. 31a).

¹⁹⁹ *message*, n. m., messenger.

²⁰⁰ *P tenu de de mander*.

²⁰¹ T om. *selonc son estat, portant ces lettres*.

²⁰² P *peust il venir*, the word *il* struck out.

²⁰³ So T; P *pouvoir*.

²⁰⁴ T adds *cest assavoir en calices vestemens ou autres choses necessaires pour la dicte chapelle*.

²⁰⁵ For *de grant estat*, T has *ou seigneur de haut estat*.

²⁰⁶ *desrain*, adv., last. T om. *devant desrain*.

²⁰⁷ T adds *de lordre*.

75. *Combien il poiera por le tiers deffaut.*

< a > [P]our le tiers deffaut de non venir a la court comme est dit devant, chascun ainssi deffaillant perdra du tout l'ordre et devise, sanz jamés la recevoir,²⁰⁸ et sera par le prince au tiers deffaut la court (f. 12v) seant privé de l'ordre et compaignie. < b > Et ce escripra le dit prince a touz roys et princez²⁰⁹ de grant estat, et comment et pourquoi il est privé de l'ordre.

76. *Bien et loiaument se doit tenir la court.*

[L]e prince avec les compaignons presens a la court bien et loialment a l'onnour et profit du dit prince et de la compaignie tenront la dite court a leur poueir.

77. *[Comme les compaignons termineront tous descors entre eulz.]*²¹⁰

< a > [P]remierement, tous descors, questions, guerres et haines qui fussent entre aucuns des compaignons, metront a fin et termineront, et feront et metront peiz entre leur a leur poueir. < b > Et ou cas qu'il ne peussent mettre paiz et acort entre les descordans, le prince deffendra aux deus parties sur poine de privacion de l'ordre qu'il ne facent l'un contre l'autre chose nulle de fait [ou autrement], mais procedent et puissent proceder sur²¹¹ leur descort, question ou guerre devant leur juge et seignour ordinaire come raison veult.²¹² < c > Et qui autrement le fera sera privé de l'ordre.²¹³

78. *Comme en cest cort le prince metra a fin toutes chouses mises en son ordenance.*²¹⁴

< a > [T]outes appellations des compaignons ou questions mises en l'ordenance du prince au conseil des compaignons, terminera et metra a fin le prince, seant la dite court.²¹⁵ < b > Et de son ordenance et sentence sur ce dessus dit ne pourra jamés nul appeler ne metre devant autre juge depuis

²⁰⁸ T *recover*.

²⁰⁹ T adds *et seigneurs*.

²¹⁰ Both scribes omitted the title of this chapter, presumably because it was missing in the original. To fill the gap I have supplied a plausible replacement, based on the wording of the chapter itself.

²¹¹ P *puissant proceder en contre sur*, the words *en contre* subpunctuated.

²¹² Cf. chap. 63c to the contrary.

²¹³ Cf. chap. 92, setting forth procedures for the settlement of disputes among the companions. Cf. also St. George, chap. 16c, requiring the members to settle all disputes among themselves.

²¹⁴ Final letters of *ordenance* unclear in P.

²¹⁵ Cf. chap. 63a, b.

que en l'ordenance du prince se sera mis, et le prince sur ce aura donné sentence en la dite court.²¹⁶ < c > Et qui autrement le fera sera privé de l'ordre.²¹⁷

79. *Comme le prince pourra faire autres chapistres et ajuster²¹⁸ a ces presens et aussi anichiller de ceux devant fait.*

[A] la dite court le prince, ou cas que tous les compagnons de l'ordre fussent present, ou que il eust esté crié en l'autre court general precedent que nouviaux chapistres et ordenances le prince voudroit faire, ou anichiller aucuns devant fait, a la (f. 13r) court prochain venant, et non autrement, pourra par la volenté et [a] cort des compagnons, ou des deus pars au moins, fere nouvialx chapitres et ordenances, et aussi anichiller et muer des chapitres devant fait et ordené.²¹⁹

80. *Comme a tous chapistres fait de nouvel chascun sera tenu come aux premiers.*

< a > [E]t aux chapistres et ordenances ainssi faites a la dite court comme dit est, et au contenu en ces chapistres et ordenances, seront tenu tous les compagnons de l'ordre selon la forme et tenor des dessus diz chapistres et ordenances, aussi come au premiers chapistres devant fait. < b > Et aussi seront absoubz des chapistres anichillés²²⁰ du tout se aucun fust.

81. *Comme en ceste court tous deffailans seront puniz selon leur deffaut.*

< a > [E]n ceste court ceulx qui auront fait contre les chapistres, et le contenu de aucun d'eulz, seront puni selon l'ordre et les chapistres, ainssi et par tel maniere comme commandent les chapistres et ordenances de l'ordre. < b > Et qui aura fait [chose] ²²¹ pour quoy il soit privé ou doye estre privé, lors en celle court, s'il est devant privé,²²² sera denoncié privé de l'ordre. < c > Et s'il doit estre privé, lors sera privé et denoncié privé publiquement en la dite court, selon les chapistres et ordenances de l'ordre.²²³

²¹⁶ Cf. chap. 63c.

²¹⁷ Cf. St. George, chap. 16d, providing that any member who refused to accept the Order's judgements was to be expelled.

²¹⁸ P *et aiou aiuster*, the letters *aiou* subpunctuated.

²¹⁹ Cf. Knot, chap. 15c, d, dealing with the amendment of the statutes.

²²⁰ P *anichiller*; T *adnichiles*.

²²¹ T also lacks this word, but the syntax seems to require it.

²²² Presumably this means 'deprived since the last General Court'.

²²³ Cf. Knot, chap. 11, setting forth the penalties for shameful conduct.

82. *Comme le jour de la Trinité le prince et tous les compaignons oïront la grant messe sollempnement.*²²⁴

< a > [C]elle court seant le jour de la Sainte Trinité, le prince et tous les compaignons oïront la grant messe chantee, et les vespres aussi, en une eglise la quelle vourra le prince a ce eslire, se la court ne se tenoit ou lieu [ou] fust la chappelle de l'ordre. < b > Car [lors] en la dite chappelle oïroient le dit service. Et sera en l'ordenance et volenté [du dit prince] de donner²²⁵ lieu au dit service.²²⁶

83. *Comme le prince et tous les compaignons ce jour seront vestu.*

< a > [C]e jour de la Trinité le prince et chascuns des compaignons seront vestu par telle maniere. Premièrement, le gippon²²⁷ ou cote courte dessouz le sercot sera de pers.²²⁸ Le sercot (qui en France est appellé [f. 13v] villain)²²⁹ sera de blanc, lonc jusques a mie jambe, et large asséz, et chevit²³⁰ dessus d'une large courroie²³¹ d'argent doree. Les chaussez seront sollees [et vermeilles], le mantiau²³² et le chaperon²³³ seront vermel.²³⁴ Et cest habit tous porteront²³⁵ ce jour

²²⁴ Cf. Knot, chap. 7a, prescribing the form of the annual service.

²²⁵ T adds *a chascun*.

²²⁶ The significance of the last sentence of this chapter is unclear, even when emended on the basis of T. It probably means that the Prince was to provide a place for each companion to sit (and perhaps to sleep) wherever the Order met.

²²⁷ The *gippon* or *jupon* was a short, close-fitting, waisted, and often padded tunic worn directly over the shirt. It usually had tight, full-length sleeves, and a low, round neck. When worn with a *cote-hardie* or supertunic only the lower part of its sleeves was visible.

²²⁸ T adds *a durin. pers* (adj., sea-green) was an unusual colour for a formal court vestment, and was probably chosen to allude to the sea upon which the Ship of the Order was metaphorically to sail.

²²⁹ By the terms *sercot* and *villain* Carlo probably meant to designate the garment that was more commonly known in France in this period as a *cote-hardie*, a more tailored and closely-fitting version of the traditional *surcote*, worn over the coeval *gippon*. (Cf. Knot, chap. 7, where the *gippon* and *cote-hardie* depicted in the marginal illustration of the manuscript are designated by the traditional terms *cote* and *seurcote*). The contemporary *cote-hardie* was usually knee-length (as here) or shorter, waisted like the *gippon*, and had close-fitting, elbow-length sleeves that commonly terminated in long strips of cloth hanging from the point of the elbow to the mid-thigh or below.

²³⁰ *chevit*, p. p. (or ps. ind. 3) of *chevir*, finish.

²³¹ *courroie*, n. f., decorative ribbon or band. For *large courroie*, 'wide ribbon', T has *estroite cheinture*, 'narrow belt'.

²³² The *mantiau* or mantle was in this period a full-length cloak cut on a circular plan, and worn with the opening either at the front (as depicted in the half-page miniature in T, fol. 1r) or on the right side. After about 1350 mantles were only worn on very formal occasions, and the mantle came to be the characteristic element of the formal habits of princes, barons, judges, and knights of both religious and (most) monarchical orders. Like the mantle of the knights of the Ship, secular mantles of dignity in the fourteenth century were usually made of red cloth (normally scarlet wool) and were lined in white or grey fur (ermine, miniver, or vair).

²³³ The *chaperon* was in this period a hood with an attached shoulder-cape that hung to mid-

dessus dit, et non plus.²³⁶ Au dyner seront ainssi vestu fors de mantel et de chaperon, qui n'aront pas, mes en lieu de chaperon aura chascun un chapellet de flour ou de verdure.²³⁷ <c> Et le dit jour, ce aucun cas avenoit qu'il s'armast et feist fait d'armes, il sera obligié a soi vestir par tel maniere comme dit est, mais s'armera a sa voulenté.

84. *Comme en ceste cort por le profit et honnour de la compaignie chascun est de dire ce que lui samblera bon et expedient.*

<a> [E]n ceste court le prince, au conseil et voulenté et aide des compaignons, toutes chouses expediens et neccessairez por l'onnour, estat et profit de la compaignie ordeneront et metront a effet, et en eure ce par eulz ordené d'estre fait.²³⁸ Et chascun en celle court sera tenu par son serement de annoncer et dire au prince ce que lui²³⁹ samblera bon, expedient ou neccessaire por l'onnour, profit et estat de la compaignie, [pour que la dicte

chest, and a long tubular continuation of the crown (in English called a 'liripipe') that when the hood was worn on the head in the natural way hung down the back as far as the knees. At about the time the Order was founded a new way of wearing the *chaperon* was coming into fashion, in which it took on the appearance of a turban-like hat, but it is unlikely that the knights of the Ship were meant to wear their *chaperon* in this still novel and decidedly *outré* manner. It is more likely that it was meant to be worn in the traditional fashion, with the shoulder-cape covering the upper part of the mantle. In the miniature in T, fol. 1r, the artist appears to have conflated the *chaperon* with the mantle, for the Prince is depicted with his head half-covered with a hood that seems to be attached directly to the mantle rather than to a separate shoulder-cape.

²³⁴ *vermel*, *vermeille*, adj., red (not specifically 'vermilion').

²³⁵ T *Et cestuy habit porteront tous les compaignons et le prince aussi.*

²³⁶ The costume here described is quite different from that of the knights of the Knot (described in Knot, chap. 7d), which was entirely white and lacked a mantle, but it is almost identical to that of the knights of the Star (described in Star, ord. 2b): of the various articles of clothing mentioned, only the *gippon* differed in colour, that of the Star being red while that of the Ship was sea-green. The costume of the Star in its turn may have been based upon the costume described by the anonymous author of the early thirteenth-century poem *L'ordene de Chevalerie* (ed. Keith Busby, *Raoul de Houdenc. Le roman des eles; The Anonymous Ordene de Chevalerie* [Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 1983], pp. 105-19, especially pp. 108-11) as that which ought to be worn by a squire about to receive the accolade of knighthood. A similar costume was assigned to squires about to be knighted by Geoffroy de Charny, one of the founder knights of the Star, in his *Livre de chevalerie* (ed. as a sort of appendix in Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Œuvres de Froissart, Chroniques* 1.3 [Brussels, 1873], pp. 462-533, especially 514-15), composed between 1352 and 1356. Carlo may well have been familiar with both of these works, which assign symbolic significance to the colours of the vestments described.

²³⁷ Cf. Knot, chap. 14c, which declares that the knights of the Order admitted to the table of honour at the annual banquet were to be distinguished in the ancient Roman fashion with a wreath of laurel leaves.

²³⁸ Cf. Knot, chap. 15a, requiring that the Prince hold an annual parliament, and chap. 79 above, on additions to the statutes.

²³⁹ *P ce quil*. I have emended this on the basis of the chapter title.

compagnie] puisse touz jours meillourer et estre essaucié, et aussi estre gardé de damage, deshonnour et villainie.²⁴⁰

85. *Comme en ceste court chascun pourra accuser tout autre.*

< a > [C]hascun des compaignons en ceste court pourra accuser tout compaignon de l'ordre qui en aucune maniere luy eust fait tort, < b > et le prince a chascun sera tenu de faire justice selon son pouer, au conseil des compaignons.

86. *Comme en ceste court touz ceulz qui auront failli seront puny.*

< a > [E]n ceste court tout compaignon qui aura fait contre tel deffaut por quoi il doie estre puni ou privéz de [l'ordre],²⁴¹ sera par le prince au conseil des compaignons puny ou privéz, aussi come son deffaut requiert et l'ordre commande. < b > Et ce pourra faire le prince sanz les compaignons (se n'estoit chose grant, pour quoy deust estre requis le conseil des compaignons),²⁴² toutes foiz qu'il venra a sa cognoissance.²⁴³

87. *Comme en ceste court qui devant aura esté [privé de l'ordre se crierá.]*²⁴⁴

(f. 14r) [T]out compaignon qui por son deffaut aura esté privé de l'ordre en ceste court, se crierá [et] manifestera come il est privé de l'ordre, et que tous les compaignons sont absoulz de touz seremenz et compaignie²⁴⁵ qu'il avoient eue a celluy devant, [et] que d'ore en avant nul ne le tiengne pour compaignon.

88. *Comme en ceste court chascun contera ses aventures.*

< a > [T]ouz les compaignons, et chascun a par soy, soit et sera tenu de conter et dire au prince [et] aux²⁴⁶ compaignons a ceste court, toutes les aven[tures] notables, bonnes et mauveses, qui en cel an lui seront, bien et loialment, sanz mentir de rien, tant d'armes comme autrement. < b > Et aussi ou cas que aucun des compaignons sceust les aventures d'un autre qui ne fust

²⁴⁰ Cf. Knot, chap. 1a, requiring the knights to give counsel to the Prince, and 15b, requiring them to present at the annual parliament of the Order their ideas for improving the Order.

²⁴¹ T adds *se devant na este puny ou prive*.

²⁴² P *des 9paignons des 9paignons*.

²⁴³ Cf. Knot, chap. 11, setting forth the penalties for shameful conduct, and chap. 81b above, stating by implication the right of the Prince to punish companions between meetings of the Court.

²⁴⁴ The second half of this title was omitted by the scribe of P, probably because the first half fell at the very end of the page.

²⁴⁵ *compaignie*, n. f., here 'companionship' rather than 'company'.

²⁴⁶ P *des*; T *en la presence des*.

present a la court, ou qui dire ne les vousist, por honte ou aultrement, il soit et sera tenu de les dire et conter bien et loiaulment come les siennes.²⁴⁷ < c > Et se aucun estoit qui n'eust esté a la court precedent, et venist a ceste, il dira toutes les aventures qui en deus ans luy seront avenues, < d > se n'estoit d'amours.²⁴⁸ < e > Et toutes foiz que aucun des compaignons de l'ordre venra a la presence du prince sanz attendre autre court, pourra dire et conter toutes ces aventures comme dit est devant.²⁴⁹

89. *Comme en ceste ordre seront deus livrez et quielz.*

< a > [E]n ceste ordre seront deus livrez: l'un sera pour mettre en escript, et ou quel se mettront en escript, toutes les aventures bonnes et mauveses, ainssi comme chascun des compaignons les aura dites et contees, sanz faire autre inquisicion.²⁵⁰ Et cest livre sera apellé *Le livre et romans des preuz*. < b > L'autre livre sera apellé *Le romans de la nef*. Et en celui romanz seront mis en escript pour perpetuel memoire toutes les notables aventures qui seront avenues et qui auront fait les compaignons, ou aucun d'eulz, par tel maniere qui premierement [ont esté] ²⁵¹ es[crip]tes ou *Livre des preuz*.²⁵² < c > Le prince et les compaignons s'enformeront s'il est ainssi come il est ou dit *Livre des preuz* escript. Et [se] ainssi le treuvent por verité et de certain faite sur ce bonne et vraie inquisicion, le prince fera ces aventures, telles come [pour] verité les aura trouvees, translater du dit *Livre des preuz* el *Romainz de la nef*, bien et loialment, sanz favour nulle ne haine, quelle que soit, par les plus belles paroles (f. 14v) que on pourra, toutes foiz, c'est la substance du fait et verité non changié ne muee aucunement. < d > Et nullement ne se metront en escript en cestui *Romans de la nef* ce n'est par le commandement du prince et des compaignons, et en la mestre court de la Trinité. < e > Mais ou *Livre des preus*, toutes foiz²⁵³ que aucun des compaignons devant le prince contera et dira ses aventures, par entencion qu'il soient mis ou dit *Livre des preuz*, il seront escriptes ou dit livre ainssi comme dit est, sanz plus attendre.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ T *sceura*.

²⁴⁸ This exception presumably applies to ords. a and b as well.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Knot, chap. 8a, requiring the companions of that Order to give a report in writing of their annual adventures to the clerks of the Order's chapel.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Knot, chap. 8b, stating that the companions' deeds were to be submitted by the clerks who had recorded them to the Prince and his council, presumably for their approval.

²⁵¹ Though lacking in both P and T, these words are clearly required by the syntax.

²⁵² Cf. Knot, chap. 8c, stating that the deeds of the companions of that Order were to be recorded permanently in a book to be called *Le livre des avenemens aus chevaliers de la Compaignie du Saint Esperit au Droit Desir*. The Order of the Star may have maintained (or been intended to maintain) a similar book, and a comparable book of adventures was later maintained by the Order of the Golden Fleece (chap. O.13).

²⁵³ P *foiz contera rorra que*, the second and third words subpunctuated.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Knot, chap. 8a.

90. *Comme seront gardez ces deus livre.*

< a > [C]es deus livrez fera garder le prince par quelque personne notable [a ce eslire] qui voudra. < b > L'un, c'est assavoir le *Livre des preuz*, fera touz jours [avec soy] porter le dit prince quel part qu'il voist. < c > L'autre, *Romans de la nef*, fera garder ou il vourra, < d > mes toutes fois a la mestre [court] le fera tous jours apporter.²⁵⁵

91. *Comme sera puni qui mentiront et tro[u]ant²⁵⁶ ces aventurez.*

< a > [S]e aucun contoit²⁵⁷ ces aventures, et soient mises en escript ou dit *Livre des preuz*, et autrement se trouvoit qu'il n'eust dit et conté vrais, soit de ce,²⁵⁸ ou de partie trouvé manchongier,²⁵⁹ son deffaut et manchonge sera crie en la court general par les heraus. < b > Et ne pourtera l'ord[r]e²⁶⁰ plus jusques a tant qu'il ait garnie la nef d'aucunes des²⁶¹ choses qui y faillent, excepté des cordes.²⁶²

92. *Comme tous compaignons descordans leur descort pourront mectre en l'ordenance du prince.*

< a > [S]e entre aucun des compaignons avoit et estoit descort ou question, quelle que fust, de l'acort et volenté des deus parties pourront mettre leur question ou descort, quel qu'il soit, en l'ordenance du prince. < b > Et le prince lors pourra et devra metre acort et paiz entre leur, et determinera et ordenera sur ce, ainssi comme verra estre a faire. < c > Et son ordenance en cest cas sera tenue pour sentence diffinitive, de la quelle en cest cas ne pourra nul apeller, ne devant autre faire convenir, puis que par le prince de la volenté des deus parties aura estey jugé et ordené.²⁶³

²⁵⁵ Cf. chap. 152, which states that both books were to be kept in the chapel. Perhaps there were to be two copies of each?

²⁵⁶ *tro[u]ant*, ps. p. of *trover*, recount; T *contant*.

²⁵⁷ P *aucun 9toit cōtoitort*, the second word written above the line and inserted with a caret, the letters *cōtoitort* subpunctuated.

²⁵⁸ For *vrais soit de ce*, T has *faite sur ce bonne et vraie information et fust du tout*.

²⁵⁹ *manchongier*, v. tr., tell a falsehood, lie.

²⁶⁰ This is the clearest instance of the word *ordre* being used to designate the Order's badge.

²⁶¹ P *ces*.

²⁶² The wording here is unclear, but it probably means 'garnished with one of the things with which the Ship badge could be augmented'.

²⁶³ T adds *par le dit prince*. This chapter has clearly been misplaced; it would logically follow chap. 77.

93. *Comme chascun est tenu de porter la devise.*²⁶⁴

[C]hascun²⁶⁵ des compaignons de l'ordre soit et sera tenu de porter la devise de l'ordre tous les jours de l'an, c'est asavoir la nef.²⁶⁶ (f. 15r)

94. *Quel paine aura qui deffaudra.*

< a > [E]t se aucun par aventure deffailloit de ce faire, pour chascun jour qui deffaudroit de porter la dite ordre et devise, paiera un florin d'or, < b > lequel florin sera destribuéz et donné pour l'ame des compaignons trespaséz de l'ordre, et pour le salut des vis.²⁶⁷ < c > Et sera baillié a l'aumosnier de la chapelle, quant elle sera faite et fondee. < d > Et jusques a tant qu'elle soit fondee, sera un deputé par le prince a ce faire.

95. *Comme plus legierement sera puny qui confessera son deffaut de bonne volenté [que par contraire].*

[S]e aucun des compaignons par aventure eust failli et fait contre l'ord[r]e et chapistres d'icelle, ou contre aucun d'eulz, et por ce deffaut fust obligié de porter paine, quelle quel soit, et son deffaut publiquement au prince devant tous les compaignons en la court general estans, sanz contrainte [et accusation de autrui, confessast et cogneust] de sa pure volenté, le prince, au conseil des compaignons, la poine qu'il deust porter et avoir pour ce deffaut selonc les chapistrez et ordenance de l'ordre, pourra muer en autre poine, et aussi aminis[t]ier²⁶⁸ de celle poine, ainssi comme bon leur semblera. Car por ce que de sa volenté, sanz contrainte, confesse son deffaut, l'en ly doit plus de legier pardonner.

96. *Comme chascun est tenu d'acuser les deffaillans.*

< a > [C]hascun des compaignons, et le prince aussi, soit et sera tenu de reveler, accuser et denoncier touz ceulz de l'ordre qu'il saura avoir failly et fait deffaut contre l'ordre, ou contre aucun des chapistrez ou ordenan[ces] d'ycelle, au dit prince, la court de la Trinité seant. < b > Et ne lessera nul d'acuser l'autre pour amour ne favour qu'il ait a lui,²⁶⁹ ne aussi pour haine ne rancour ne accusera autrui.

²⁶⁴ Both this and the next chapter, constituting subsection V.G, have been misplaced in this section, since they have nothing to do with the annual General Court.

²⁶⁵ T *le prince et chascun*.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Pr d, in which the same rule is stated, and Knot, chap. 2b.

²⁶⁷ *vis* (i.e., *vifs*), adj. m. pl., living.

²⁶⁸ T *le pardonner*.

²⁶⁹ Presumably this means: 'Let no one refrain from accusing another out of love etc.'

97. *Comme sera puni qui faussement autrui accusera.*

< a > [S]e²⁷⁰ par aventure estoit que aucuns des compaignons accusast aucun de ses compaignons faussement de aucun forfait et deffaut contre l'ordre et chapistres d'ycelle, sceue et conneu la verité, comment faussement et malvaisement est, et aura esté accusé par aucun des compaignons come dit est, le prince, la court seant, au conseil des compaignons, privera de l'ordre et compaignie celui qui faussement aura son compaignon accusé. < b > Et se criera en la dite court comme il est privé de l'ordre, et pour quoy.²⁷¹ < c > Et aussi l'escrif(f. 15v)ra le prince a touz rois et princes de grant estat.²⁷²

98. *Comme sera puny qui son deffaut ne vourra confesser.*

[S]e aucun estoit par aucun de ses compaignons vraiment accusé de aucun deffaut qu'il eust fait contre l'ordre ou aucun des chapistres,²⁷³ et le neast, et ne vousist confesser,²⁷⁴ sceue la verité de ce deffaut et prouvé contre luy, le prince le punira selonc ce que commandent les chapistres de l'ordre, sanz nulle misericorde.

99. *De tenir la court en l'absence [du prince. Comme le prince en son absence] fera lieutenant por tenir la court.*

[O]u cas que le prince ne peust estre en personne a la court general p[our la] tenir, il soit et sera tenu de y mander et ordener ou deus, ou trois, ou tant comme il vourra, de lieutenans por la dite court tenir.

100. *Comme les lieustenanx tenrront la court.*

< a > [O]u conseil des compaignons, les lieutenanz ordenés par le prince pour la court tenir la tenrront bien et loialment, a l'onnour et profit du prince et de la compaignie. < b > Et ce jureront les diz lieutenans faiz par le prince, toutes foiz que par le dit prince seront fait et mandé lieutenans a ce faire. < c > Et aussi jureront de non excéder leur mandement et poissance en nul cas du monde, mes tenrront la court ainssi et par tel maniere comme les chapistres de l'ordre veullent et commandent, sanz faillir.

²⁷⁰ P *E aucun par*. The scribe was probably misled by the first words of the immediately preceding chapter.

²⁷¹ Cf. chap. 81b, prescribing the denunciation at court of companions 'deprived' of the Order between meetings.

²⁷² Cf. chap. 75b, requiring the Prince to inform other princes of all 'deprivations' and to explain the reasons for them.

²⁷³ P *chaspistres*.

²⁷⁴ P *confessor*.

101. *Comme seront puni s'il fessoient oultre leur mandement et poissance.*

[S]e par aventure vouloient et fesoient oultre leur pouoir les lieutenanz du dit prince en tenant la dite court, le prince les punira a sa volenté selon la qualité du forfait.

102. *Que pourront faire les lieutenans.*

< a > [L]es lieutenans dessus dis, au conseil des compaignons, pourront toutes chouses faire que le prince pourroit s'il [au] lieu²⁷⁵ estoit present (f. 16r) en la dite court, exceptéz ce qui s'ensuient.²⁷⁶ < b > Premièrement, les lieutenans ne pourront nul nouviel compaignon recevoir en l'ordre, ne la mander a nul absent. < c > Et ne pourront faire chapistres noviaux, ne anichiller aucun des premiers chapistres.

103. *Des lieutenanz.*

< a > [I]lz ne pourront faire autre chose en la dite court fors seulement traitier avec les compaignons du bien, honnour, estat et profit de l'ordre et compaignie. < b > Mes toutes foiz ne pourront sur ce faire status ne ordenances sanz la volenté et acort du prince.²⁷⁷ < c > Et ou cas qu'il semblast bon et expedient de²⁷⁸ ordener et faire aucuns estatus aux lieutenans et aux compaignons presenz a celle court, ainssi comme il auront fait et delibéré, sur ce manderont et escriperont au prince. < d > Et lors le prince, au conseil des compaignons presens avec luy, pourra ce que ces lieutenans auront fait et luy mandé confermer. < e > Et s'il le confirme, vaudra tant comme s'il eust estey fait en la court par le dit prince present. < f > Et se au dit prince ne plaist a confermer²⁷⁹ ce que par ces lieutenans aura esté fait et mandé comme dit est, nullement ne vaura ne sera de value. Ainz pourra le dit prince anichiller a sa volenté.

104. *Comme de toutes ordenances et sentences donnees et faites par les lieutenans chascun pourra apeller.*²⁸⁰

[O]u cas que par les lieutenans fust mis paiz et acort entre aucuns des compaignons en la dite court, ou fust par eulz ordené sur leur descort, et

²⁷⁵ T *sil y estoit*.

²⁷⁶ T ends the chapter here, and inserts *Des lieutenans* as the title of T chap. 104A (= P chaps. 102b and 103). For some reason Pivano chose not to give a number to the latter chapter; as it follows chap. 104, I have called it 104A.

²⁷⁷ Cf. chap. 102c, which forbids them absolutely to do this.

²⁷⁸ P *des*.

²⁷⁹ P *conformer*.

²⁸⁰ Though common to both manuscripts, this title is not really appropriate for this chapter, which is concerned not with the right of appeal, but with the finality of sentences that are not

nul d'eulz n'apellast [de leur ordenance], ce qu'il auront fait sur ce et ordené vaudra perpetuellement, comme se par le prince fust fait, se par eulz, ou aucun d'eux, ne fust appellé au prince.

105. *Comme de toutes sentences et ordenances faites par les lieutenans chascun pourra apeller.*

< a > [D]e toute ordenance, sentence ou autre chouses faite en la dite court par les lieutenans pourra chascun appeller au prince. < b > Et le dit prince, veue et sceue l'apellacion, au conseil des compaignons terminera et metra a fin.

106. *Comme il tenrront la court aussi come ce le prince y fust present.*

< a > [I]lz tenrront la court par telle maniere come se le prince fust present, et feront le service et ce vestiront et toutes autres choses [feront] comme ce le (f. 16v) prince i²⁸¹ fust present, < b > excepté que nul ne serra ou lieu du prince, mes au secont lieu seront ces lieutenans.

107. *Comme les lieutenans ordeneront en celle court ou [et] en quel lieu l'autre court se tenra.*

[L]es lieutenans dessus dis ordeneront, au conseil et voulenté des compaignons, le roialme ou quel se tenra la court general prochain venant.

108. *Comme les lieutenans pourront faire et establir choses neccessaires.*

[T]outes fois les diz lieutenans, au conseil et voulenté des compaignons, pourront, se par aventure avenoit aucunes chouses qui delaïement ne peust souffrir sanz damage ou deshonnour de l'ordre, ou d'aucun des compaignons, sur ce ordener et faire comme bon leur samblera, et en ce cas sanz confirmacion du prince sera ce qu'il auroient fait et ordené ferme et estable, ainssi comme par eulz sera fait et ordené.

109. *Comme tout ce qu'il auront fait il doivent escrire au prince.*

[T]outes chouses faites, traitiees et ordenees par les lieutenans en la dite court comme dit est, escripront et manderont au prince tout ainssi comme par eulz

appealed. Since it is almost identical in wording with the title of the next chapter, it is very likely that this was the title given in the original, rough version of the master copy to chap. 105, and that the scribe who prepared the fair copy of the master placed it here in error, and then on discovering his mistake altered the wording slightly when copying it the second time.

²⁸¹ P *il*.

aura esté fait et ordené, tant de la court a venir come de toutes autres chouses, quelles qu'il soient.

110. *Comme et quant la poissance des lieutenans expirer[a].*²⁸²

[T]enue la court dessus dite comme dit est, la poissance des lieutenans dessus diz expirera, ne n'auront plus [aucun] pouoir, et ne seront plus lieutenans.

111. *Comme touz les compaignons sont tenu de venir a court aux quatre*²⁸³
mestres festes de l'ordre.

< a > [A] ceste court general de la Trinité seront tenuz tous les compaignons de venir, sur la poine ordenee come dit est. Et aussi en ces autres trois, c'est assavoir a la feste de Touz Sains, de Noël et de Pasques, seront tenu de venir tous les compaignons qui soient pres du lieu,²⁸⁴ ou la personne du prince sera a celle feste dessus dite, < b > se maladie ou autre juste cause ne l'escusoit, < c > sur la poine dessus dite.²⁸⁵ (f. 17r)

112. *Aucunes ordenances et estatuz.*²⁸⁶

< a > [L]e prince et la compaignie auront en toutes fais de l'ordre et compaignie un seel commun, < b > le quel gardera le prince. < c > Et de cestui seel toutes lettres mandees et envoieez et faites par le prince et pour la compaignie touchant l'ordre seront de cest seel seelleez, et nulles autres lettres non.²⁸⁷

113. *Comme nul des compaignons ne mesdira jamés de gentil fame.*

< a > [P]our ce que touz chevaliers doivent honnourer et portera honnour a toutes gentilz fames, nul des compaignons de l'ordre jamés ne mesdira ne dira villainie²⁸⁸ a nulle gentil fame, soit dame ou damoisele, < b > se n'estoit pour l'onnnour du prince sauver, ou aucun des compaignons, ou de son seigneur lige,

²⁸² T *finira*.

²⁸³ So T; P .*iiij*.

²⁸⁴ T adds *a trois journees*.

²⁸⁵ Cf. chaps. 73-75, where these penalties are set forth. Cf. also St. George, chap. 25a, requiring the members to assemble each year on the feast of St. George, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the Octave of the New Year's Gifts.

²⁸⁶ This is clearly a sectional heading. For some reason this chapter, dealing with the Order's seal, was not provided with a title of its own in the master copy.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Garter, Red. C, chaps. 25, 26, and 29, which set forth the rules governing the use of that Order's common seal. No other fourteenth-century order was provided with a seal by statute.

²⁸⁸ P could read *villanné*.

ou de soy, de son pere ou frere, ou autre a qui fust obligié par serement ou de lignage prochain, toutes fois en disant verité, sans controuver menchange. < c > Et qui autrement en mesdiroit, se n'estoit par soulaz et jeu, la court general seant, sera vestu de noir, et après [par] l'espasse de deus mois ensuiant, < d > et ne serra a table le jour de la Trinité avec les autres. < e > Et sera en la volenté du prince d'autre poyne luy donner, considéré son mesfait.²⁸⁹ < f > Et si criera son deffaut en la dite court, se n'estoit chose par quoy s'en peust ensuier damage et peril aucunement. < g > Et se prometront, sanz jurer, tous les compaignons.²⁹⁰

114. *Comme jamés nul des compaignons ne sera homme de compaigné.*²⁹¹

< a > [N]ul des compaignons ne sera jamés homme de compaigné, ne ne sievra compaignie. < b > Se n'estoit que aucun plus poissant de luy ly eust fait tort, villanie, damage ou grant deshonnour, et autrement ne se peust de luy vengier sanz estre homme de compaigné, < c > ou que son seignour ly feist faire et luy vengier, s'en metra hors. < d > Et qui autrement le fera, sera privé de l'ordre.

115. *Comme qui injustement feroit a aucun guerre, nul n'est tenu de aidier.*²⁹²

< a > [N]ul des compaignons ne mouvera ne fera guerre a autres, quel qui soit, se n'estoit justement, c'est assavoir qui luy eust fait villanie, deshonnour ou grant damage, et n'en peust avoir raison se par guerre n'estoit. < b > Et qui autrement feroit guerre, le prince ne les compaignons (f. 17v) ne seront [tenu] a lui aidier aucunement en sa guerre.

116. *Comme tous les compaignons, hommes du prince, ne seront ne ne pourront estre contre le prince.*

[T]ous compaignons qui vassax et hommes fussent du prince, por chose du monde ne pourront estre contre le dit prince, mes en toutes ses guerres et autres

²⁸⁹ P *mes/fait*.

²⁹⁰ It is unclear why a special promise was exacted here, but it suggests that Carlo thought the ordinance important. Although courtesy, especially towards ladies, was an important element of the contemporary code of chivalry (see Painter, *French Chivalry*, pp. 95 ff., and Diane Bornstein, *Mirrors of Courtesy* [Hamden, Conn., 1975]), among the earlier orders only that of the Band had an ordinance dealing with it (Red. A, chaps. 5d, 6).

²⁹¹ *compaigné*. By this Carlo seems to have meant a private company of men-at-arms, such as those that were currently ravaging France, rather than another order of knighthood.

²⁹² On the notion of the 'just war', an important aspect of the late medieval view of chivalrous conduct in battle, see especially Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965).

chouses seront et sont tenu de luy aidier comme vassaux et hommes sont tenu a leur seigneur, et aussi d'abondant come l'ordre veult et commande.²⁹³

117. *Comme le prince peut declarer les chapistres obscurs de l'ordre.*

[S]e aucun des chapistres, ou partie d'aucun, estoient obscurs, que clerement ne se peussent entendre par les compaignons, le prince, au conseil des compaignons a la court general, les pourra declarer et donner entendement, tel comme il leur semblera bon.²⁹⁴

118. *Comme en prison et maladie et pouvreté l'un est tenu de l'autre aidier.*

[L]e prince et tous compaignons, a tout compaignon deceu de son estat par prison ou maladie, mes que ne fust par sa coulpe, aideront chascun a son pouoir, selonc l'estat de celui compaignon. Et²⁹⁵ ce jureront le prince et tous les compaignons.²⁹⁶

119. *Comme en l'abitation des religieux dessus diz sera faite une grande sale pour les compaignons.*²⁹⁷

< a > [E]n l'abitation des religieux de la chappelle sera par le prince fondé et fait une grant sale et tynel,²⁹⁸ < b > [ou] quel sera point la gloire de la chevalerie de l'ordre;²⁹⁹ < c > c'est assavoir le prince ou premier lieu, et après chascun selonc sa chevalerie et bonté a l'esgart du prince, et par especial de la chevalerie qu'il auroit faite deuy l'ordre prise.³⁰⁰

²⁹³ Cf. chap. 40, which implies all of this.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Knot, chap. 15e, declaring that the Prince was to settle questions concerning the meaning of the statutes either in council or in the parliament of the Order.

²⁹⁵ P a.

²⁹⁶ Cf. chap. 59, which implies this.

²⁹⁷ T places this and the following chapter more logically after the chapters dealing with the establishment of a chapel. P chap. 119 = T chap. 153, and P chap. 120 = T chap. 154.

²⁹⁸ *tynel*, n. m., a hall in which the lord's officers dine. It is not clear if any distinction is intended here between the terms *sale* and *tynel*, or if this is just another case of pleonasm.

²⁹⁹ The meaning of the phrase *la gloire de la chevalerie de l'ordre* is obscure, but it probably refers to the arms or armorial achievements of the knights. The achievements of the knights of the Garter and the Knot were similarly to be painted (on plaques) over their individual stalls in the chapels of those orders (cf. Garter, Red. C, chap. 7e, and Knot, chap. 7c), and those of the knights of the Star over their seats in that Order's hall (Star, ord. 16). The practice of the Ship in this respect was probably similar to that of the Star, which was based on that of the fictional society of the Round Table. Presumably the achievement of each companion was to be displayed in the hall only during his lifetime, as his shield of arms was to be hung as a memorial to him in the Order's chapel (or chapels) after his death (cf. chaps. 20a and 150).

³⁰⁰ It would appear from this statement that the achievements in the hall were to be rearranged, possibly before each feast, to represent the current standing of the companions in the eyes of the Prince. Since (according to the next chapter) the seating order of the companions was

120. *Comme en ceste salle mengeront les compaignons le jour de la Trinité.*³⁰¹

< a > [E]n ceste sale et tynel mengeront le prince et les compaignons le jour de la Trinité. < b > Et seront tous, chascun selonc sa bonté et chevalerie a l'esgart du prince. < c > Et jusques a tant que soit la chapelle fait et fondee, le prince tenra la court et le disner ou il vourra.³⁰² < d > Et seront assis a la volenté et ordenance du prince, comme il luy plaira et semblera bon.³⁰³ (f. 18r)

121. *De fait d'armes.*³⁰⁴ *Comme en ceste ordre sera une baniere et quelle.*³⁰⁵

[E]n³⁰⁶ ceste ordre et compaignie aura et sera une baniere et penon,³⁰⁷ de quoy le champ sera de guelles a une nef d'or dedens la mer, desgarnie fors que du mast.³⁰⁸

to be similarly rearranged before each feast, it is possible that the achievements were hung in such a way as to correspond to, and thus to indicate the location of, the seats. The seats of the knights of the fictional society of the *Franc Palais*, depicted in the very popular fourteenth-century prose romance *Perceforest*, were thus indicated within their miraculously erected round hall. See Jeanne Lods, *Le Roman de Perceforest* (Geneva-Lille, 1951); there is no complete modern edition of this work.

³⁰¹ Almost every monarchical order had, or was meant to have, a hall, located in close proximity to its chapel, in which its annual banquet was meant to be held (cf. Star, ord. 18; Knot, chap. 14b). Presumably the legislative and judicial business of the Order was also meant to be conducted in the hall, or in one of the larger chambers that would have been connected to it.

³⁰² Cf. chap. 71.

³⁰³ This would seem to go without saying. That it was nevertheless said is indicative of the extreme care with which the ordinances were prepared.

³⁰⁴ This is clearly a sectional heading. Its wording is significant, for it suggests that Carlo regarded the following chapters that deal with the Order's banner and its use as being connected in a broader sense with 'feats of arms'. This heading may also have been intended to apply to the next section (chaps. 131 ff.), dealing with the augmentation of the Order's badge as a reward for performing specific 'feats of arms'.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Knot, chap. 10a, describing the banner of that Order, itself based on Star, ord. 12. The Ship banner differed from these in having as its principal (and indeed its sole) charge a representation of its basic badge, rather than of its heavenly patron.

³⁰⁶ *T premierement en.*

³⁰⁷ *T om. et penon.* It is not clear whether the writer here meant to make a real distinction between a banner and a penon, or was just being pleonastic. In the normal military usage of the day, the term 'penon' was applied to a relatively small triangular flag, displayed on the lances of knights bachelor in all military encounters, and on those of greater knights in minor and unwelcome encounters. The term 'banner' was generally reserved for a larger flag, either square or rectangular, displayed exclusively by knights banneret (i.e., those who led companies of lesser knights and men-at-arms), especially in major battles, where it served as a rallying point for the company. On this see Robert Gayre and Nigg, *Heraldic Standards and Other Ensigns. Their Development and History* (London, 1959) and C. A. J. Armstrong, 'La Toison d'Or et la loi des armes', *Publications du Centre européen des études burgondo-médiévales* 5 (1963).

³⁰⁸ The ship depicted in the Prologue capital of P also has a bowsprit, and as there is no provision in the statutes for the addition of this minor mast, it is likely that it too was intended to be a normal element of the basic badge.

122. *Comme, et par quel commandement, et por quoy se levera la dite baniere.*

< a > [C]este baniere ou penon se pourra lever et porter par le commandement du prince, et ou sera sa personne ou un lieutenant (si en a ce fait et ordené par le dit prince, ou cas que le dit prince n'y fust en personne), en toutes batailles et jours de batailles nommés, en touz encontre touz ennemis, en toutes conquestes de paiz et terres, et touz assaux et combatemens de forteresses, villes et chaustiaux, ou autres terres. < b > Mais toutes foiz que se portera et levera la dite baniere ou penon par la licence et commandement du dit prince, ou y fust en personne, ou non sera, [il doit estre] ³⁰⁹ acompaignié de diz compaignons de l'ordre et de cinc cent lances, < c > se n'estoit en joustes ou en tournoys. Car lors se levera a la voulenté du prince et acompaignié comme il luy plaira.³¹⁰

123. *Combien durera l'office du lieutenant por lever la baniere.*

[E]t l'office et poissance du lieutenant por la dite baniere ou panon faire lever et porter durera tant comme le prince luy [aura] commis et donné pouoir et licence.

124. *Comme tous les compaignons obeïront au dit lieutenant en faisant ce.*

[A] celluy lieutenant ainssi fait par le prince comme dit est, obeïront toz les compaignons quant en cest cas por quoy est ordené par le prince, come il feroient au prince s'il y³¹¹ estoit en propre personne, et non pas en autres [cas] qui ne touchassent se por quoy est ordené lieutenant, comme dit est.

125. *Comme en deffaut et negligence du lieutenant [ou] s'il n'estoit habile le prince pou[r]verra de un autre.*

[S]e le dit lieutenant estoit negligent en ce por quoy est ordené par le prince, ou ne se portast bien et loialement, ou ne fust habile a ce faire, ou fust suspect, les compaignons le manderont et feront assavoir au dit prince le plus tost qu'il pourront, et le prince sera tenu de y pourveoir de un autre, souffisant et habile por ce faire et accomplir.

³⁰⁹ Though they are lacking in both P and T, the context clearly requires the insertion of these words.

³¹⁰ Cf. Knot, chap. 10b, explaining in what circumstances the banner of that Order was to be raised.

³¹¹ So T; P sy luy.

126. *Comme en Prusse se pourra lever la banniere et penon de l'ordre.*

(f. 18v) [S]e aucuns des compaignons estoient en Prusse, et sur ce eussent especial licence du prince, il pourront lever et porter baniere ou penon de l'ordre.³¹²

127. *Comme tous les compaignons sont [tenu] de la baniere ou penon acompaignier.*

[T]outes les foiz que la baniere ou penon se levera, tous les compaignons de l'ordre qui fussent de l'autre part, si tost qu'il sauront la dite baniere ou penon estre levé, ne seront contre la dite baniere ou penon, ains venrront a acompaignier la dite baniere ou penon, se bonnement le pouent faire, sauf leur honeur.³¹³

128. *Comme la baniere levee, por paour de mort nul ne la doit lesser.*

< a > [T]outes les fois que ce portera la dite baniere ou penon, touz les compaignons de l'ordre (ce il n'estoit official d'armes a ce presens) l'accompaigneront, ne ne la lesseront³¹⁴ por paour de mort ne autrement, ainz la sievront, quelle part qu'elle soit, et voist en toutes placez, < b > en faisant chascun son pouer d'armes a l'onneur de l'ordre et de la compaignie, et de soy meesmes.

129. *Qui portera ceste baniere.*

< a > [C]este baniere ou penon portera le meilleur chevalier de l'ordre, et par especial qui plus eust fait d'armes depuys l'ordre prise (si n'estoit capitaine ou mareschal), qui pour lors se trouvera present. < b > Et chascun vespre la rendra au prince, que ce meillour de celui venoit après, le prince le matin³¹⁵ luy bailleroit la baniere, au conseil des compaignons.³¹⁶ < c > Et sera par le prince

³¹² Cf. Knot, chap. 10b, specifying that the banner could be displayed in battle against the enemies of the faith. The constitutions of several monarchical orders contained ordinances that paid lip service, at least, to the contemporary idea that a truly chivalrous knight ought at some time during his life to take part in a 'crusade' against the Infidel, whether Muslim or (as in this case) pagan. The 'Prussian' Crusade was at the height of its popularity at the time the Order was founded, because the Teutonic Order organized almost annual campaigns against the pagan Lithuanians, and invited knights from all over Europe to satisfy their desire to fight the Infidel in a relatively easy and convenient way by taking part. This 'crusade' was to lose its *raison d'être* in 1386, when the Lithuanian grand prince Jogaila converted to Christianity following his marriage to the daughter of Carlo's late guardian Lajos 'the Great', Queen Jadwiga of Poland.

³¹³ P *honner*.

³¹⁴ P *ne la lai lesseront*, the letters *lai* struck out.

³¹⁵ T om. *le matin*.

³¹⁶ i.e., 'so that if someone better than he came afterwards, the Prince could give him (i.e., the better knight) the banner the next morning, on the advice of the companions'.

et compaignons presens le meilleur chevalier esleu por porter la dite baniere et penon.

130. *Comme sera puni qui la baniere au*³¹⁷ *prince lessera.*³¹⁸

< a > [S]e aucun des compaignons fust en bactalle ou en fait d'armes, et lessast la baniere ou panon desouz, qui y soit, quel que soit, ou le dit prince ou son lieutenant,³¹⁹ comme dit est, ou³²⁰ s'enfuist ou feist autre recreance, jamés ne ait honnour en l'ordre. Mais le prince, sceu [son] deffaut, le privera de l'ordre et devise.³²¹ < b > Et a la court general prochain venant se criera son deffaut publiquement, et comment il est privé de l'ordre. < c > Et aussi le prince l'escripra a toz rois et princes de grant estat. < d > Se celluy ainssi deffaillant est present a la dite court general, quant les autres compaignons le jour de la Trinité serront a table, il serra a terre devant eulx, et mengera avec un chien en une escuelle.³²² < e > Ne jamés ne³²³ recouvrera l'ordre (f. 19r) [et] devise. < f > Et les compaignons, et chascun a par soy, sera et soit tenu d'amener a la dite court touz compaignons ainssi deffaillant, se bonnement et sanz trop grant peril du corps et damage le pouent faire.³²⁴

131. *De garnir la nef.*³²⁵ *Premierement, [de la] garnir*³²⁶ *de tymon.*

< a > [P]remierement, qui vourra garnir la nef de tymon et mettre en sa devise l'un des tymons, il convient qu'il treuve et soit en une bactaille contre Sarrasins, heretiques ou scismatiques, en la quelle besoigne³²⁷ de sa partie soient au mains mil et cinc cent hommes, souz baniere ou penon, et de la partie contraire soient au moins deus mil hommes. < b > Et se la besoigne est en terre ferme, il convient qu'il soit un des premiers combatans et bon chevalier en celle besoigne et de sa bactaille.³²⁸ < c > Se en mer estoit, a descendre de la mer

³¹⁷ T ou le.

³¹⁸ The meaning of the subordinate clause is obscure as stated.

³¹⁹ i.e., 'whoever is there, whether [it be] the Prince or his lieutenant [for the banner]'.
³²⁰ P en; T ou.

³²¹ Cf. Knot, chap. 11a.

³²² Cf. Knot, chap. 11c.

³²³ P *james re ne*, with *re* struck out.

³²⁴ Cf. Knot, chap. 11a.

³²⁵ This is clearly a sectional heading. For the whole section, cf. Knot, chaps. 3, 24, and 25, describing the tying and untying of that Order's knot under broadly similar conditions. Cf. also chaps. 6-12 of the statutes of the fraternal order of the Tiercelet, and chaps. 7-12 of the statutes of the votive order of the Dragon, which set forth similar rules for the augmentation of the basic badges of those Orders.

³²⁶ So T; P *garniz*.

³²⁷ *besoigne*, n. f., battle, encounter, especially (but not apparently in the context of these statutes) a minor battle.

³²⁸ T om. *et de sa bactaille*.

contre ses ennemis, convient qu'il soit un des premiers descendans por combatre, et face comme bon chevalier doit faire, s'il n'estoit official d'armes, ou fussent por la garde du corps du seigneur de la bactalle. < d > Et ce en leur office faissant se portent bien et honnorablement les diz officiax, et le seigneur aussi, et soit de l'ordre, le prince et les compaignons luy donrront poissance de garnir sa nef selonc le fait d'armes qui aura esté fait et qu'il auront deservi.³²⁹

132. *Comme [se] garnira la nef de l'autre tymon.*

[Q]ui vourra garnir la nef de l'autre tymon, il convient qu'il se treuve et soit en une autre et telle besoigne comme il aura esté por metre le premier, comme dit est dessus, depuys qu'il aura garnie la nef du premier tymon.³³⁰

133. *Comme se garnira la nef du grant tymon.*³³¹

[Q]ui du grant tymon voura la nef garnir, il convient qu'il se treuve et³³² soit en une telle besoigne come il aura esté por metre l'un des tymons, par tel maniere come dit est devant, et que la besoigne soit en la conquete de la Terre Sainte, c'est assavoir du roialme de Jerusalem.

134. *Comme se garnira la nef d'ancres.*

< a > [Q]ui la nef voura garnir d'ancre, por chascune ancre que metra en la nef il convient qu'il se treuve et soit en une prise de cité, ou de ville fort ou chastel, de cinc cent feux ou de plus se elle est de (f. 19v) Crestiens;³³³ se de Sarrazins, de mil feux ou de plus. < b > Et convient qu'il soit des premiers entrans en la prise de la terre, c'est assavoir du premier jusques au tiers, s'il veult metre et garnir sa nef d'ancre doree. < c > S'il est du tiers jusques au sixieme il³³⁴ metra et garnira sa nef d'ancre [d'argent; < d > s'il est du sixieme jusques au dixieme, il la garnira d'ancre] de fer, ou s'il [faisoit] fait d'armes notable sus les murs de la terre. < e > Se la terre prise estoit des Crestiens, et face les choses dessus dites, il metra les ancrez au dessus de la mer. < f > Se de Sarrazins estoit, il metra les ancrez dedens de la mer. < g > Por chascune prise de cité, chastel, ou ville fort que ce trouvera aucun de compaignons, par tel maniere come dessus est dit, metra un autre, car tant d'ancres metra en sa nef come il aura estey de prisez de terre.

³²⁹ P *le fait et deservi.*

³³⁰ Since the ship was presumably to be portrayed in profile, it is unclear where this second oar was to be placed so that it would be visible.

³³¹ By *grant tymon* Carlo presumably meant the central steering oar that we should call the rudder.

³³² P *en.*

³³³ T adds *et quil y ait de gent darmes dedans.*

³³⁴ P *a.*

135. *Comme se garnira la nef de cordes. Et premierement de cordes dorees.*

[Q]ui de cordes dorees voura garnir sa nef, il convient que pour chascune corde se treuve en bactaille ou soient de chascune part set cent hommes, de quel que gent soit la bactaille, et que de l'une partie soit baniere ou penon. Et convient que en celle bactalle face son honnour comme bon chevalier. Et por chascune telle batalle en quoy il aura estey, il metra en sa [nef] une corde doree.

136. *Comme se garnira la nef de cordes vermeilles.*

[Q]ui la dite nef voura garnir de cordez vermeilles, il convient qu'il se treuve et soit en bactaille de sis cent hommes de chascune part, en faisant comme bon chevalier et son honnour. Et por chascune telle bataille en quoy aura estey, metra en sa nef une corde vermeille.

137. *Comme [se] garnira la nef de cordes d'azur.*

[Q]ui en baictalle de cinc cent se trouvera, ou seront de chascune part cinc cent, faisant³³⁵ come bon chevalier, por chascune telle bataille en quoi aura esté, metra en sa nef une corde d'azur.

[138. *Comme se garnira la neif de cordes blanches.*³³⁶

Qui en une bataille de quatre cent hommes de chascune part se trouvera, faisant comme bon chevalier comme devant est dit, pour chascun telle bataille en quoy aura esté, metra en sa neif une corde blanche.]

139. *Comme se garnira la nef de cordes verdes.*

[Q]ui en bataille de trois cent hommes de chascune part se trouvera, faisant son honnour³³⁷ come est dit, por chascune telle bataille en quoy aura esté, metra en la dite nef une corde verde.

140. *Comme [se] garnira la nef de cordes grises.*

[Q]ui en bataille de deus cent hommes [de chascune part] se trouvera, en son honnour faisant,³³⁸ por chascune telle batalle en quoy aura estey, metra une corde grise. (f. 20r)

³³⁵ T om. *ou seront ... cinc cent.*

³³⁶ P om. this whole chapter, clearly in error.

³³⁷ For *son honnour*, T has *comme bon chevalier*.

³³⁸ For *en son honnour faisant*, T has *faisant comme bon chevalier doit faire*.

141. *Comme se garnira la nef de cordes de fer.*

[Q]ui en bataille de cent hommes de chascune part³³⁹ se trouvera,³⁴⁰ por chascune telle bataille en quoy aura esté, metra en la dite nef une corde de fer. Et convient que en chascune des besoignes dessus dite soit penon ou baniere au moins d'une des parties.

142. *Comme se garnira la nef de tref.*³⁴¹

< a > [Q]ui voura metre en sa nef le tref, c'est a dire l'entente,³⁴² il convient qu'il se treuve en batalle de chascune part de huit cent hommes et de l'une des parties soit baniere ou penon, et qu'il face chose notables d'armes, par quoy soit reputé un des meillours³⁴³ por la journee. < b > Et se contre Crestiens estoit, metra le tref doré; < c > se contre Sarrazins, il metra vermel.

143. *Comme se garnira la nef de voile.*

< a > [Q]ui sa nef voura garnir de voile, il convient qu'il se treuve et soit en une batalle de mil hommes de chascune part, et soit baniere ou penon de chascune³⁴⁴ partie, se ne fust contre Sarrazins, et qu'il face en celle batalle fait d'armes notable, por quoi soit tenu un des bons chevaliers de la journee. < b > Et se la batalle est de Crestiens, il metra la voile blanche; < c > se contre Sarrazins, la metra vermelle.

144. *Comme se garnira la nef de banieres.*

< a > [Q]ui aura garni la nef de toutes choses, par especial de tymons, voile et tref,³⁴⁵ et feist autre fais, telle chose et fait d'arme come por quoy il [a] garni sa nef de tref, voille et tymons,³⁴⁵ por chascun tel fait que après garnie la nef des choses dessus dite fera, metra une baniere en sa nef. < b > Se contre Crestiens estoit, il la metra blanche; < c > se contre Sarrazins est, la metra vermeille sur le cors de la nef.³⁴⁶ < d > Se celui qui la baniere ou penon de l'ordre [portast],³⁴⁷ ou autre compaignon de l'ordre qui portast baniere ou penon

³³⁹ T om. *de chascune part*.

³⁴⁰ T adds *en faisant comme bon chevalier*.

³⁴¹ *treif*, n. m., yard (of sail). Most contemporary cogs had only a single mast from which a single yard was suspended, bearing a single sail.

³⁴² The significance of the second clause (lacking in T) is obscure. Since *entente* means 'intention, purpose', it can hardly refer to the yard, as it seems to do from the syntax. Perhaps it is intended to mean 'that is to say, [who has] the intention [of adding the yard]'.

³⁴³ For *reputé un des meillours*, T has *tenu bon chevalier*.

³⁴⁴ T *lune*.

³⁴⁵ T adds *et ancres*.

³⁴⁶ T ends the chapter here and inserts for chap. 144 (= P chap. 144d) the title *Comme officiaux darmes garniront leur nef*. This division appears more logical than the arrangement in P.

³⁴⁷ The syntax clearly requires the repetition of this word.

d'autrui en son office de capitaine ou mareschal, se portoit³⁴⁸ bien comme bon chevalier, et feist son devoir en gardant la baniere,³⁴⁹ il metra une des choses en la dite nef por la garnir³⁵⁰ selonc ce que requiert la besoigne en quoy aura porté la baniere³⁵¹ ou penon,³⁵² a l'esgart et voulenté du prince, et conseil des compaignons.

145. *Comme se garnira la nef de baniere sur le chastel³⁵³ du mast.*

< a > [S]e aucun se combatoit de gage de bataille, corps a corps, jugié par le prince ou autre seigneur, et vanquist son aversaire, < b > s'il est Crestien et ne (f. 20v) l'ait³⁵⁴ apelé, metra sur le chastel de l'arbre, c'est asavoir du mast de la nef, une baniere³⁵⁵ blanche; < c > ce Sarrazins est, la metra vermeille. < d > Et pourra chascun apeller touz Sarrazins de combatre, mes nul Crestien, non por quoy en le vanquoir³⁵⁶ meist baniere en sa nef.³⁵⁷

146. *De la fondacion de la chapelle de l'ordre.³⁵⁸*

< a > [E]n l'onour et en la reverence de la Benoite Trinité, le Pere, le Filz et le Saint Esperit, le prince fondera une chapelle, ou plusours, grant et belle, < b > en quel lieu quy voura, < c > et fera chief de chappelle celle qui voura.

147. *Quant autiers seront en ceste chapelle.*

< a > [E]n ceste chapelle seront sis autieux principax. < b > Le premier et mestre autel sera dedié et consacré ou nom de la Sainte Trinité, du Pere, du Filz et du Saint Esperit. < c > Le segont autel sera plus bas a destre, [et] sera dedié et consacré ou nom du benoist Filz de Dieu, Nostre Seigneur Jesu Crist. < d > Le tiers autel, a senestre, sera dedié et consacré ou nom du Saint Esperit. < e > Le

³⁴⁸ T *ou fust capitaine ou mareschal en son office se portoit.*

³⁴⁹ T *om. en gardant la baniere.*

³⁵⁰ P *garniz.*

³⁵¹ P *beniere.*

³⁵² For *porté la baniere ou penon* T *has este en faisant son office.*

³⁵³ P *les choses chastel*, the word *choses* subpunctuated.

³⁵⁴ P *et ne / et ne lait.*

³⁵⁵ P *une ne baniere*, the word *ne* struck out.

³⁵⁶ T *sil le vanquoit.*

³⁵⁷ The wording of this last clause is very awkward, but it would appear to mean that no one was to place a banner on the castle of his mast as a result of overcoming a Christian whom he had challenged to combat.

³⁵⁸ This is clearly both the heading to the final section of the statutes and the title of this chapter. Most of the earlier monarchical orders had (or had had) chapels of their own, but their statutes refer only obliquely to their foundation. This may have been due to the fact that the earlier founders simply annexed an existing chapel to their new order, and altered its establishment to meet the needs of the order.

quart autel sera dedié et consacré ou nom de la Benoite Virge Marie. < f > Et d'autres autielz y aura a la voulenté et ordenance du prince, et un autre de Saint Bartholomer,³⁵⁹ et l'autre de Saint Loys de France.³⁶⁰ < g > Et d'autres autiers y aura tant comme il plaira au prince.

148. *Quel gent seront en ceste chapelle.*

[E]n ceste chapelle seront religieux telz come il plaira au prince.³⁶¹

149. *Quel office se dira en ceste chapelle.*

< a > [L]es religieux dessus dit diront en ceste chapelle³⁶² le divin office, c'est asavoir les heures canoniaux, bien devotement et deligemment. < b > Et chanteront tous les jours trois messes a note: la premiere de la Trinité, la seconde de la Virge Marie ou des mors, la tierce du jour, et sera la grant messe. < c > Et tenront les dessus diz religieux bien leur ordre et religion.

150. *Comme en ceste chapelle se fera le service de tous les compaignons trespasés.*

[E]n ceste chapelle se fera après la mort du prince ses exequez et service bien et sollempnement, et de chascun des compaignons, ainssi come appar-tendra a chascun selonc son estat.³⁶³

151. *Comme en la chapelle seront pendu les escus et banieres des trespassez.*

(f. 21r) [E]n ceste chapelle après la mort du prince, tant du dit prince comme de chascun des compaignons, après la mort de lour se pendront leurs escus³⁶⁴ bien et honnorablement, de chascun selonc sa chevalerie, comme devant est dit.³⁶⁵

152. *Comme en ceste chapelle seront gardés touz livrez touchant l'ordre.*

[E]n ceste chapelle sera gardé l'original de ceste ordre, c'est assavoir cest

³⁵⁹ It is unclear why Carlo should have wanted to dedicate an altar to St. Bartholomew the Apostle, but it is possible that Carlo had been born on his feast day, then celebrated in Naples on 25 August. It is also possible that Carlo had made a special vow to St. Bartholomew in connection with his seizure of Naples, as he entered that city in triumph on the day following the feast.

³⁶⁰ T < f > *Le quint autel sera dedie et consacre ou nom de monser Saint Bartholome apostre et le .vi. autel sera dedie et consacre ou nom de monser Saint Loys de France.*

³⁶¹ It is clear that Carlo had not yet decided how many canons, priests, choristers, ushers, and so forth to attach to his chapel, or chapels.

³⁶² T adds *chascun jour*.

³⁶³ Cf. chap. 36b.

³⁶⁴ T adds *et banieres*.

³⁶⁵ Cf. chap. 38c, d, and Knot, chap. 20a.

[livre et le instrument qui contient tout l'ordre, et aussi les originaux du] *Livre des preuz et du Romans [de la neif]*.³⁶⁶

Les nons des compaignons de l'ordre sont ceux qui s'ensuient si dessouz:

[P]remierement, Monsire³⁶⁷ Charles de Duraz, roy de Jerusalem et de Sicile, prince et commenceur de l'ordre
 Monsire³⁶⁸ Loys de Anguien, conte de Conversen³⁶⁹
 Monsire Charles [Rous] de Monhaut de Calabre³⁷⁰
 Monsire Jannot Prothojudice de Salerne³⁷¹
 Monsire Gieffroy de Marsan, [conte de Alif]³⁷²
 [Messire Thomas de Marsan]³⁷³
 Monsire Palamides Bochut de Naples³⁷⁴
 Monsire Franchoyes Guidace de Naples³⁷⁵
 Monsire Bartholomé Tomacelle de Naples.³⁷⁶

Les quiex rois, contes, et chevaliers pristrent l'ordre et jurerent ainssi comme dient les chapistres de l'ordre, en la [cha]pelle grant du Chastel Neuf, le jour premier du moys de decembre, l'an de grace mil. ccc. lxxxi, de la V^e indicion, en la presence de mout de gentilz hommes, et de grant peuple.

Explicit liber. Deo gracias.³⁷⁷

Harvard University.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Knot, chap. 8d.

³⁶⁷ P *mō* ~~✠~~, which could also be expanded *monseigneur*.

³⁶⁸ T gives the title *Messire* to each of the following companions.

³⁶⁹ i.e., Louis d'Enghien-Brienne, count of Conversano in mainland Sicily and (from 1381) of Brienne in Champagne (d. 1394); one of the greater barons of the kingdom.

³⁷⁰ i.e., Carlo Ruffo, count of Montalto in mainland Sicily and grand justiciar of the kingdom (Léonard, *Jeanne 1^{re}* 1.590).

³⁷¹ i.e., Giannotto Prothojudice, (later?) count of Acerra in mainland Sicily and grand constable of the kingdom (Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, p. 298).

³⁷² i.e., Goffredo di Marzano, count of Alife in mainland Sicily, possibly to be identified with the baron of that name who as count of Squillace (also in mainland Sicily) was (later?) grand admiral of the kingdom.

³⁷³ i.e., Tommaso di Marzano, presumably a member of the same baronial family as the count of Alife.

³⁷⁴ A member of the prominent noble house of Bozzuto, which had provided companions to both the Order of the Knot (Coluccio Bozzuto: Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, p. 370) and the Order of the Star (Giacomo Bozzuto, d. 1358: *ibid.*, p. 169 n. 3).

³⁷⁵ Probably Francischello Guindazzo (or Guindaccio), a member of a family prominent among the nobility of the kingdom (Léonard, *Jeanne 1^{re}* 1.37).

³⁷⁶ Probably Bartolomeo Tomacelli, a member of a family prominent among the nobility of the kingdom (*ibid.*).

³⁷⁷ T om. this sentence, but adds as a separate paragraph *Le venredi .vi. jour du dit mois et du dit an Messire Nichole dalemaigne prist et rechut lordre de la main du dit prince en la dicte chapelle.*

THE *BIBLICAL EPIGRAMS* OF HILDEBERT OF LE MANS: A CRITICAL EDITION

*A. B. Scott, Deirdre F. Baker and A. G. Rigg**

HILDEBERT (1056-1133), bishop of Le Mans and archbishop of Tours, was in his time regarded as one of the most outstanding poets of the Middle Ages; his poem on Rome was quoted in full by his near-contemporary William of Malmesbury, and he is the only medieval poet praised by Lawrence of Durham; his poems were still being copied in the fifteenth century. In modern times, however, he has generally been neglected: only the poems on Rome and on his own exile have received much attention. One reason for the neglect is the almost inextricable confusion concerning the canon of his poems, which is due partly to his success and partly to his method of writing. His reputation resulted in the attribution to him of a large number of poems, both long and short, that were certainly not his; the absence of any system or pattern in his short poems meant that there was no clear demarcation of his work. His short poems circulated principally in anthologies which contained similar material such as Marbod's short poems and Petrus Riga's *Floridus aspectus* (itself an anthology). The first printed edition by Beaugendre (1708), reprinted and supplemented by Bourassé for the *Patrologia latina* (1893),¹ confounded confusion even further, for this edition was entirely unsystematic and piled up poems indiscriminately. An attempt at a limitation of the canon had been made by Hauréau in 1878 (reprinted 1882),² but this work left the situation (at least for the short poems) even more confused, as Hauréau's principles of inclusion or exclusion were almost entirely subjective.

The first systematic and scientific attempt to establish the Hildebert canon was made by Wilmart in his monumental study of the Saint-Gatien anthology

* The texts of the *Biblical Epigrams* and the textual apparatus are printed substantially unaltered from the Oxford D. Phil. thesis by A. B. Scott; remarks on sources and the *apparatus fontium* are by Deirdre F. Baker, who based her work on Scott's thesis; the introductory notes are by A. G. Rigg.

¹ PL 171.1263-72, 1275-82.

² B. Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (Paris, 1882); see also his 'Notice sur les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin', *Notices et extraits* 28.2 (1878) 289-448.

(Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 890, destroyed in 1940).³ Wilmart used this manuscript, in combination with other early Hildebert collections, to establish a common denominator for the canon of the short poems. He also employed a principle (of especial importance for the *Biblical Epigrams*) that an apparently random order of poems was more likely to be authorial than an artificial order which could have been imposed by a scribe (such as one which follows the order of the books of the Bible):

L'apparence est que ce désordre par rapport à la Bible représente l'ordre même selon lequel il a plu à l'auteur de composer ou de publier ces petits morceaux.⁴

On the basis of Wilmart's pioneer work, Scott, in an Oxford D. Phil. thesis, proceeded to examine the whole Hildebert canon; he added several more manuscripts to those considered by Wilmart, with important results. Scott's work was published as follows: (a) an account of the *Biblical Epigrams* in an article in *Sacris erudiri* in 1965;⁵ (b) a full examination of the whole Hildebert canon in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* in 1968;⁶ (c) an edition of the *Minor Poems* for the Teubner series in 1969.⁷ The *Biblical Epigrams*, however, which appeared on pp. 317-44 of the thesis, have not been published until now.

There is no need to repeat here the complex arguments of Wilmart (especially pp. 148-58) or Scott for the authenticity and order of the *Biblical Epigrams*, but a summary may be useful. Nos. 1-69 (in the order printed here) appear in this order in several manuscripts which, according to Wilmart and Scott, represent Hildebert's original arrangement. For example, T (the 'Saint-Gatien') contains nos. 1-66 (T, entries 61-125),⁸ apart from no. 56 which precedes no. 57 in some other manuscripts.⁹ Wilmart argues for the authenticity of nos. 67-69, which are together in mss. X (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14958), D (London, British Library Royal 8.B.iv), and A (London, British Library Cotton Julius D.iii, lacking no. 69). Thus, Hildebert's order 1-69 is preserved essentially in T,¹⁰ CXD and A.¹¹ Consideration of several manuscripts

³ A. Wilmart, 'Le florilège de Saint-Gatien. Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode', *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936) 3-40, 147-81, 235-58.

⁴ *ibid.*, 150.

⁵ A. B. Scott, 'The Biblical Allegories of Hildebert of Le Mans', *Sacris erudiri* 16 (1965) 404-24.

⁶ 'The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: A New Examination of the Canon', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968) 42-83.

⁷ *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi Carmina minora* (Leipzig, 1969).

⁸ Wilmart, 'Le florilège', 23-27.

⁹ *ibid.*, 26 n. on item 116.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, part i.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 151-52.

not used by Wilmart led Scott to accept as authentic ten more *Biblical Epigrams*, printed here as Appendix, nos. 1-10.¹²

For a full account of the manuscripts, see Wilmart, 'Le florilège', 9-40 (on T and its contents), 151-52, 164-76; Scott, 'The Biblical Allegories', 417-22, and 'The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans', 44-49.¹³ For a concordance of the numbers of this edition and that of Beaugendre, see Scott, 'The Biblical Allegories', 422-24.

It is difficult to pin down a specific exegetical source for Hildebert's *Biblical Epigrams*, largely because by the eleventh century there existed a wealth of commentaries full of allegorical interpretations of scripture: commentaries that were 'original' work, such as those of the Church Fathers, and those which were little more than compilations of earlier sources, such as those of the ninth-century commentators. By the time Hildebert composed the *Biblical Epigrams*, he could have found the same allegorical interpretations in a great number of places.

While many of Hildebert's allegories may also be found in the works of Bede, Alcuin, and Isidore, a close look at his sources reveals that the majority of the interpretations may be traced back either to the works of Gregory the Great or to those of Rabanus Maurus. This is true of 63 of the 68 *Biblical Epigrams* and the 10 additional poems. Of these 47 contain interpretations which are either suggested or found verbatim in Gregory's works; of these, 23 are also found in the commentaries of the ninth-century compiler, Rabanus Maurus; 16 of the poems can be traced to the works of Rabanus alone. Except for epigrams 47, 56, 61, 67, 68 and additional epigrams 2 and 9, for which the sources are still unknown, the remaining poems can be traced to Bede and Alcuin.

Even when the prevalence of the interpretations of Gregory and Rabanus has been ascertained, it is difficult to deduce whether Hildebert used the works of both, or only one, of these authors. Many of Rabanus' interpretations are taken verbatim from Gregory: this is true of more than half the poems which can be traced to his commentaries. However, there are twenty-four poems which can be traced only to Gregory, and, in those poems which versify a passage of scripture discussed differently by both exegetes, Hildebert seems quite clearly to prefer Gregory to Rabanus. Thus, in 23, 26, 37 and 43 Hildebert's interpretation is that of Gregory while Rabanus' is quite different. This is particularly striking in 43 where Rabanus uses the Vulgate text and Gregory

¹² See Scott, 'The Biblical Allegories', 412-17.

¹³ On Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G. 109, see A. G. Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981) 472-97; on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3761 see *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* 6 (Paris, 1975), pp. 768-72, and Rigg, *ibid.*, 478.

the Septuagint (see note ad loc.). Agreement of Hildebert and Rabanus against Gregory happens only in 14 and 51, where it is more a matter of the lack of detailed allegory on the subject in Gregory than of a difference between the two commentators.

A much stronger indication that Hildebert's primary source is Gregory himself, and not Gregory as excerpted by Rabanus, is the presence in the collection of no. 27, which depends on no scriptural text but is a versified quotation from Gregory's works, as the title 'Ex dictis beati Gregorii pape' shows. Another indication of Hildebert's preference for Gregory occurs in *De mysterio missae* 1.153 'Si verbis hominis, quam nectar ubique supernum, / Eructasse liquet, vis adhibere fidem' (PL 171.1182A), where many of the manuscripts have the gloss 'sc. Gregorius'. This is as near as Hildebert ever comes to citing an author in his poems, and it seems to indicate the peculiar esteem in which he held Gregory.

Given the miscellaneous nature of Gregory's commentaries, it seems significant that so many of the epigrams should be versifications of his interpretations. This seems to indicate that Hildebert's source is indeed Gregory. However, it is difficult to explain those poems which seem to derive only from Rabanus, and also those few which come via Bede or Alcuin. The presence of these suggests that perhaps Hildebert used as his source a compilation of selections from exegetical works rather than a commentary of Gregory only. Without the discovery of such a compilation, however, there can be no proof of this. One may safely assert only that Hildebert was heavily dependent upon Gregory for his inspiration, and that he probably had access to Gregory's work either in a compilation of excerpts or in texts containing the individual works. It is unlikely that he had as an exclusive source the work of a compiling commentator such as Rabanus.

*
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In the edition below the orthography of the manuscripts has been retained. Orthographic variants are not recorded in the apparatus. The apparatus is negative; witnesses are cited only where they disagree with the lemma.

SIGLA

- A = London, British Library Cotton Julius D.iii (s. xiii)
 B = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Baluze 120 (s. xvii)
 C = Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 115 (s. xii²)
 D = London, British Library Royal 8.B.iv (s. xiii)
 E = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 60 (s. xii)
 F = Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. misc. d. 80 (s. xiii)
 H = London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xiii (s. xiii)
 K = London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra C.i (s. xii)
 L = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 11315 (s. xiii)
 P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 459 (s. xiii)
 R = London, British Library Royal 8.A.xxi (s. xiii¹)
 (T) = Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 890 ('Saint-Gatien', now lost) (s. xii²)
 V = London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D.v (s. xiii¹)*
 X = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14958 (s. xiii)
 Be = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1794 (s. xii)
 Ca = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 238/124 (s. xiii)
 Dij = Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 225 (187) (s. xii)
 Es = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.III.23 (s. xiii)
 Evr = Évreux, Bibliothèque Municipale 90 (s. xii²)
 (Gemm.) = Jumièges, Abbaye de Saint Pierre 77 and 98 (now missing) (s. xiii)**
 Jo = Cambridge, St. John's College 134 (E.31) (s. xiii¹)
 Pt = Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale 247 (232) (s. xiv)
 Tr = Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 469 (s. xii)
 Wi = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 814 (s. xiv)
 U = ACDFKVVXCaEsJo (in the list of manuscripts collated at the beginning of the critical apparatus of each poem)
 Ed. = PL 171.1263-72, 1275-82

* V = Wilmart's L for the shorter secular poems and V² for the *Biblical Epigrams*. The supplement of this manuscript is designated by him as V, and Cotton Vespasian B.xiii as V¹. To avoid confusion we have designated his V¹ as H, the earlier part of Cotton Vespasian D.v as V, and the supplement as V². See Scott, 'The Biblical Allegories' (cited above, p. 273 n. 5), 418.

** Beaugendre used two Jumièges manuscripts, referred to as 'e duobus Gemmet(icensibus) 77 et 98' (PL 171.63). Sometimes he says 'E Gemmeticensi', showing that he was using only one manuscript; sometimes, however, he writes 'E Gemmet.' or 'E Gemmetic.', and we do not know whether he intends the singular or the plural. As neither codex appears to be extant, the question is of no textual significance.

BIBLICAL EPIGRAMS

1

De transgressione Ade triformi.

Vicit Adam ueterem gula, gloria uana, cupido.
 Dum comedit uetitum, gula uincit; gloria, dum uult
 ut Deus esse; cupido, dum uult omnia scire.

U(-C)ERHBLBe

Titulus: *XHEsJo*

2 uicit *DAHCa*

(Gen 3:4-6) Gregory, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.16.2 (PL 76.1136A): 'Antiquus hostis contra primum hominem ... in tribus se tentationibus erexit Et ex propectu avaritiae tentavit cum diceret: *Scientes bonum et malum.*' Rabanus, *In Gen.* 1.15 (PL 107.489A) is taken word for word from Gregory.

2

Quid nos faciat peccare.

Quattuor esse reum faciunt: suggestio primum,
 delectacio, consensus, defensio. Demon
 suggerit, et caro delectatur: spiritus illi
 consentit: culpam defendit lingua proterua.
 5 Sic suasit serpens; est delectata uirgo;
 Adam consensit, nisus defendere culpam.

U(-C)ERHBLBePt

Titulus: *XVEHBLPt*

5-6 *om. BLPt* 6 consentit *XDVRHJoEd.*

(Gen 3:4-6) Gregory, *Moralia* 4.27.49 (CCL 143.193): 'Quattuor quippe modis peccatum perpetratur in corde, quattuor consummatur in opere. In corde namque suggestionem, delectationem, consensu et defensionis audacia perpetratur ...' (following Augustine, *De sermone Domini* 1.12.33-36 [CCL 35.35-39]). Cf. Hugh of Pontigny (partial edition by C. H. Talbot, 'The Sermons of Hugh of Pontigny', *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 7 [1956] 14): 'Primus dies ... suggestio diaboli, secundus delectatio carnis, tercius consensus, quartus perpetratio mali operis.'

3

Quid significat quod Dominus ter interrogauit Petrum
an se diligeret.

Ter Dominus Petrum rogat an se diligit, an non.

Ter Dominum Petrus se prorsus amare fatetur.

Non sine re fuit hoc. Sicut damnauerat illum
trina negacio, sic confessio trina piauit.

U(-CF)ERBLBePtEvr Titulus: *(T)ECaEsPtEvr*

Variant version of 1-2 (*Gemm.BLPtEvr*)

Scit Dominus, rogat ille tamen si diligit ipsum
Petrus. Ter rogat ille, ter iste fatetur amare.

2 prorsus se petrus *A* 3 ipsum *Pt*

Variant version 1: ille] ipse *Pt*

(Jo 21:15-17) Gregory appears not to mention the meaning of the threefold denial and confession. Cf. Bede, *Homiliae in evang.* 2.22 (CCL 122.345): 'Prouida autem pietate dominus tertio Petrum an se diligit interrogat ut ipsa trina confessione uincula quae illum ter negando ligauerunt absoluat, et quoties territus eius passione quod illum nosset negauerat toties eius resurrectione recreatus quod illum toto amat corde testatur' (following Augustine, *Tract. in Joan.* 123.5 [CCL 36.678-80] and quoted by Alcuin, *Comm. in Joan.* [PL 100.1002A]). See also a similar passage in Bede, *In Luc.* 6, 22:31-32 (CCL 120.383).

4

Quid significat quod Dominus ter uocauit Samuelem.

Quare ter Samuelem uox diuina uocauit,

cum tamen audisset sub prima uoce uocantem?

Officium trinum notat ista uocacio trina,

namque propheta, sacerdos, dux erat ille futurus,

5 sicque ducem, sic pontificem uocat atque prophetam.

U(-C)ERHBLWiBePt

Titulus: *(T)EFCaEsJoPt*

2 audisset] audiret *VKRHCaEsEd*: audiuit *corr. in* -iret *F*: audiuit *D*: audita *X* 4 namque] quippe *Pt* duxerat fuit ille futurus *F**Ca* 5 sicque] sique *Wi*: sedque *H*

(1 Reg 3:4-10) Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 1.3 (PL 109.25c): 'Potest hac tertia uocatione praefigurari quod ipse puer futurus erat propheta, dux et sacerdos.'

5

Quattuor sunt cause quare Dominus natus est
de desponsata uirgine.

Cur uoluit de desponsata uirgine nasci
Christus? Causa fuit, quia si foret innuba pregnans,
mox lapidaretur, pariensque clientis egebat;
et ne demonibus manifestus uirginis esset
5 partus, desponsata fuit; seriemque parentum
per Ioseph, non per matrem scriptura referret.

U(-C)EBLBePt

Titulus: (T)E dominus] deus E

1 de desponsata] de sponsata D: de sponsa X 3 egebat] agebat Ed.: egeret Jo 6 per] ut A

(Mt 1:18-25; Lc 1:26-35) Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 1.1 (PL 107.748B): 'Quare autem non de simplici uirgine, sed de desponsata, concipitur Saluator ut partus, inquiens, celaretur diabolo' Cf. also the similar interpretation of Paschasius Radbertus, *In Matt.* 2.1 (PL 120.104D). Both probably derive from Ambrose, *In Luc.* 2.1-7 (CCL 14.30-33). Lines 1-4 are printed from London, British Library Arundel 507 by C. Horstmann, *Richard Rolle and His Followers* 1 (London, 1895), p. 430.

6

Pulcra Moralitas.

Dauid per cytharam potuit lenire furorem
regis: nos iram blando sermone potentum.

U(-C)EHLBePt

Titulus: XVEsJo

(1 Reg 16:23) Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 1.16 (PL 109.50D-51A) quotes verbatim both Gregory and Isidore. See Gregory, *Reg. past.* 3.2.3 (PL 77.52D-53A): 'Nonnunquam tamen etiam superbus dives exhortationis blandimento placandus est, quia et plerumque dura vulnera per lenia fomenta mollescunt, et furor insanorum saepe ad salutem medico blandiente reducitur cum Saulem spiritus aduersus invaderet, apprehensa Dauid cithara, ejus vesaniam sedabat quia cum sensus potentum per elationem in furorem vertitur, dignum est ut ad salutem mentis quasi dulcedine citharae, locutionis nostrae tranquillitate revocetur'; and cf. Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test.*, *In Reg.* 1.9.4 (PL 83.399B) and *ibid.* 1.12.1 (PL 83.401A).

7

Quid significant operarii et sex hore.

Vinea culta Dei plebs est. Infancia mane;
flamma iuuentutis quasi tertia; nona uirililis

U(-C)ERBLBePt

Titulus: XEVL

- etas, iam frigescent; undecimamque senectam
accipimus. Dum mane puer, iuuenisque sub estu,
5 uir circa nonam, ueteranus uespere fiunt
cultores, precium datur unum: uita perennis.

3 undecimamque] undecima atque *BL*: etas est *Pt* 4 accipimus] exponit *BL*: exponunt *Pt*
dum] quod *Pt* 5 uir] et *BL* 6 cultores datur his sua merces uita perennis *BLPt*

(Mt 20:1-16) Gregory, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.19.2 (PL 76.1155B-C): 'Possumus uero et easdem
diuersitates horarum, etiam ad unumquemque hominem per aetatum momenta distinguere
quasi diuersis horis operarii ad uineam uocantur.' This is repeated almost word for word by
Rabanus, *In Matt.* 6.20 (PL 107.1027A-B).

8

Quid significat quod Sanson euerso templo
in morte sua multos interfecit.

Sanson significat Christum, subuersio templi
corporis occasum. Multos in morte peremit
Sanson. Post mortem Christi, dum crescit in orbe
religio, uiciis moriuntur quique fideles.

U(-C)ERHBLBe

Titulus: *VFCaEs*

1-2 post 4 A 2 corpus occisum *BL* 3 tum B: tunc L

(Jud 16:25-30) Gregory, *Moralia* 29.14 (PL 76.491B): '... destructo autem templo, hostes
innumeros cum moreretur occidit, quia nimirum Dominus ab elatione superbiae paucos cum
uiveret, plures uero cum templum sui corporis solueretur exstinxit.' Rabanus, *Comm. in Judic.*
2.20 (PL 108.1197D-98A) repeats Gregory's interpretation word for word.

9

Quid significat quod Dominus fecit aquam uinum,
quid ydrie et quare sex.

Sunt ydrie mentes doctrine fonte replete;
historicus sensus aqua, uinum spiritualis.

U(-C)EBLBePt

Titulus: *(T)EEs*

2 spiritalis *BL*

- Cum nos historiam reuocamus ad allegoriam,
tunc aqua fit uinum. Quia sex etatibus orbis
5 uoluitur, has ydrias scribit sex esse Iohannes.

4 quia] que *DA*: pro *BL*: per *PT* 5 om. *BLPt* et *add.*: sunt ydrie sex, doctor (doctorum *Pt*) collectio tota/ unius etatis ydriam simul efficit unam.

(Jo 2:1-11) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.6.7 (CCL 142.70): 'Sed impleri hydrias aqua iubet, quia prius per sacrae lectionis historiam corda nostra replenda sunt. Et aquam nobis in uinum uertit, quando ipsa historia per allegoriae mysterium in spiritalem nobis intelligentiam commutatur.' This probably derives from Augustine, *Tract. in Joan.* 9.3-6 (CCL 36.91-94), which includes the interpretation of the water jars as the six ages of the world: 'Erat prophetia antiquis temporibus, et a prophetiae dispensatione nulla tempora cessauerunt; sed illa prophetia, quando in illa Christus non intellegebatur, aqua erat. In aqua enim uinum quodammodo latet Videte quid ait, quia oportebat impleri in Christo quae de illo scripta sunt Quomodo autem fecit de aqua uinum? Cum aperuit eis sensum, et exposuit eis scripturas, incipiens a Moyse per omnes prophetas Cum autem ipsam aquam conuertit in uinum, ostendit nobis quod et scriptura uetus ab ipso est Sex ergo illae hydriae sex aetates significant, quibus non defuit prophetia. Illa ergo tempora sex, quasi articulis distributa atque distincta, quasi uasa essent inania, nisi a Christo implerentur Impletae sunt prophetiae, plenae sunt hydriae; sed ut aqua in uinum conuertatur, in illa tota prophetia Christus intellegatur.' This interpretation is also found in Bede, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.14.95 ff. (CCL 122.95-104, especially 98 ff.), who includes detailed historical and allegorical interpretations of each age, and in Alcuin, *Comm. in Joan.* (PL 100.767c-771a).

10

Quid significat quod Isaac dixit Iacob:
Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni.

- Plenus ager florum plenum uirtutibus orbem;
pocula doctrine flos uue, lilia castos,
martirium rosa, flos uirole, que serpit in imo,
illos significat qui uitant culmen honoris.
5 Sic tamquam flores redolent exempla bonorum.
Filius est populus gentilis, cumque per orbem
sparsus iam credat, odor illius est odor agri.

U(-C)EHLWiPt

Titulus: *(T)EVHBLCaWiEsJo*

2 castos] iustos *FCa* 2-3 pocula doctrine flos uirole que serpit in imo *Ed.* 6 filius] iacob
FCa 7 iam sparsus *CaBLWi* credit *Ed.*

(Gen 27:27) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.6.3-4 (CCL 142.69): 'Sicut enim in Euangelio Veritas dicit: *Ager est hic mundus*, et quia gentilis populus ad fidem perductus per electos suos in uniuerso mundo uirtutibus redolet, odor filii odor est agri pleni.' He then gives a list of the flowers found in the field and the qualities they represent, these being identical with those of Hildebert's poem, except that Hildebert leaves out *oliua* and *spica*. Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.13 (PL 107.588c) only gives the bare outline of this interpretation, while that of Ambrose, *De Iacob* 2.3-4 (CSEL 32/2.33-34) is rather different, in that Jacob, the man of many flowering virtues, is the field.

11

Quid significat historia Ioseph.

- Per Iacob Patrem, per Ioseph concipe Christum;
 per fratres eius Iudeos. A patre Ioseph
 fratribus est missus, Iudeis a Patre Christus.
 Hi sunt in Dothaim: Dothaim defectus utrique.
 5 Sunt in defectu fratres, occidere fratrem:
 querunt Iudei Christum. Spoliatur uterque;
 Ioseph ueste sua, carnali tegmine Christus.
 Ingreditur Ioseph cisternam, Christus Auernum.
 Venditur Hismaelitis hic, et gentibus ille,
 10 per sacre fidei commercia. Suscipit illum
 Egiptus: Christum credendo suscipit orbis.
 Hic dominatur ibi: Christus dominatur in orbe.

*UERHBLBePt*Titulus: *(T)CXEVHBLJoPt*

1 concipe] accipe *RL*: respice *BE*d. 3 om. *R* 4 uterq. *BL* 5 occidere fratrem] fratri
 machinantur *BLPtEd.(Gemm.)* 6 querunt] mortem *BLPtEd.* Christo *BLPtEd.* 7 ueste
 sua ioseph *CD* 9 hic ismaelitis *L* 10 suscipit illum] ductus egiptum *BLPtEd.* 11 est
 Ioseph Christique fides est nota per orbem *BLPtEd.*

(Gen 37) Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.27 (PL 107.624A) is taken verbatim from Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test.*, *In Gen.* 30.5-8 (PL 83.272A-c): 'Et Deus Pater misit Filium suum unigenitum, ut genus humanum peccatis languidum visitaret De cisterna quoque levatus ille Ismaelitis, id est, gentibus, venditur, et Christus, postquam de inferno egreditur, ab omnibus gentibus *fidei commercio* comparatur' (our emphasis). Ambrose, *De Ioseph* 3.9 ff. (CSEL 32/2.76 ff.) gives this explanation at greater length. Cf. also Augustine, *Sermones de Vet. Test.*, *Sermo* 46.23 (CCL 41.549-51).

12

Quid significat exitus Israel de Egipto.

- Egiptus mundus, Pharao Sathan, Israelite
 nos, baptisma rubrum mare. Rex submergitur undis,
 et regnum Sathane perit in baptisate. Tendit
 Ierusalem populus, sed per deserta uagatur.
 5 Nos per desertum mundi uiuendo uagantes,
 tendimus ad patriam celestem. Plurima restant
 his carnalia prelia, spiritualia nobis.

*URHBLBePt*Titulus: *(T)CXVHBLESJoPt*

1 Israelite nos Pharao Sathan orbis Egiptus *BLPtEd.(Gemm.)* 2 nos baptisma] baptismus
BLPtEd. 3 om. *K* 4 sed] hec *K* 6 prestant *Be*

(Ex 14:27) Rabanus, *In Exod.* 2.3 (PL 108.65A-66A): 'Ex Augustino Interfecit quippe exercitum spiritualium Aegyptiorum cum vero Pharaone, quando diabolus ... in aquis spiritualibus, ubi credentes per similitudinem mortis ejus baptizati a morte peccatorum resurgunt, submersit et aeterno damnavit interitu' This interpretation is found in Augustine, *Sermones in Vet. Test.*, *Sermo* 4.9 (CCL 41.25-27). Isidore gives a similar interpretation (*Quaest. in Vet. Test.*, *In Exod.* 19.1 [PL 83.296B-C]) and so does Bede (*Comm. in Pent.*, *In Exod.* 14 [PL 91.310-11]).

13

Quid significat quod Iob testa saniem radebat.

Peccatum sanies. Sanies hec defluit extra,
cum crimen de corde foras confessio mittit.
Asperitas uite per testam significatur.
Iob testa saniem radit, cum crimina quisque
5 confessus, tergit dure uiuendo reatum.

UBLBePt

Titulus: (T)CVFBLCaEsPt

1 peccatum sanies oris confessio texta X 4 saniem testa radit C: saniem radit testa Ed.

(Job 2:8) Gregory, *Moralia* 3.30 (CCL 143.151): 'Potest etiam testa fragilitas mortalitatis intellegi. Testa ergo saniem mundare, est mortalitatis cursum fragilitatemque pensare et putredinem miserae delectationis abstergere Sanies itaque tergitur, cum culpa non solum ab opere sed etiam a cogitatione resecatur'; and 3.18 (*ibid.*, p. 136): 'Quid uero per saniem nisi peccatum, debet intellegi?' There is no mention made in Gregory of either confession or *asperitas uite*, although in 3.30 (*ibid.*, p. 151) he does comment: 'Percussi ergo testa saniem radimus, cum post pollutiones cogitationis illicitae, nosmetipsos *aspere* diiudicando mundamus' (our emphasis).

14

Quid significat quod Dominus egrediens de Iericho
duos cecos illuminauit.

Exit de Iericho Christus, cecisque duobus
dat lumen. Iericho mundus: moriendo relinquens
mundum, Iudeo, gentili lumina Christus
dat fidei, quos fecerat ignorancia cecos.

(Variant Version of ll. 1-3)

Exit de Iericho Christus, dat lumen utrique
ceco. De mundo moriens exiuit, utrisque
dat fidei lumen: gentibus, Israelitis.

U(-F)RBLBePt

Variant version of ll. 1-3: BLPtEvr(Gemm.)

Titulus: (T)CVBLPt

1 exiit L: exi Evr 2 utrique Ed. 3 israelitis om. BL

(Mt 20:29-34) Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 6.20 (PL 107.1033D-34A): 'Alii vero utrumque populum, et Veteris Testamenti et Novi, quod alter scriptam legem, alter naturalem sequens sine Christo caecus erat quia ascendente ad coelos Domino ... mox uterque populus ... coeperunt et ipsi suae salutis atque illuminationis spem habere' The only account which appears in Gregory, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.2.1 (PL 76.1082c) follows Luke rather than Matthew. Augustine mentions this interpretation in *Sermones in Vet. Test.*, *Sermo* 4.17-18 (CCL 41.32-33): 'Etenim dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui ad iudaeos et gentes uenerat Venit enim ecclesia iudaeorum de circumcisione. Venit ecclesia gentium de praepotio Duo ergo haedi, ipsi sunt duo populi ..., ipsi sunt duo caeci, qui sedebant in uia' This interpretation is found also in Bede, *In Marc.* 3.10.46 f. (CCL 120.567-69).

15

Quot modis temptamur uicio gule.

Est certum quod quinque modis gula damnat edacem:
cum comedit nimis, aut comedendi preuenit horam;
cum nimio desiderio cupit et capit escas,
cum uel delicias querit, uel deliciose

- 5 preparat hoc etiam quod non est deliciosum.
Vt discernantur magis hec, exempla sequantur.
Causa fuit Sodome peccandi panis abundans.
Ieiunat populus, Ionathas ieiunia soluit;
esuriens Esau petit escam, uendit honorem;
10 manna datur, carnes plebs deliciosa requirit;
de sacro crudum puer Ophni postulat armum.
Sic ad uelle suum studiose preparat illum.

URBLPt

Titulus: (T)XVBLEsJoPt

1 certum] notum BLEd.(Gemm.) damnat] temptat BL 3 et] aut REs 4 diuicias K
5 hoc] hec corr. in hoc L: hec VFBE d. hoc etiam] interdum C 6 discernentur Pt
sequuntur Ed., Hauréau: sequamur BL 7 peccandi] peccanti AKRJoEd.: peccati BLEs
9 petit] cupit BLEd. escas AES 10 manna] magna Ed. 11 ophni ... armum om. BL
12 illud FCa et omnibus his gula summa fuit subuersio pridem add. F

Gregory, *Moralia* 30.18 (PL 76.556D-57c): 'Sciendum praeterea est quia quinque nos modis gulae vitium tentat Aliquando namque indigentiae tempora praeuenit; aliquando vero tempus non praeuenit, sed cibos lautiores quaerit; aliquando quaelibet quae sumenda sint praeparari accuratius expetit, aliquando autem et qualitati ciborum et tempori congruit, sed in ipsa quantitate sumendi mensuram moderatae refectionis excedit. Nonnumquam ... ipso aestu immensi desiderii deterius peccat.' He then gives just those five examples which are given by Hildebert. The poem is cited anonymously in a passage from *Dist. monast.* 4 (J. B. Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense* ..., 4 vols. [Paris, 1852-57], 2.411a).

8 1 Reg 14:27 9 Gen 25:29-34 10 Ex 16:13 11 1 Reg 2:15

16

Quid significat liber qui datus est Ezechieli
in quo scripte sunt lamentaciones et carmen et ue.

Mentis in excessu datus est liber Ezechieli;
in libro luctum, carmen, ue scripta uidebat.
Pagina sancta liber, que predicat hec tria nobis:
in terra luctum compunctis, in paradiso

5 carmen leticie, reprobis mala ueque Gehenne.

UEBB^e

Titulus: CEVFCaEs

1 excessu] excessus F: egressu D: excelso A 3 que] quam B: qui CDAVE^d.

(Ezech 2:9-10) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.9.34 (CCL 142.141): 'Lamentaciones uidelicet, quia in eo scripta est paenitentia peccatorum. Carmen uero, quia ibi praenuntiantur gaudia iustorum. Vae autem, quia illic expressa est damnatio reproborum.'

17

Quid significat quod Deus dixit ad Abraham:
Egredere de terra tua et cognacione tua
et faciam te crescere in gentem magnam.

Est Abrahe dictum: *Terramque tuosque relinque*
cognatos: magne gentis dux constitueris.

Terra caro, cognacio nostra genus uiciorum.

Exit ab ambobus qui carnem mortificauit

5 cum uiciis. Datur huic gens maxima, plurima uirtus.

URHBLBePt

Titulus: VJo

1-2 om. BLPtEd.(Gemm.) 2 dux gentis CD 3 genus] gens BeEd. (genus Gemm.)
4 ambabus ABe: hac terra BLPtEsEd.(Gemm.)

(Gen 12:1-2) Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.12 (PL 107.533c): '... exeundum est de terra nostra, id est, de facultatibus mundi huius, opibus terrenis, et de cognatione nostra, id est, de conversatione et moribus vitiisque prioribus' This is taken directly from Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test.*, *In Gen.* 8 (PL 83.238c). This interpretation is also found in Ambrose, *De Abraham* 1.2.3-4 (CSEL 32/1.503-504); and cf. Bede, *In Gen.* 3.12.4 (CCL 118A.170): 'Nam et hoc quod ille iussus exiit de terra et cognatione et de domo patris sui, uniuersis promissionis ipsius filiis, in quibus et nos sumus, constat imitandum. Egredimur quippe de terra nostra cum carnis uoluptates abdicamus, de cognatione nostra cum uitiiis omnibus cum quibus nati sumus (in quantum hominibus possibile est!) nos exuere studemus, de domo patris nostri cum ipsum mundum relinquere cum principe suo diabolo uitae celestis amore contendimus.' None of these explanations, however, mentions explicitly the necessary mortification of the flesh (Hildebert, 1. 4) nor do they equate the *gens maxima* with *plurima uirtus*. Rabanus, Isidore, and Bede all interpret this last as the race of all true believers who would be the spiritual children of Abraham.

18

Quid significat quod Asa sedens in asino
flens et suspirans petiit a patre suo Caleph
irriguum superius et inferius et datus est ei.

Asa Caleph nobis animam designat, asellus
irrationales motus. Asinum regit Asa,
et regit hos motus anime uis dignior. Illi
irriguum pater inferius dedit atque supernum.

- 5 Sic suspiranti, lacrimasque timore Gehenne
dat Deus, et lacrimas patrie celestis amore.

URHBLPt

Titulus: *FCa*

- 2 irrationabiles *AV* 3 hec regit is regitur *Ed.* 4 supernum] supremum *AJo*: superbum *L*
5 timore *add. Ca*: om. *F*

Variant version of 1-2: *BLPtEvr(Gemm.)*

Vt tradunt patres, animam notat Asa, iumentum
irrationales motus, regit Asa iumentum.

- 2 irracionales *L*: irrationabiles *Ed.*

(Jos 15:19) Gregory, *Ep.* 7.23 (CCL 140.476): 'Axa quippe super asinam sedet, cum irrationabilibus carnis suae motibus anima praesidet. Quae suspirans a patre terram irriguam petit, quia a creatore ... quaerenda est lacrimarum gratia Irriguum quippe superius accipit anima, cum se in lacrimis regni caelestis desiderio affligit; irriguum uero inferius accipit, cum inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit.' Rabanus quotes this passage from Gregory in *Comm. in lib. Jos.* 3.6 (PL 108.1076D).

19

Quid significat quod in passione Domini
iuuenis abiecta sindone nudus euasit.

Qui res mundanas pro religione relinquit,
effugit hic hostes, abiecta sindone, nudus.

UBLPt

Titulus: *CVEs* euasit] aufugit *V*

- 1 reliquit *CBL* 2 effugit hic hostes] hostes euadit *BL*

(Mc 14:52) Nothing like this appears in Gregory but cf. Bede, *In Marc.* 4.14.51-52 (CCL 120.619-20): '... etiam iste adulescens qui reiecta sindone nudus profugit ab impiis illorum et opus designat et animum qui ut securiores ab incursibus hostium fiant quicquid in hoc mundo possidere uidentur abiciunt ac nudi potius domino famulari quam adhaerendo mundi rebus materiam temptandi atque a Deo reuocandi aduersariis dare didicerunt'

20

Quid significat quod Domino loquente in monte fumante
stetit populus de longe et Moyses accessit ad caliginem
in qua erat Deus.

Mons fumat, Deus hic loquitur, stat turba deorsum;
accedit Moyses. Moyses est quisque magister,
nescia turba rudes, obscura parabola fumus,
mons scriptura. Deus in fumo mistica profert.

- 5 Stant hebetes longe, capientes exteriora:
accedunt docti, scrutantes interiora.

URHBLBePt

Titulus: CVFHCAJo

2 ascendit Jo 5 cupientes BLPtBeEd.(Gemm.) 6 ascendunt Jo scrutantur et Ed.

Variant version of 2-4: BLPtBe(Gemm.)

Accessit Moyses. Idiote turba, magistri
dux populi, fumus obscura parabola fertur,
cum Deus in sacra scriptura mistica profert.

2 ascendit Be idiotas turba figurat Pt 3 dux populi] mons uirtus Pt 4 sacra] sancta
BL: om. Be

(Ex 19:17-18, 20:21) Rabanus, *Comm. in Exod.* 2.15 (PL 108.106c): 'Turba quippe populi, allegoriarum caliginem non valet penetrare, quia valde paucorum est, spiritualementem intellectum rimari. Quia enim mentes carnalium sola saepe historia pascuntur, loquente Deo, *stetit populus de longe*.' Bede, *Comm. in Pent., In Exod.* 19 (PL 91.317c) similarly equates the *nubes* with allegory, but does not go as far as Rabanus.

21

Quod discipuli cognouerunt Dominum in fractione panis.

Panis significat scripturam. Frangere panem
est exponere scripturas. Cognoscitur inde
Christus, cum sensus aperitur spiritualis.

U(-F)BLPt

Titulus: CXVBL

1 scripturas CaJo

(Lc 24:30-31, 35) Gregory's homily on this text (*Homiliae in evang.* 2.23 [PL 76.1182-83]) does not contain this interpretation. Elsewhere he does refer to bread as the word of God; cf. *Moralia* 15.13.16 (CCL 143A.757): 'Vel certe quia panis scripturae sacrae intellegentia non inconuenienter accipitur ...' and *Moralia* 23.25 (PL 76.281A-B): 'In Scriptura enim sacra panis aliquando ipse Dominus, aliquando spiritualis gratia, aliquando divinae doctrinae eruditio ... accipitur.'

22

Quid significat arcus in nubibus.

Iudicium per aquam transiuit, eritque per ignem.

Ceruleus color et rubeus notat istud in arcu.

Ceruleus color est in aqua, rubicundus in igne.

URHBLWiBePt

Titulus: (*TCXVHBLWiEsJoPt*

2 istud] illud *FCa* 2 post 3 transp. *VRKJo* 3 om. *WiPt*: ne timeant ymbres datus est in nubibus obses add. *R*

(Gen 9:13) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.8.29 (CCL 142.119): 'Vnde et in arcu eodem color aquae et ignis simul ostenditur, quia et ex parte est caeruleus et ex parte rubicundus, ut utriusque iudicii testis sit, unius uidelicet faciendi et alterius facti, sed iam non ulterius faciendi, quia mundus quidem iudicii igne cremabitur, sed aqua iam diluuii non deletur.' Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.8 (PL 107.524d) is taken verbatim from Gregory.

23

Quid significat quod Dominus prius respexit ad Abel
et post ad munera eius.

Respexit Dominus ad Abel, respexit ad eius
munera. Plus placet affectus quam munera dantis.

Vnde prius dantem respexit, postea munus.

Non per munus Abel, per Abel sunt munera grata.

URHBLPt

Titulus: (*TCV dominus] deus V et post] postea C*
1 dominus] deus *Ed.* 3 inde *BL* 4 non] nam *Ed.* per Abel] sed per Abel *D* per
Abel ... grata] sed presunt munera grata *L* grata om. *B*

(Gen 4:4) Gregory, *Ep.* 9.229 (CCL 140A.806-807): 'Dicturus quippe quia Dominus respexit ad munera, praemisit sollicite quia *respexit ad Abel*. Ex qua re patenter ostenditur quia non offerens a muneribus sed munera ab offerente placuerunt.' Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.1 (PL 107.501d) does not give this explanation.

24

Quid significat quod Salomon dicit:
Frustra ponitur rete ante oculos pennatorum.

Coram pennatis tenduntur recia frustra.

Virtutes pennas, pennatos accipe iustos,

UB

Titulus: (*TCVEs dicit] ait Salomon T*

recia peccati laqueos. A demone iustis
hec opponuntur frustra, quia talia uitant.

3 iustis] structos *Ed.* 4 hec] his *Ed.*

(Pr 1:17) Gregory's interpretation is similar although *iusti* become *spiritus bonorum* and *uirtutes*, *spes ueritatis*; cf. *Moralia* 16.25.30 (CCL 143A.816): 'Pennati quippe sunt bonorum spiritus, qui dum ad altiora per spem ueritatis euolant, apposita prauorum hominum deceptionis retiacula declinant.' Elsewhere Gregory equates wings with virtues, e.g., *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.10.31 (CCL 142.159): 'Saepe iam alas animalium uirtutes diximus esse Sanctorum'; and he equates nets with sins, e.g., *Moralia* 14.11.13 (CCL 143A.704): 'Qui pedes in rete mittit, non cum uoluerit eicit, sic qui in peccatis se deicit non mox ut uoluerit surgit' See also Bede, *Super parab. Sal.* 1.2 (PL 91.941D): '... recte dicat perniciosam malorum doctrinam Facile enim laqueos, qui in terra tenduntur, cavet, qui conversationem habet in coelis.' Jerome's commentary on the proverb is similar to Gregory's; cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Proph., In Amos* 1.3.3/8 (CCL 76.246).

25

Item quod dicit:

Circulus aureus in naribus suis mulier pulchra et fatua.

Stulta decensque simul mulier quasi circulus auri
est in nare suis, que ceno uoluitur. Aurum
in ceno decor est in stulto corpore. Cenum
sordidat aurum: sordidat insipientia formam.

U

Titulus: *VFCaEs* item quod dicit *om. VEs*
2 que] qui *CKEsJo* 3 *om. A* stulte *X*

(Pr 11:22) Nothing in Gregory. The interpretation of Bede, *Super parab. Sal.* 2.9 (PL 91.972D-73A) is similar to but not identical with that given here. There the woman uses her beauty 'ad evertendos ubique castitatis flosculos', and it is wickedness, not stupidity, which spoils her beauty. This interpretation is found verbatim in Rabanus, *Expos. in Prov.* 2.11 (PL 111.717c).

2 The relative *que* refers to *suis*, not *mulier*, nor, as the variant *qui* would have it, to *circulus*.

26

Quid significat quod Deus fecit prius celum
et postea idem fecit firmamentum.

Celum factum firmamentum mistica res est.
Nam celum bonus angelus est, qui postea factus
est firmamentum, firmatus ne queat ultra
iam labi; quoniam stetit hic, dum labitur alter.

U(-FCa)RHBP

Titulus: *CEs* idem fecit *om. C*
1 firmamentum factum *B* 4 dilabitur *PEd.*² (= Misc. 134.11-14 *ex P* [PL 171.1440c])

(Gen 1:1-2, 6-8) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.7.18 (CCL 142.94): 'Possunt enim firmamenti nomine caelestes potestates intellegi Sed quia cadentibus aliis, sancti angeli in sua beatitudine perstiterunt atque hoc acceperunt in munere, ut iam cadere omnino non possint' Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 1.3 (PL 107.449c f.) gives no such explanation nor does Ambrose, *Exameron* 1.26.A (CSEL 32/1.47).

27

Ex dictis beati Gregorii pape.

Quando facit mihi iusticiam pro munere iudex,
exsequitur iustum non iuste. Cum facit idem
iusticiam pro iusticia sine munere, iustum
exsequitur iuste. Duo commendantur in illo,

5 mens et opus. Mentem Deus, et plebs approbat actum.

U(-FJo)B

Titulus: (T)CVCa pape om. (T)C

1 facit mihi iusticiam] iusticiam faciet XD 2-3 om. C 5 mens opus et mentem C

Gregory, *Moralia* 9.25.38 (CCL 143.482): 'Iniuste quippe quod iustum est exsequitur, qui ad defensionem iustitiae non uirtutis aemulatione, sed amore praemii temporalis excitatur Iuste ergo iustum exsequi est in assertionem iustitiae eandem ipsam iustitiam quaerere.'

28

Quid significat quod dicitur:

Non indues uestem lana linoque contextam.

Vestem contextam lana linoque recusa.

Interius tegitur linum sub tegmine lane.

Accipe propter ouem per lanam simplicitatem,
per linum subtile dolum. Qui simplicitatem

5 exterius monstrat, retinens in pectore fraudem,
lanam, linum fert in ueste, duplexque notatur.

URH

Titulus: (T)CVFCaEs

4 om. CDKJoEd. 5 des. H exterius monstrat] quam foris ostendit Ed. 6 lanam et linum Ed.: linum sub lanam FCa: sub lana linum D qui fert Ed. in om. DFCaEd. qui prius in uerbo fraudes animo meditatur add. Ed.

(Deut 22:11) Gregory, *Moralia* 8.51.87 (CCL 143.451): 'Per lanam quippe simplicitas, per linum uero subtilitas designatur et simplicitatem foras innocentiae ostendit.' The version of Rabanus, *Enarr. super Deut.* 3.3 (PL 108.926B) is almost identical. Isidore repeats Gregory verbatim in *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Deut.* 9 (PL 83.362c).

29

Quid significat quod Dominus dixit serpenti:

Pectore et uentre repes.

Antiquus serpens mihi serpit pectore, si quid
cogito luxurie; si rem perfecero, uentre.

U(-FCa)RH

Titulus: (T)CVEs dominus] deus V

2 uentre] mente R: sponte A

(Gen 3:14) Gregory, *Moralia* 21.2.5 (CCL 143A.1067-68): 'Serpens uidelicet uentre repit, quando hostis lubricus per humana membra sibimet subdita usque ad expletionem operis luxuriam exercet. Serpens autem repit pectore, quando eos quos in opere luxuriae non ualet polluit in cogitatione.' Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 1.18 (PL 107.495A) has a similar account.

30

Quid significat hystoria de Dina:

Egressa enim Dina ut uideret mulieres aliene regionis.

*Quam cum uidisset Sichem princeps terre illius, adamauit
et ui uirginem oppressit, tristemque blandiciis deliniuit.*

Exiit ignotas mulieres Dina uidere,
opprimit hanc Sichem dux terre, mulcet eandem
blandiciis. Animam designat Dina uagantem
extra propositum. Corrumpit protinus illam
5 spiritus immundus, qui princeps dicitur huius
mundi. Si uelit hec respiscens crimina flere,
blandiciis mulcet corruptor, gaudia mundi
opponens, multisque modis retinere laborat.

URH

Titulus: FCa

3 animam uagantem dina figurat Ca dina] diua D: digna Ed. 7 mundi] uite C

(Gen 34:1) Gregory, *Reg. past.* 3.29.30 (PL 77.108c): 'Dina quippe ut mulieres videat extraneae regionis, egreditur, quando unaquaeque mens sua studia negligens, actiones alienas curans quatenus utilitatem tristitiae subtrahat.' This is found word for word in Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.22 (PL 107.614B), apparently derived from Alcuin. Isidore also includes Gregory verbatim in his commentary, *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Gen.* 28 (PL 83.266D-267A).

31

Quid significat quod in mensa Domini
preparabantur phiale et cyati.

- In mensa Domini phiale cyatique parantur.
Per mensam pastus doctrine significatur,
per phialas uerbi facundia maxima sacri.
Est cyatus mensura minor; minor ergo notatur
5 per cyatos uerbi mensura. Det utraque doctor:
perfectis phialas, cyatosque minoribus, ut qui
plus capiunt plus inde bibant, minus inde minores.

URH

Titulus: *CVFHCaEs* domini] tabernaculi *C*
2 mensas *Jo* significantur *CXJoEd*. 4 notatur] uocatur *VFEd*. 5 om. *X* magister
utraque *D*

(Ex 37:16) Gregory, *Moralia* 20.2.4 (CCL 143A.1004): 'Quid enim per phialas nisi larga praedicatio, quid uero per cyathos nisi minima ac tenuis de Deo locutio designatur' Rabanus has nothing to say about this.

32

Quid significat quod in basibus templi
sculpebantur cherubin et boues et leones.

- In base sunt cherubin, sunt et bos et leo sculpti.
Ordo sacerdotum basis; hec fert pondera templi,
hic onus ecclesie; cherubique sciencia plena.
Sic in presbitero perfecta sciencia debet
5 esse, bouis mansuetudo, feritasque leonis.
Virtutes plantet doctrina, nutriat illas
mansuetudine, peccatum feritate repellat.

URH

Titulus: *(T)XFCa*
1 sculptus *D*: sculpta *CR* 6 plantet] placet *A*: uigeant *D* illos *FCA*

(3 Reg 7:29) Gregory, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.17.12 (PL 76.1144D-45A): 'Hinc namque est quod in templi ministerio in basibus templi sculptorio opere leones et boves et cherubim expressa sunt. Cherubim quippe est plenitudo scientiae. Sed quid est quod in basibus nec leones sine bobus, nec boves sine leonibus fiunt? Quid enim aliud, designant bases in templo, nisi sacerdotes in Ecclesia? Qui dum sollicitudinem regiminis tolerant, quasi more basium superimpositum onus portant. In basibus ergo cherubim exprimuntur, quia decet nimirum ut sacerdotum pectora plenitudine scientiae sint referta. Per leones autem terror severitatis, per boves vero patientia mansuetudinis figuratur. Itaque in basibus nec leones sine bobus, nec boves sine leonibus

exprimuntur, quia semper in sacerdotali pectore cum terrore severitatis custodiri debet virtus mansuetudinis, ut et iram mansuetudo condat, et eandem mansuetudinem, ne fortasse dissoluta sit, zelus distractionis accendat.' The section in Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 3.7 (PL 109.174D) 'Habent inter coronulas ...' is probably taken from Gregory, to judge from the similarity of phrases. Bede's commentary contrasts the ferocity of lions with *bubula mansuetudo* but he does not mention the priesthood (*De templo* 2 [CCL 119A.216]). Cf. Hugh of Pontigny (ed. Talbot, 'The Sermons of Hugh of Pontigny', 21): 'Quod mystice docens Salomon in base templi que prelati aptatur, una cum cherubim bouem pariter sculpsit et leonem. In cherubim scientia in boue mansuetudo in leone terror innuitur'

33

Quid significat quod Sodomite non potuerunt intrare
domum Loth.

Vult intrare, nequit fera gens Sodomitae domum Loth.
Vitam iustorum cupiunt reprehendere prauī,
sed non inueniunt aditus qua parte subintrent.
Obstat eis paries firmissimus, actio sancta.

URH

Titulus: VFHCaJo

1 sodomitae Ed. 2 cupiunt] uolunt F 4 fortissimus CH actio sancta] hospite sancto Ed.

(Gen 19:11) Gregory, *Moralia* 6.22.38 (CCL 143.312): 'Sodomitae autem uiri in domo Lot errantes nihil aliud quam parietem palpant.' Repeated verbatim by Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.22 (PL 107.556B).

34

Quid significat quod Loth fugiens Sodomam petiit montem.

Loth fugit ardentem Sodomam, montesque requirit.
Vir fugiens uenerem munde petit ardua uite.

U(-A)RH

Titulus: CVHES

1, 2 transp. C post 2 in sodomis castus, peccans in monte figurat/ utentes mundo recte post hec male claustro add. H

(Gen 19:30) Gregory, *Reg. past.* 3.27.28 (PL 77.102D): 'Ardentem quippe Sodomam fugere, est illicita carnis incendia declinare. Altitudo vero montium est munditia continentium.' Repeated word for word by Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.23 (PL 107.557C).

35

Quid significat quod in ueste sacerdotali erant inserta
tintinnabula et mala punica.

- Aurea pontificis pendebant insita uesti
tintinnabula malaque punica: mistica res est.
Vestis opus designat, tintinnabula uerbum,
punica mala fidem, que plurima grana sub uno
5 cortice coniungunt. Sic plurima corda bonorum
una fides nectit. Simul hec tria quisque sacerdos
debet habere, fidem, doctrinam, religionem.

URH

Titulus: (T)VEs

1 pontifici Ed. 5 coniungit FRCa: subiungunt Jo

(Ex 39:24) Gregory, *Reg. past.* 2.4 (PL 77.31B): 'Vestimenta etenim sacerdotis quid aliud quam recta opera debemus accipere? ... Vestimentis itaque illius tintinnabula inhaerent, ut vitae viam cum linguae sonitu ipsa quoque sacerdotis opera clament'; and *ibid.* (31c): 'Quid enim per mala punica, nisi fidei unitas designatur? Nam sicut in malo punico, uno *exterius cortice* multa interius *grana* muniuntur; sic innumeros sanctae Ecclesiae populos unitas fide contegit ...' (our emphasis). Cf. the italicized words with Hildebert's ll. 4-5. The same interpretation is given also in Gregory, *Ep.* 1.24 (CCL 140.26-27). It does not appear in Rabanus or Bede, but is found word for word in Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Exod.* 59 (PL 83.319B).

36

Quid significat quod Moyses precepit filiis Leui
ut accincti gladio irent de porta ad portam
et occideret unusquisque proximum et fratrem suum.

- Accinctis gladio de porta precepit ire
ad portam Moyses, fratres occidere. Res est
mistica, nam gladius est uerbum, portaque crimen.
Culpa per hanc ad nos intrat. Cum crimina doctor
5 persequitur uerbo, currens per singula, transit
accinctus gladio, de porta perueniendo
ad portam. Fratrem perimit, cum crimen in illo
extinguit: perit hic uicio cui uixerat ante.

URH

Titulus: (T)CV et] ac (T)

1 accinctus CXRCaEd.: accingi (T)A precipit XREsEd. 4 intrat] ingreditur K 5 om.
R prosequitur X currens om. Ed. 8 qui uicerat FCa

(Ex 32:37) Gregory, *Reg. past.* 3.25.26 (PL 77.97c-d): 'De porta vero usque ad portam ire, est a vitio usque ad vitium ... increpando discurrere Fratrem scilicet ... interficit, qui cum

punienda invenit, ab increpationis gladio nec eis quos per cognationem diligit parcit.' Rabanus, *Comm. in Exod.* 4.18 (PL 108.227A-B) gives Gregory's explanation practically verbatim.

37

Moralitas hystorie ubi scriptum est quod Ruben et Gad
et dimidia tribus Manasse petierunt gregibus suis pascua
ultra Iordanem nolentes intrare terram promissionis.

Cum multas pecudes habuissent, pascua querunt
extra Iordanem, nec amant habitacula terre
promisse Ruben, Gad, dimidiusque Manasses.
Sic nimis intenti terrenis rebus auari,
5 extra celestem patriam remanere merentur.

URH

Titulus: (T)VFHCaEs moralitas ... est] quid significat FCa nolentes] uolentes VF
2 extra] ultra C 4 sic] sed A

(Num 32:1-5) Gregory, *Moralia* 27.13 (PL 76.413c-d): 'Multi quippe quamvis fideles, curis praesentibus occupati, quasi armenta extra Jordanem pascunt, quia contra fidem baptismatis tota mente omnique desiderio rebus perituris inserviunt.' Bede, *Comm. in Pent., In Num.* 32 (PL 91.373A) gives a similar interpretation and so does Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Num.* 42.15 (PL 83.360A), but Rabanus, *Enarr. in lib. Num.* 4.7 (PL 108.806A) equates the people who will not cross Jordan with the Jewish nation as a whole.

38

Quare filii Israel fuerunt in deserto XL annis.

Exploratores Iericho tardasse diebus
quadraginta dicuntur; cum castra redissent,
Iudeis laudant regionis fertilitatem.
Non credunt; Deus arguit hos incredulitatis:
5 quotque dies habuit legacio, iure tot annis
differtur populo dubitanti fertile regnum.

UR

Titulus: (T)XVFCaEsJo
4 infidelitatis Jo

(Num 14:34) The interpretation is biblical: 'iuxta numerum quadraginta dierum, quibus considerastis terram: annus pro die imputabitur.'

39

Quare diuisum est regnum Iudeorum in duas partes.

Terram Miphiboset Dauid diuisit inique
inter eum seruumque suum Siba. Reddidit illi
pro meritis Deus. Hoc in posteritate recepit.
Inter Ieroboam seruum Roboamque nepotem
5 Dauid diuisit regnum Deus, ulcio digna.

URH

Titulus: *XVFHESJo*

3 in potestate receptis *Ed.*

(2 Reg 16:4) Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 2.19 (PL 109.111A): 'Pro eo quod in hoc loco Dauid immemor fuit amicitiae et foederis, imo iuramenti, quod habuit cum Jonathan ... idcirco Roboam et Jeroboam diuiserunt ejus regnum.'

40

Quomodo Iudei dicuntur colare culicem et deglutire camelum.

Dum poscunt solui Baraban, Christumque necari,
Iudei culicemque colant, sorbentque camelum.
Accipe per culicem Baraban, quia ledit uterque,
ore culex, Barabas gladio; Christumque camelus
5 signat. Fert onus hic, et mundi crimina Christus.

U(-F)

Titulus: *(T)XEs* quomodo] quod *X*

1 cum *CXJoEd.* salui *Ca* 2 colunt *XD*: liquant *Ed.* 3 laeditur utque *Ed.* utrique *Jo*

(Mt 23:24) Gregory, *Moralia* 1.15.21 (CCL 143.35): 'Culex enim susurrando uulnerat, camelus autem sponte se ad suscipienda onera inclinat. Liquauerunt ergo Iudaei culicem quia seditiosum latronem dimitti petierunt; camelum uero glutierunt quia eum qui ad suscipienda nostrae mortalitatis onera sponte descenderat extinguere clamando conati sunt.' Cf. also Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 7.23 (PL 107.1071B).

41

Quid significat quod Rebecca ad Ysaac ueniens nuptum,
cum uidisset eum, descendit de camelo
et pre pudore operuit faciem suam pallio.

Cum sponsum Rebecca uideret, uecta camelo,
descendit, faciemque suam suffusa rubore

URH

Titulus: *(T)VHEs*

1 dum *DF*

- uelauit. Sponsus Christum, Rebecca figurat
ecclesiam de gentibus. Hec erat in uiciosis
5 moribus et tortis. Vt Christum nouit, ad ipsum
tendens, de fastu mundi descendit, et actus
preteritos recolens, patitur confusa pudorem.

5 tortis] notis *V*: mente *D* ut] cum *D* christumque notauit ad ipsam *A* 7 suffusa *Jo*
pudorem] dolorem *corr. in* pudorem *D*: ruborem *CARJo*

(Gen 24:63-65) Gregory, *Moralia* 1.15.21 (CCL 143.35): 'Vnde et Rebecca ad Isaac ueniens, dorso cameli deducitur, quia ad Christum ex gentilitate Ecclesia properans, in *tortis uitiosisque* uitae ueteris conuersationibus inuenitur quia coram illo ex anteacta uita confunditur' (our emphasis). Repeated verbatim by Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.6 (PL 107.578A).

42

Quid significat quod Abraham sepeliuit Saram in spelunca duplici.

- Spelunca duplici Saram sepelisse uir eius
fertur. Fossa duplex uitam designat utramque,
actiuam, contemplatiuam, uirque magistrum
ecclesie; coniunx animam, que mortua mundo
5 in duplici uita sepeliri debet, ut hic sit
contemplator et actiuus, uiciisque sepultus.

URH

Titulus: *VHEsJo*

5 uita] uita *corr. in* uia *F* 6 contemplatorque *Ed*.

(Gen 23:19) Gregory, *Moralia* 6.37.56 (CCL 143.325): '... quia nimirum perfectus quisque praedicator exstinctam a praesentis uitae desideriis animam suam, sub bonae operationis tegmine et contemplationis abscondit, ut a carnali concupiscentia sub actiua contemplatiuaque uita quasi insensibilis lateat' Repeated verbatim by Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.4 (PL 107.571A). Cf. Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Gen.* 18 (PL 83.251D): 'Sed quid sibi vult, quod Sara in sepulcro duplici sepelitur, nisi quia anima, quae saeculo moritur, ut Deo vivat, gemina vitae requie suscipitur, id est, actione boni operis, et contemplatione Divinitatis?'

43

Quid significat quod rex Babilonis destruxit muros Ierusalem
per Nabuzardan principem cocorum.

Per Nabuzardan destruxit rex Babilonis
muros Ierusalem: princeps erat ille cocorum.
Est Babilonis rex Sathanas, princepsque cocorum

UR

Titulus: *VEs*

uenter, Ierusalem celestis menia iusti.

- 5 Vnde Petrus: *Viui lapides uos estis*, et istos
spiritus immundus per uentrem sepe fefellit.

4 menia] mansio *D* 5 uiuos *Ed.* estis et istos] aedificatos *Ed.* 6 repellit *FCa*

(4 Reg 25:8) Gregory, *Moralia* 30.18 (PL 76.556B): 'Quid enim per muros Ierusalem significans Scriptura exprimit, nisi virtutes animae Muros igitur Ierusalem princeps coquorum destruit, quia virtutes animae dum non restringitur uenter, perdit.' The interpretation of Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 4.25 (PL 109.276B) is entirely different. He has seen the text as 'Nabuzardan, princeps exercitus', while the 'princeps coquorum' of Hildebert and Gregory is a Latin translation of the ἀρχιμάγειρος of the Septuagint. Nabuzardan is similarly equated with gluttony in the poem edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 65 by A. Boutemy, 'Deux poèmes inconnus de Serlon de Bayeux et une copie nouvelle de son poème contre les moines de Caen', *Le Moyen Age* 48 (1938) 255-57. Cf. ll. 52-53:

Non uis armorum sed princeps cocorum,
Ierusalem muros destruxit uix ruituros.

- 5 1 Pet 2:5

44

Quid significat quod propheta dicit tres uiros saluandos tamen,
scilicet Noe, Iob, Daniel, et quod duo erunt ad molam,
duo pistrinam, duo in lecto, duo in agro.

Iob, Daniel, Noe sunt saluandi, teste propheta.

Trinus in ecclesia uiget ordo, notatus in istis.

Uxoratos Iob, Daniel se mortificantes,

rectores Noe significat. Fuit ille maritus,

- 5 carnem mortificans Daniel, Noe rector in archa.

Pistrinum, lectus, ager assignantur eisdem

ordinibus. Mola significat mundana, quietem

lectus, ager populum. Mola sponsis est data, lectus

contemplatiuis, agricultura magistris.

- 10 Ordo quisque duos, reprobum gerit atque fidelem.

Hic manet ad penam raptus: capit ille coronam.

UP

Titulus: *VFCa* tamen scilicet *om. V*

1 *om. PEd.*² (= Misc. 134.1-10 ex *P* [PL 171.1440c]) 2 *om. Jo* notatus] notatur *C*:
uocatus *Ed.*: notus *Ed.*² 4 iste *PEd.*² 6 pistrinum *Jo*: pristinum *PXEd.Ed.*² hec tria lectus
ager mola sunt tribus apta notandis (mola designantur eisdem *Es*) *DEs* 7 signat *Ed.* 7-
8 *om. X* 9 et agricultura *PEd.*² 11 raptus] felix *F*: *om. Ca*

(Ezech 14:14, Mt 24:37-41) Gregory, *Moralia* 1.14.20 (CCL 143.34): 'Vnde et Ezechiel propheta tres liberatos uiros audisse se asserit: Noe scilicet et Daniele et Iob. Quid enim per Noe, qui arcam in undis rexit, nisi praepositorum ordo signatur, qui, dum ad formam uitae populis praesunt, sanctam Ecclesiam in tentationum fluctibus regunt? Quid per Daniele cuius

mira abstinentia scribitur nisi continentium uita figuratur, qui, dum cuncta quae mundi sunt deserunt, despectae Babyloniae alta mente dominantur? Quid per Iob nisi bonorum coniugatorum uita signatur; qui de rebus mundi quas possident, dum pia opera faciunt, quasi per terrae uiam ad caelestem patriam tendunt?' The passage of the *Aurora* included in Petrus Riga's *Floridus aspectus* 4 (PL 171.1387), though written on the same theme, does not show any close verbal resemblance. According to Talbot, 'The Sermons of Hugh of Pontigny', 21, the theme of this poem is found several times in the sermons of Hugh of Pontigny.

45

Summa euangelii ubi seruis distribuuntur talenta.

Traduntur seruis unum, duo, quinque talenta.

Quinque talenta figurant sensus quinque. Duobus designatur et actus et intellectus; in uno intellectus. In intellectu quisque peritus

5 peccat, cum per doctrinam nihil ille lucratur.

Qui sua pauperibus tribuit, que quinque parauit sensibus, hic Domino lucra fert de quinque talentis.

Qui uerbo, uita prodest fert lucra duorum.

UR

Titulus: (T)

3 designantur *VREd.* 4 in *om. VF* 5 ipse *Ed.*; inde *CFCa* 6 que] qui *Ed.* 7 hic ... fert] hic fert domino *F* 8 *om. F* uerbo et uita *Ed.*

(Mt 25:15) Gregory, *Homiliae in evang.* 1.9 (PL 76.1106c): 'Quinque ergo talentis donum quinque sensuum ... exprimitur. Duobus uero intellectus et operatio designatur. Unius autem talenti nomine intellectus tantummodo designatur.' Cf. 'subtilia de internis intelligunt, mira in exterioribus operantur' (ibid. 1106c-d) with Hildebert, l. 8. This account is repeated practically verbatim by Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 7.25 (PL 107.1089c). It does not contain the interpretation of the use of the five talents given by Hildebert in ll. 6-7. Perhaps this is his own.

46

Quid significat quod Dauid dicit:

Laudate Dominum in tympano et choro.

Exprimitur per tympana mortificatio carnis:

in cantu chorus est concors. Cum religiosus

mortificat carnem, discors a moribus horum

cum quibus est, laudat Dominum per tympana, sed non

5 uoce chori. Laudes in utroque referre iubetur,

ut se mortificans, concors cum fratribus adsit.

U(-FCa)

Titulus: (T) *VEs* Dauid] psalmista *Es*: propheta *V*

4 sed] si *D* 6 cum] sic *D*

(Ps 150:4) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.8.8 (CCL 142.106): 'Vnde psalmista quoque nullam esse abstinentiam sine concordia designans, ait: *Laudate* In tympano enim corium siccum resonat, in choro autem uoces concorditer cantant. Quid ergo per tympanum nisi abstinentia, et quid per chorum nisi caritatis concordia designatur? Qui itaque sic abstinentiam tenet ut concordiam deserat, laudat quidem in tympano, sed non laudat in choro.' Cf. also his *Moralia* 33.17 (PL 76.694D), *Reg. past.* 3.23.23 (PL 77.89c) and *Ep.* 7.29 (CCL 140.489).

47

Quid significat quod in Egipto populus libertatem non amisit
cum ad uictum reciperet fruges.

Cum uero semen recepit factus est seruus.

Accepit fruges ad semen seruus, ad esum

liber in Egipto populus: res ista notanda.

Est liber cui multa licent, cui regula laxa.

Si sacro uerbo pascatur, liber ad esum

- 5 accepit frugem. Si uerbi semina querit,
et fieri doctor, Domini sit seruus oportet.

U(-FCa)RH

Titulus: *VEsJo* recepit] accepit *Jo*

3 licet *Jo* 4-5 post 6 *Jo* 5 accipiet *Ed.* 6 et doctor fieri *K* seruus sit *Jo*

(Gen 47:13-26) Neither Rabanus in *Comm. in Gen.* 4.11 (PL 107.650B) nor Gregory appears to have this interpretation. Nor do Ambrose, Augustine, Bede or Isidore.

48

Quid significat quod in sacrificio iuence comburitur
cedrus et ysopus et coccus bis tinctus.

Mactatam uitulam comitantur cedrus, ysopus,

coccus bis tinctus. Dum carnem mortificamus,

mactamus uitulam. Per ysopum significatur

nostra fides Christo: *Petra Christus*, apostolus inquit.

- 5 Nostra fides petre radicibus heret ysopus.

Eterne uite corrumpi nescia cedrus

spem mihi designat; coccus rubicundus amoris

flammam, qua pia mens ardet; bis tinctus utramque,

et per quam Deus, et per quam uicinus amatur.

- 10 Dum caro mactatur, uirtus hec trina sequatur.

URH

Titulus: *(T)VFCaJo* iuence] uitule *F*: uitulus *Ca*

1 iactatam *K*: lactatam *C* 1-5 om. *H* 4 nostra] uestra *R*: uera *Ed.* 5 om.
FRHKCaJoEd. 8 utramque om. *K*

(Num 19:6) Gregory, *Moralia* 6.37.56 (CCL 143.326): 'Vaccam quippe mactamus cum carnem a lasciuiā uoluptatis exstinguimus ut uidelicet ante interni iudicis oculos caritas nostra Dei et proximi dilectione coloretur' The brief reference of Rabanus, *Enarr. in lib. Num.* 2.24 (PL 108.707c) incorporates Gregory's words.

49

Quid significat quod propheta dicit:
Cuius ignis in Syon et caminus in Ierusalem.

- In Syon ignis, in Ierusalemque caminus.
Visio Ierusalem pacis, speculacio Syon.
Syon ecclesiam presentem denotat, unde
mens quasi de longe Dominum speculatur in ista.
5 Ignis amoris adest sed nondum plenus, in illa
Ierusalem plenus, ubi paxque Deusque uidetur.
Vnde propheta refert: *Hic ignis, ibique caminus.*

U

Titulus: (T)VEs

3 unde] unum *Ed.* 4 in ista] et isti *FCa* 5 inest *FCa* nondum ... illa] non plenus sed
in illa *Ed.*

(Is 31:9) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 2.9.10 (CCL 142.365): 'Sion uero speculatio, Hierusalem autem uisio pacis dicitur Ex amore ergo Domini in Sion ignis est, in Hierusalem caminus, quia hic amoris eius flammis aliquatenus ardemus ... sed ibi plene ardebimus, ubi illum plene uidebimus quem amamus.'

50

Quid significat sacrificium Abrahe
quando uoluit immolare filium suum.

I

- Patrem significat Abraham, sua uictima Christum,
Israel et Iudam duo serui, bestia bruta
stulticiam. Puer est ductus, remanentque clientes,
et retinent asinum. Christi comes esse recusat
5 insipiens populus, remanens sub lege uacante.
Ligna puer, Christusque crucem portasse feruntur.

I: URH (ll. 6-8 *BLWiPtEvrEd.*)

II: *BLWiPtEvrEd.* (Gemm.)

Titulus: *VHEsPt* quando] qui *V*

I: 6 post 8 *FCaEs* II: 5-9 post I 6 *Es*

Hic tamen est aries, non infans sacrificatus;
sic Christi caro, non deitas est in cruce passa.

II

- Est Abraham pater; est Ysaac Christus; duo serui
diuisus populus sub regum sorte duorum;
stulticia est asinus. Ysaac ad sacrificandum
ducitur; expectant serui retinentque iumentum.
5 Sic cum stulticia remanent, nec adesse merentur
sacro Iudei nec Christum credere passum.
Expectant potius uenturum, donec ad illos
ipse reuertatur, cum circa tempora mundi
ultima suscipient uerbum, fientque fideles.
10 Ligna, puer ... etc.

I: 7 hic] hec *D*: hinc *Pt*: sic *EvrEd*.

II: 2 rege *Wi* 5 cum] est *B* 6 iudei] mysterio *Ed*. Christum nec *Ed*. 9 uerbum]
fidem *Wi*

(Gen 22:5) Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.3 (PL 107.568c-69A, based on Isidore): 'Quis ergo in Abraham ... nisi Pater excelsus? Quis in Isaac, nisi Christus? ... Et sicut Isaac ipse sibi ligna portavit ... ita et Christus gestavit in humeris lignum crucis suae Duo autem servi illi dimissi ... Iudaeos significabant Asinus autem ille insensata est stultitia Iudaeorum.' Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.6.15 (CCL 142.75) makes a brief reference to the similarity between Isaac and Christ but this appears to be all.

51

Quid significat quod Ioab percussit Abner in inguine
et mortuus est.

- Abner presbiteros signat: sermone latino
lux patris est Abner. Deus est pater, et pater illos
dat tam doctrina quam uita lumina mundi.
Inguine percussit Ioab hunc. Ioab hostis apud nos
5 dicitur, et generis humani denotat hostem.
Quando sacerdotes prosternit subdolos hostis
telo luxurie, Ioab inguine percutit Abner.

URHBLWiPt

Titulus: (*T*)*WLCaEsPt*

2 *om. Jo* deus illos *CABLEsPt* 3 dat ... mundi] ditat doctrina quasi sint duo lumina
mundo *A*: claros doctrina dat tanquam lumina mundo *FCaPt* lumina] et lumine *Ed*.: humana
LWi 4 percutit *FCa*

(2 Reg 3:27) Gregory, *Reg. past.* 3.16.17 (PL 77.77B): 'Unde et Abner, qui *nostro sermone* patris lucerna dicitur ...' (our emphasis). Gregory, however, does not appear to give the allegory behind the rest of the poem. This is found in Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 2.3 (PL 109.78c): 'Nam et Joab ... non alium quam hostem antiquum significat, qui fictis suasionibus quotidie fideles subvertere satagit, et per libidinis noxiae contagionem interficere molitur.' He also gives the equation of Abner with *doctores sancti* (ibid. 78B) but there is not the same verbal coincidence as occurs between Gregory's *nostro sermone* and Hildebert's *sermone latino*.

52

Quid significat quod archa Noe fuit ampla deorsum,
angusta sursum, consummata in cubito, habens inferius
bruta animalia, in medio homines, superius uolucres.

Archa Noe sursum fuit arta, sed ampla deorsum,
in cubito perfecta. Deorsum bruta locantur,
et post hec homines, uolucres super. Archa figurat
ecclesiam. Multos in ea cognoscimus esse

5 irrationales: sic dilatatur in illis.

Sunt homines in ea, sed pauci, qui sua querunt,
et peccare cauent: sic angustatur in istis.
Sunt in ea rari, quibus est mens spernere mundum.
Virtutum pennis ut aues tolluntur ad astra.

10 Hi iuxta cubitum resident in parte superna,
nam bene pro meritis loca distinguntur eorum.
Christum designat cubitus. Spes tendit ad illum
ecclesie, quo perueniens nihil appetit ultra.

URHP

Titulus: *XVEs*

3 hec] hoc *Ed.*² (= Misc. 134.15-27 *ex P* [PL 171.1440c]) homines signat quam diximus
archa *X* 4 cognouimus *CPed.*² 5 irrationabiles *PEd.*² sic sedes redditur illis *D* 6 sed
pauci qui sua] pauci non sua *C* 7 angustantur *Ed.*² illis *RCaPed.*² 8 mens *om. Ed.*
9 ad astra] in astra *Ed.*²: in altum *R* 13 nil *XDVREd.*²

(Gen 6:15) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 2.4.16 (CCL 142.270): 'Recte itaque per arcam uniuersa Ecclesia designatur' Cf. especially Hildebert, l. 6 with Gregory, 'Videmus alios iam aliena non quaerere ...' (ibid. 2.4.17 [CCL 142.271]). Rabanus, *Comm. in Gen.* 2.6 (PL 107.516c) gives Gregory's version after Isidore, *Quaest. in Vet. Test., In Gen.* 7 (PL 83.229c-31A).

53

Quid significat quod Moyses tenens uirgam
proiecit eam in terram et factus est coluber.

Moyses timore percussus fugit, sed iussus a Domino
apprehendit postea caudam serpentis
et coluber facta est uirga.

Israel est Moyses, et uirga superna potestas;
serpens mortalis hominum natura. Per illum
mors uenit. Moyses uirgam tenet: Israel olim
uirtutem Domini sensit, protectus ab illa.

- 5 In terram proiecit eam, Dominumque prophete
incarnandum predixerunt. Virga fit anguis:
factus homo Deus est. Moyses fugit: impia Christum
plebs fugit atque negat. Serpentis postea caudam
hic tenet. Ecclesie, que Christi corpus habetur,
10 extremam partem credens Iudea tenebit.
Vertitur in uirgam coluber. Qui uenerat ante
mortalis, Deus apparebit, crimina damnans.

URH

Titulus: *VH* percussus *om. H*
2 illam *Ed.* 3 uirgam proiecit ut illa *Jo* 6 incarnandum] in scripturis *D* 7 est deus *D*
10 iudam *X*

(Ex 4:3) Rabanus, *Comm. in Exod.* 1.6 (PL 108.22c-23b): 'Quis per Moysen, nisi Judaicus populus, et quid per virgam nisi potestas Divinitatis? Quid per serpentem nisi mortalitas nostri Redemptoris exprimitur? ... super angelos videbitur Deus.' This commentary is similar to Augustine's in *Sermones de Vet. Test.*, *Sermo* 6.7 (CCL 41.65). No such interpretation appears in Gregory.

54

Quid significat quod angelus
qui resurrectionem Domini nuntiauit erat sicut fulgur,
et uestimenta eius sicut nix.

Angelus in cultu candorem, fulgur in ore
fert, hoc significans, quod iustis blandus, iniquis
terribilis ueniet quem uiuere nuntiat ille.

U(-F)R

Titulus: *VCaEs* nuntiauit] annuntiauit *Es*
1 cultu] uultu *XD*

(Mt 28:3) Gregory, *Homiliae in euang.* 2.21.3 (PL 76.1171b): 'In fulgure etenim terror timoris est, in nive autem blandimentum candoris. Quia uero omnipotens Deus et terribilis peccatoribus, et blandus est iustis'

55

Quid significat quod Moyses stans supra petram uidit
posteriora Dei pretereuntis et faciem eius uidere non potuit.

Dum staret Moyses in petra, pretereuntis
terga uidet, non ora Dei. Petra Christus: in illa
stat Moyses, cum gens Mosaica credit in istum.
Non uidet ora Dei: presentem noscere Christum
5 noluit hic populus. Videt eius posteriora:
post mortem cognouit eum pars maxima credens.

URH

Titulus: (T)VH Dei] domini (T) pretereuntis] transeuntis V

1 cum CXEsJoEd. 3 mosaica AK: permaxima DHREsEd.: maxima CXFCa: iam maxima
Jo cum iam gens maxima, mosayca in marg. V

(Ex 33:23) Rabanus, *Comm. in Exod.* 4.19 (PL 108.233c): 'Hoc enim factum est in eis, quos tunc significabat persona Moysi, id est, Israelitis, qui in Dominum Jesum ... postea crediderunt' There does not seem to be an interpretation of this passage in Gregory.

56

Quid significat quod psalmista dicit:
Simul in unum diues et pauper.

Nostre nature deitas unita refertur.
In Christo sic sunt diues egensque simul.

U(-X)

Titulus: VEs

1 nature nostre CAK 2 sic simul in christo sunt diues pauper in unum C sic pro nobis
fit diues egenus D

(Ps 48:2) Gregory seems to say nothing on this. Augustine does comment on the psalm, but for him the rich are those who desire earthly goods, the poor those who pursue the kingdom of heaven (*Enarr. in Ps.* 48 1.3 [CCL 38.552]).

57

Quid significat quod psalmista dicit:
In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra.

Vt fertur salices sunt in medio Babilonis.
Hec arbor sterilis steriles notat, actio quorum
fructum non affert. Habet hos confusio mundi.

U

Titulus: Es

3 non affert fructum V habet hos] sed sunt Ed.

- Doctrinam tales fugiunt, quapropter in illis
 5 organa suspendunt, maluntque tacere magistri,
 quam sanctum canibus, quam gemmas tradere porcis.

(Ps 136:2) Gregory, *Moralia* 33.5 (PL 76.676B): 'Babylonis quippe medio inesse salices describuntur, quia nimirum infructuosi quique vim suae praedicationis non exhibent, sed potius lugentes silent.' This is similar to Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 136* 6 (CCL 40.1967-68).

6 Mt 7:6

58

Quid significat oblacio columbe et turturis.

Hostia turturis atque columbe mistica res est.
 Est turtur castus, simplexque columba pudore.
 Sit tua mens turtur, sit simplicitate columba.
 Sic accepta Deo, sic fies hostia sancta.

URH

Titulus: *FHEs*

4 fies] fias C: fides *Ed*.

(Lev 12:6, 8; cf. Lc 2:24) Rabanus, *Comm. in Lev.* 3.5 (PL 108.370D): 'Columba ergo simplicitatem, turtur indicat castitatem' Gregory often equates the dove with simplicity but has nothing to say about this sacrifice in particular. Neither Ambrose nor Isidore gives a similar interpretation in their commentaries on this passage in Leviticus. Commentaries on the passage in Luke interpret the birds as penitence and mourning for sin (see Bede, *In Luc.* 1, 2:24 [CCL 120.63]).

3-4 Cited anonymously by Geoffrey, subprior of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge (*Ep.* 3 [PL 205.832B]).

59

Summa euangelii: *Exiit qui seminat seminare semen suum.*

- Petra capit semen, uia, sentes, optima terra:
 aret, aues comedunt, suffocant, fructificauit.
 Verbum semen, ager mundus, petra qui bene cepit
 sed radice caret, cui deficit humor et aret.
 5 Est uia cum uerbum uenit ad cor, et illico transit.
 Hoc uolucres comedunt, hoc nequam spiritus aufert.
 Spine suffocant semen cum diuiciarum

UR

Titulus: *(T)XVEs*

2 fructificatque *D* 4 aret] ardet *DK* 6 hoc²] hic *C*: hec *X*

sollicitudo Dei uerbum de pectore tollit.

Ter denum fructum Domino fert copula casta,

10 est duplus uidue, centenus uirginitatis.

10 duplex D

(Mt 13:3) As the allegorical explanation of this subject is given in the Gospel itself it seems possible that Hildebert took it straight from there. The account of Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 4.13 (PL 107.939c-d) seems to have no verbal affinity with Hildebert's and that of Gregory (*Homiliae in evang.* 1.15.1 [PL 76.1131c]) still less. Neither account gives the same interpretation of the *fructum centesimum*, *sexagesimum*, and *trigesimum* as Hildebert's last two lines. This, however, is found in Paschasius Radbertus, *Expos. in Matt.* 7.13 (PL 120.490c-91a): 'Depingitur autem iste numerus Porro centesimum fructum aequae virginibus vel martyribus consecratum et reconditum credimus'

60

Quid significat quod dicitur in Iob:

*Behemoth absorbebit fluuium et non mirabitur,
et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius.*

Absorbet fluuium Behemoth, speratque quod ori
influat illius Iordanis: mistica uerba.

Humanum genus est fluuius, baptismalis unda
Iordanis, Behemoth Sathanas in perdicionem.

5 Humanum genus hic Behemoth absorbit ante
baptismum: modo baptizatos temptat habere.

U

Titulus: (T)XVFCaEs iob dicit V

1 behemoth fluuium FJo 2 uerba] sunt hec Es 3-4 om. Ed. 5 quia sorbit ante Es
6 temptat] optat Jo

(Job 40:23) Gregory, *Moralia* 33.6 (PL 76.677b): 'Ac si aperte diceretur: Ante Redemptorem mundi mundum non miratus absorbit, sed quod est gravius, etiam post Redemptoris adventum quosdam qui baptismatis sacramento signati sunt deglutire se posse confidit.'

61

Cur sollemnitas paschalis celebratur per quadraginta dies.

I

Ad plus octo solent celebrari festa diebus,
pascha quater denis. Cur hoc sit queritur: audi.
Per quadraginta morti se tradidit horas

I: U(-F)RBe

Titulus: VCaEs celebretur VCa

I: 2 fit KEs 3 se morti ABc

- tam cruce quam tumulo Christus, totidemque diebus
5 festa resurgentis celebramus ad eius honorem.

II

- Cum soleant actis compleri festa diebus,
cur complent quadraginta dies sollemnia pasche?
Christus mortuus est horis quadraginta. Quot horis
discipuli fuerant tristes, de morte resurgens
5 letificat totidem famulorum corda diebus.

II: *BLWiPtEvrEd.(Gemm.)*

II: 1 actis] octo *Pt* compleri] celebrari *Pt* 2 cum *Pt* complent] complere *L*

(Ex 12) Nothing of this interpretation is found in Isidore's commentary on the Exodus passage, nor in Rabanus, *De cler. inst.* (PL 107.293-420).

62

Quid significat quod Dominus satiauit quinque milia hominum
de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus.

- Panes quinque, duos pisces dat quinque uirorum
milibus, et satiat Deus hos, aliudque notauit.
Quinque libri Moysi sunt panes quinque, prophete
et psalmi pisces duo; milia quinque figurant
5 perfectos homines, qui sensus quinque refrenant,
ne per eos peccent. Qui panes portat, Hebreus
est populus, qui fert legem. Sed nec sibi panes
ille, nec iste sibi legem fert. Pane reali
turbe pascuntur, nos uero spirituali.

UR

Titulus: *VFCaJo*

- 6 qui ... hebreus] qui portat hebreus est *FCa*: qui fert hebreorum *Ed.* 7 nec] non *VJo*
8 fert legem *Es.*: ferens est *A* legem sibi *FCa*

(Jo 6:9 ff.; cf. Lc 9:13) Alcuin, *Comm. in Ioan.* 3.12 (PL 100.821c-22c): 'Quinque autem panes, quibus multitudinem populi saturavit, quinque sunt libri Moysi Duo autem pisces quos addidit, psalmistarum non inconvenienter et prophetarum scripta significant Puer ... populus est Iudaeorum Quinque millia virorum qui manducaverunt, perfectionem vitae eorum qui verbo reficiuntur, insinuant.' Augustine also interprets the five loaves as Moses' five books, and the boy as the Hebrew people (*Tract. in Ioan.* 24.5 [CCL 36.246]). Bede takes the five loaves as Moses' books, but he interprets the two fish as the two testaments (*In Luc.* 3, 9:13 [CCL 120.199 f.]). The interpretation does not occur in Gregory.

63

In canticis: *Filie Ierusalem uenite et uidete regem Salomonem
in diademate qua coronauit eum mater sua.*

Quomodo suscepit Salomon a matre coronam?
Est Salomon Christus, mater synagoga, corona
spinea. De spinis Christo dedit illa coronam.

U(-D)R

Titulus: *VEsJo*

(Cant 3:11) The commentaries of Bede, *In Cant. alleg. expos.* 3.3.13 (PL 91.1127c-28A) and Alcuin, *Comp. in Cant.* 3.11 (PL 100.650c-d) regard the corona as Christ's humanity given him by his mother. Haimo of Auxerre, *Enarr. in Cant.* 3 (PL 117.314c) gives the same interpretation but adds: 'Potest hoc et simpliciter totum ad passionem Christi referri iuxta litteram in diademate, id est in spinea corona, quo coronauit eum mater sua, Synagoga'

64

In psalmo: *Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris.*

Doctrinam per aquam, per nubes sume prophetas.
Vt psalmista refert, in nubibus est tenebrosa
hec aqua; nam scribunt obscure multa prophete.

U

Titulus: *VFCaEs*

(Ps 17:12) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.6.1 (CCL 142.67): '*Tenebrosa, aqua in nubibus aeris*, quia obscura est scientia in prophetis.' Augustine's interpretation is similar (*Enarr. in Ps. 17* 12 [CCL 38.96]).

65

Quid significat tonsura clerici.

Vt capitis rasura docet, rex atque sacerdos
clericus est. Presul fert mitram, rexque coronam.
Accipitur quasi mitra quod est in uertice rasum:
qui subtus remanent sunt ipsa corona capilli.

U(-FK)P

Titulus: *(T)XVCaEs*

1 rasura] tonsura *CDAEd.*² (= Misc. 131 *ex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat.* 7596A [PL 171.1440A]) docet] decet *V* 2 est] et *Ed.*² 3 quasi] qui *Ed.*² quod] quid *Ed.*²

(1 Pet 2:9) Rabanus, *De cler. inst.* 1.3 (PL 107.298c) gives only one part of Hildebert's explanation: 'Quod vero detonso superius capite inferius circuli corona relinquitur, sacerdotium regnumque Ecclesiae in eis existimo figurari. Tiara enim apud veteres constituebatur in capite sacerdotum. Haec ex bysso confecta rotunda erat quasi sphaera media, et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa. Corona autem aurea latitudo est circuli, quae regum capita cingit.'

66

Quid significant tres mortui a Domino resuscitati,
quid quattuor dies Lazari.

Mens mala, mors intus; malus actus, mors foris; usus,
tumba: puella, puer, Lazarus ista notant.

Dixi quid tumulus designat quatríduani:
dicam quid tumuli singula queque dies.

- 5 Prima dies Ade peccatum, lex rationis
altera, lex uetus est tertia, quarta noua.

Dum tres transgredior leges in crimine natus,
est per quatrídium Lazarus in tumulo.

URBL

Titulus: *XVFCa*

3 designet *BL* 4 tumuli] signet *Es* 5 rationalis *K* 7 leges in crimine] in magno
crimine *C* 8 est] sum *Ca*

(Mt 9:18-26; Mc 5:21-43; Lc 7:11-17, 8:40-56; Jo 11:1-44) For ll. 1-2 cf. Gregory, *Moralia* 4.27.52 (CCL 143.196): 'Vnde et Redemptor noster puellam in domo et mole prauae consuetudinis pressos, respectus sui lumine illustrat.' Lines 1-2 are frequently cited, e.g., by Guido de Orchellis, *Tractatus de sacramentis* 6.103, ed. D. and O. van den Eynde (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1953) and by Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* 1.15, ed. and trans. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke, and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 48, both under Hildebert's name. The same lines are quoted anonymously in a passage from *Dist. monast.* 3 (Pitra, *Spicilegium* 3.273) and by Hugh of Pontigny (ed. Talbot, 'The Sermons of Hugh of Pontigny', 15) and Odo of Cheriton (L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge* 4 [Paris, 1876], p. 356). They are also attributed to Giraldus Cambrensis (J. S. Brewer, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* [RS 21.1; London, 1861], p. 373 [from London, Lambeth Palace Library 236]) and to St. Bernard (K. Halvarson, ed., *Bernardi Cluniacensis Carmina* ... [Stockholm, 1963], p. 57.268-269).

67

De transmutacione locorum in missa.

Est ratio quod pars altaris dextera misse
principium finemque tenet, mediumque sinistra.

Dextera Iudeos, gentiles leua figurat.

Cepit ab his, transfertur ad hos, referetur ad illos

- 5 nostra fides, et erunt sub mundi fine fideles.

U(-CF)LPt

Titulus: *XCa*

1 cur altaris pars tertia misse *Hild.*, *De mysterio missae* (PL 171.1192c) altaris pars *L*
3 gentiles iudeos *L* 4 transfertur] defertur *Hild.*, *ibid.* hos] illos *Hild.*, *ibid.* (PL 171.1194A)
refertur *corr. in* referetur *V*: refertur *XD*, *Hild.*, *ibid.* (PL 171.1192c, 1194A)

68

De diuisione Dominici corporis.

Signant tres partes de Christi corpore: prima
 ipsius carnem, sanctosque secunda sepultos;
 aut defunctorum purgatos prima, secunda
 qui purgantur adhuc uiuentes; tertia sanguis

- 5 martyrium – pars est in sanguine tertia tincta.
 Martyrii calicem gustant in carne fideles.

U(-CF)BLPt

Titulus: *BL*

1 tres signant *BL* christi de *Supp.* 4.1 (PL 171.1280) 5 martyrii *XDEd.*² (= Misc. 53 [PL 171.1407A]) 6 *om. D* fideles] comedendo *Pt*

P gives an alternative version:

Tres partes f<r>acte de Christi corpore signant
 prima suam carnem sanctosque secunda sepultos.

This appears also in the collection of epigrams edited by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle and His Followers* 1.423 from London, British Library Arundel 507.

69

Item de mutacione locorum in missa.

Quid stacio dextra signat, uel parte sinistra,
 uel quid per mediam signetur, que fit ad aram,
 noscat qui poterit, sed notum postea prosit.

- Nos in principio Dominum fecisse beatos
 5 dextera designat, breuiterque manemus in ipsa.
 Cedimus ad partem, culpa ducente, sinistram.
 Hic euangelicus credentibus ordo refertur.
 Rursus per mediam mediator noster ad urbem
 olim semirutam, proprium fundendo cruorem,
 10 ducit conseruos in dextra parte locandos.

XDVKCaEsJo

Titulus: *X*

1 *om. K* quid statione patet dextera *D* signet *Ed.* statione sinistra *Ca* 2 medium
CaEd. 3 sed] ut *Ca* 5 in illa *DEd.* 6 cedimus] credimus *Jo*: tendimus *Es* 9 *om. D*

APPENDIX

Additional Biblical Epigrams

1

Quid significat quod puer non potuit resuscitari
per baculum Helisei nisi per eius presenciam.

Defuncto puero fertur misisse propheta
per famulum uirgam: profuit illa nihil.
Sic uenit: ad formam pueri se mensus, eundem
ad uitam reuocat. Res notat hec aliud.

- 5 Legem uirga, cliens Moysem, Dominumque propheta,
mortuus omnes nos significare potest.
Lex data per Moysem peccati morte sepultum
non ualet humanum uiuificare genus.
Se Deus ad formam serui contraxit, et ad nos
10 cum uenit, humanum suscitatur inde genus.

RV²EsTrBLWiPtEvr

Titulus: *BLWiEvr*

2 proficit *Tr* 3 sic] hic *TrEs*: ut *Pt* formam] corpus *Tr* pueri] serui *BLWi* mensus]
fusus *V²* 4 suscitatur ad uitam *Pt* res notat] denotat *Ed.* hoc *Ed.* 7 morte] lege *BLWi*
8 mortificare genus non ualet humanum *V²* 9 se] sed *Pt* ad] ut *Pt*: in *R* contraxit et]
contraxet *R* 10 cum] enim *V²*: sic *Pt* conuenit *Ed.*

(4 Reg 4:25-37) Gregory, *Moralia* 9.40.63 (CCL 143.502): 'Quod bene Elisaio Sunamitis filium suscitante signatur Et quia per Moysen terrorem legis protulit quasi per puerum uirgam misit.' This is repeated by Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 4.4 (PL 109.229B). There is a poem on the same subject in the *Floridus aspectus* of Petrus Riga (ed. A. Boutemy, 'Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus*', *Latomus* 8 [1949] 291), but there is no close imitation of this poem.

9-10 Phil 2:7

2

Similitudo paradisi et ecclesie.

Denotatur ecclesiam paradisus, et in paradiso
est lignum uite, Christus in ecclesia;
cetera ligna uiri iusti, fructus bonus actus.
Quattuor ex uno flumina fonte fluunt.

HV²EsBLWiPtEvr

Titulus: *BLWiPtEvr*

- 5 Sic euangelii: sunt libri quattuor horum.
 Nos doctrina rigat, fructiferosque facit.
 Lignum per quod Adam que sint bona, que mala nouit,
 libertas nostri dicitur arbitrii.

7 sunt *HV²EsPt*

This interpretation is not found in Ambrose, *De paradiso* (CSEL 32/1.205-336) nor in Bede's commentary on Genesis which draws heavily on Augustine, *In Gen.* 1.2.9 (CCL 118A.46-47).

3

Quid significat quod precepit Eliseus regi afferri sagittas et arcum,
 et aperire fenestram, et iacere sagittam.

Regi precepit Eliseus ut afferat arcum
 atque sagittas: rex affert. Aperire fenestram
 iussit: rex aperit. *Iace*, dixit, at ille sagittam
 iecit. Mistica res est hec, aliudque notatur.

- 5 Utraque lex arcus: cornu uetus, et noua corda.
 Corda rigens cornu flectit, ueterisque rigorem
 legis ab historia noua flectit ad allegoriam.
 Verba sagitte sunt, rex doctor, aperta fenestra
 doctrine lux est. Prius hec resplendeat intus,
 10 post doceat doctor, iactetque docendo sagittam.

RV²EsTrBLWiPtEvr

Titulus: *BLWiPtEvr* Eliseus precepit *PtEvr*

2 afferet *V²* 4 hec est *RTrEvrEd.* 6-7 in una linea exprimit *Es* 9 respondeat *RV²Ed.*
 10 iactetque] iaciatque *RV²TrEd.*: iaceatque *Pt*

(4 Reg 13:14-19) For ll. 5-7 cf. Gregory, *Moralia* 19.30.55 (CCL 143A.1000-1001): 'Aliquando autem per arcum etiam sacra scriptura signatur duritia testamenti ueteris emollitur.'

For l. 8 cf. Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 2.9.15 (CCL 142.369): 'Intendunt arcum, atque sagittas mittunt, qui Scripturae sacrae sententias proponunt...'; and *Moralia* 7.4.4 (CCL 143.336): 'Sagittarum quippe nomine aliquando praedicationum uerba, aliquando animaduersionis sententiae designantur.' Gregory's two interpretations are united by Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 4.13 (PL 109.244B): 'Nos ergo, cum Scripturae sacrae dicta pensamus, arcum intendimus. Cum uerba doctrinae damus, sagittas emitimus Orientalem fenestram aperire mandat ... quia lumine scientiae et verae doctrinae suos hortatur primum illustrari, et jacula verborum mittere.'

4

Quid significat quod dicitur Iob: *Numquid capies leuiathan hamo.*

Piscator Pater est, mare mundus, Filius hamus;
 esca caro, deitas ferrum, generatio Christi

V²EsJoBLWiPtEvr

Titulus: *BLWiEvr* numquis *B*: numquam *Wi*

2 ferrum deitas *Jo*

linea. Leuiathan piscis dum deuorat escam,
occidens carnem, captus deitate tenetur.

3 uinea *L* dum piscis *Pt* dum] cum *LWi* 4 occidens] absorbet *Jo*

(Job 40:20) Gregory, *Moralia* 33.9 (PL 76.682c-d): 'Sed Leviathan iste hamo captus est, quia in Redemptore nostro dum per satellites suos escam corporis momordit, divinitatis illum aculeus perforavit In ... abyssu, id est in hac immensitate generis humani linea illa est per Evangelium antiquorum patrum propago memorata.'

5

Similitudo denarii et doctoris.

Quale metallum sit, quod pondus, cuius imago,
queritur in nummo. Sic in doctore metallum
sermo, figura patrum sententia, pondus honestas.

V²EsDiBLWiPtEvr

Titulus: *BLWiPtEvr*

1 sitque pondus *Wi* cuius] eius *V²* 3 patrem *V²*: patris *Ed.* sententia] sciencia *BL*:
sapiencia *Wi* honesta *V²*

(Mt 22:19)

6

Quid significat quod in passione Domini ager emptus est
triginta argenteis in sepulchrum peregrinorum.

Ecclesiam notat emptus ager mercede cruoris.
Empta cruore Dei fuit hec. Datus ad tumulandum
hic ager hospitibus. Qui mundum deserit, hospes
est et defunctus mundo, talisque sub arrha
5 ecclesie requiescit ad exteriora sepultus.

EsBLPtEvr

Titulus: *BLPtEvrEd.* sepulchrum] sepulturam *PtEvrEd.*

2 datur *Ed.* 3 hic] sic *Ed.* hospes deserit *BL* 4 arrha] ara *EvrEd.*: archa *EsBL*: ala *Pt*
5 sepultos *B*

(Mt 27:7) Somewhat similar to this interpretation is that of Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 8.27 (PL 107.1129c): '... et hoc ad sepulturam peregrinorum, tanquam ad permansionem quietis eorum cum in hoc saeculo peregrinantur, conspelientur Christo per baptismum.'

7

De tribus trium magorum muneribus.

Dat magus aurum, thus, myrram. Rex suscipit aurum,
thura Deus, myrram qui moriturus erat.

RV²EsBeDiBLPtEvr

Titulus: *BL*

Thus orando damus, aurum sapiendo superna,
myrram dum carnis mortificatur opus.

4 mortificamus *REd.*: mortificamur *V*²

(Mt 2:11) Rabanus, *Comm. in Matt.* 1.2 (PL 107.759D): 'Per ista ergo munerum genera, in uno eodemque Christo et divina majestas, et regia potestas, et humana mortalitas intimatur. Thus enim ad sacrificium, aurum pertinet ad tributum, myrrha ad sepulturam pertinet mortuorum.' The poem was attributed by N. Chamart to Philippe de Bonne Espérance (= *Philippi abbatis Bonae Spei Carmina varia* 20 [PL 203.1395]).

8

Quid significat historia Dauid et Bethsabée.

Bethsabée lex est, rex Dauid Christus, Vrias

Iudei. Regi nuda puella placet:

nuda placet Christo lex non uestita figuris.

Aufert Iudeis hanc sociatque sibi.

5 Vir non uult intrare domum, nec spiritualem
intellectum plebs Israel ingreditur.

Scripta gerit, per scripta perit deceptus Vrias:
sic et Iudeus scripta sequendo perit.

RV²EsTrBLEvr

Titulus: *BLEvr* significet *BL*

1 bersabee *EsEd.V²R* rex] per *R* 2 iudeus *R*: iudea *Tr*: iudae *B* 3 lex ... figuris *om. V²*
figura *BL* 6 israel] filius *Es* 8 sic et] sic ut *B*

(2 Reg 11) Gregory, *Moralia* 3.28.55 (CCL 143.148-49): 'Cuius autem Dauid in solarium deambulans typum tenet nisi eius de quo scriptum est: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*? Et quid est Bersabee ad se perducere nisi legem litterae, carnali populo coniunctam, spiritali sibi intellectu sociare? ... Quem uero Vrias nisi iudaicum populum signat? ... hanc [i.e., legem] a iudaico populo extraneam demonstrauit sibi coniunxit quia idem ipse iudaicus populus legem portat qua conuincente moriatur.' The account of Rabanus, *Comm. in lib. IV Reg.* 2.11 (PL 109.100c) is taken from Gregory.

3 The line is taken over by Petrus Riga in l. 5 of the poem beginning: 'Designat Christum Dauid ...' (ed. Boutemy, 'Recherches', 290).

9

De quattuor personis in iudicio.

Sunt in iudicio persone quattuor. Vna

est accusator, reus altera, tercia testis,

iudex quarta; manus tortoris crimina punit.

VEsBLEvr

Titulus: *BL*

2 reus] mens *Es*

Has in me uideo personas: sum reus ipse,
 5 accusatrix est meditacio, conscia testis
 mens, ratio iudex, torquet me terror Auerni.

6 me torquet *Es* terror] tortor *V*

10

Quid significat in Ezechiele propheta stans
 et sublimis et terribilis rota.

Scripturam rota. Stans quia mores dirigit; alta
 celum promittens, horribilisque minans.

V²EsBLPtEvr

Titulus: *BLPtEvr* significet *BL* propheta *om. BL*

1 dirigit] diligit *V²* 2 terribilisque *Ed.* -que] quia *Pt*

(Ezech 1:15 ff.) Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezech.* 1.6.2 (CCL 142.67): 'Quid autem rota, nisi sacram Scripturam signat ...'; and 1.6.18 (ibid., p. 78): 'Sciendum ergo est quia stare ad uitam congruit bene operantis Altitudo uero est caelestis regni promissio Horribilis uero aspectus est terror gehennae'

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ADDENDA TO CODICES LATINI ANTIQUIORES

Bernhard Bischoff and Virginia Brown

THE Supplement volume (S) to *C.L.A.*, which appeared in 1971, was still in the Press when the fifth-century *Vetus Latina* palimpsest (now our No. 1843) turned up, thus confirming that No. 1811 was not the last legitimate candidate for E. A. Lowe's great work – as was to be expected. Other new findings would be brought to our attention or be published from time to time in different places. Somehow '*C.L.A.* Addenda' would become necessary in order to prevent the danger that *C.L.A.*'s public might lose the benefits of the orientation supplied by these material gains for early Latin palaeography.

By and by the number of new items has risen to over fifty, ranging from papyri with classical fragments including the precious verses of Gallus to the many testimonia of the Anglo-Saxon tradition in parts of Germany; the new *membra disiecta* number nearly forty.

These 'Addenda' are now presented in *Mediaeval Studies*. The task of compiling the descriptions was divided between us equally; Professor Bischoff has supplied for every new item the date and origin. In general the descriptions follow the *C.L.A.* model. The new items are arranged alphabetically according to present location and are given first. As for the *membra disiecta*, it seemed preferable to list them separately and to arrange them in the order of their original serial numbers (with reference to second and third occurrences); they are given below on pp. 350 ff., after the description of No. 1865, our last new item. The bibliographical information that appears at the conclusion of each entry is not exhaustive, consisting rather of those publications in which the item is for the first time thoroughly described or at least mentioned.

We may note here that we have intentionally omitted from the 'Addenda' the following:

Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University, Lilly Library Ricketts 177 + Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek K 1: B. 216. Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (v. 13). Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. ix in. (Cf. R. A. B. Mynors in B. Colgrave-R. A. B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* [Oxford, 1969], p. xliv n. 5, where the Bloomington fragment is assigned to an 'eighth-century insular hand').

Columbia (Mo.), University of Missouri, University Library Fragmenta Manuscripta No. 2. Beda, De Orthographia. Celtic minuscule saec. ix¹.

Durham (No. Carolina), Duke University, Perkins Library Lat. 135. Donatus, Ars Minor; Bonifatius, De Paenitentia. Caroline minuscule saec. ix in. (Cf. M. P. Harris, 'A Checklist of the Duke Latin Manuscript Collection', *Library Notes* 47 [1977] 21, 32: 'ca. 770').

St. Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek 86a/1 (fol. 7). Palimpsest (illegible). Irish minuscule. (Cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* 3 [Stuttgart, 1981], p. 49 n.).

The palimpsests in Irish minuscule in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria F. III. 16 (fols. 176-181, lower script) + Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vatic. lat. 5755 (pp. 7-94, 132-147, lower script), described by M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 13-14, no. 9 as membra disiecta: 'Opus Astronomicum, saec. viii-ix vel ix¹'. The Vatican part, however, seems to contain grammatical excerpts, saec. ix, as is suggested by the recurrent abbreviation *prīs* in the margins (from brief inspection by B. Bischoff).

At the end of the new membra disiecta there is an Appendix comprising a list of various details such as changes in location or shelf mark for items described in *C.L.A.* I-XI and Supplement. We will be glad to receive further information of this kind as well as notice of the additional items that will surely continue to appear and merit inclusion in *C.L.A.*

We should like to thank the following scholars who have communicated to us their discoveries of new items and allowed us to publish them here: Prof. Marvin L. Colker (No. 1865); Prof. Francis Newton (No. 1863 and **S 1762); Prof. Richard H. Rouse (**VIII. 1184); Laetitia Yeandle (No. 1864). We are grateful too to the many librarians and scholars who have supplied additional details: Dr. Janet Backhouse (London); Dr. Bernd Bader (Giessen); Dr. Helmut Bansa (Munich); Wolfgang Georg Bayerer (Giessen); Urs Brunold (Chur); Dr. W. E. H. Cockle (London); Dr. C. Coppens (Louvain); Dr. Albert Derolez (Ghent); Prof. Dr. sc. J. Dietze (Halle); Dr. Wilhelm A. Eckhardt (Marburg); Prof. Dr. Pius Engelbert (Gerleve-Rome); Abbé Raymond Étaix (Lyons); Dr. P. Rainald Fischer (Lucerne); Mme Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris); Dott. Claudio Gallazzi (Milan); Pierre Gasnault (Paris); Dr. Winfried Hagenmaier (Freiburg i. Br.); Dr. Hermann Harrauer (Vienna); Dr. Hardo Hilg (Munich); Prof. Louis Holtz (Lyons-Paris); Prof. Peter Jeffery (Newark, Del.); Mlle Colette Jeudy (Paris); Dr. G. Karpp (Düsseldorf); I. Kiessling (Münster i. W.); Msgr. Dr. Paul Mai (Regensburg); Virginia Lowell Mauck (Bloomington, Ind.); Prof. Dr. Otto Meyer (Würzburg); Msgr. Angelo Paredi (Milan); Dr. P. J. Parsons (Oxford); Pierre Petitmengin (Paris); Dr. Jean F. Preston (Princeton); Janet Ringrose (Cambridge); Prof. Barbara A. Shailor (New Haven); Dr. Kurt Hans Staub (Darmstadt); Dr. Christian von Steiger (Berne); Dr. Hans Thurn (Würzburg);

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I

NEW ITEMS

APPENZELL, KAPUZINERKLOSTER, P. ADALBERT WAGNER COLLECTION: see under LUCERNE.

1812. – BASEL, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK N I 6, No. 42.

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII ex. vel VIII-IX.

¶ FREDEGARIUS, CHRONICA (III. 52-55).

One fragment of irregular shape and two small fragments; the larger fragment measures 201 × 77 mm.; remains of 23 lines survive. Abbreviation: -q; = -que. Script is a somewhat angular minuscule: æ is more frequent than a; i-longa at the beginning of words; c is enlarged in the ligatures ci, cu; other ligatures are ri, ti for the assimilated sound. One line in black debased uncial. An attempt was made in the eleventh century to correct the faulty grammar.

Origin perhaps Southwest Germany. The fragment was found in a binding.

Our plate from the verso of the larger fragment.

1813. – BERLIN, ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM, PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG
PAP. BEROL. 21138A-B.

LATER ROMAN CURSIVE SAEC. IV².

¶ VERGILIUS, AENEIS (I-II, fragm.) CUM VERSIONE GRAECA.

Ten fragments from a papyrus codex, of which nos. 1-3 join to form part of a bifolium; estimated original size of 1 folio 300 × 165 mm. (Maehler, cited in the bibliography below, gives a probable reconstruction of the codex); the number of surviving lines in Latin ranges from 5 to 29, the text being arranged in 2 groups of 2 columns each, with the left column in each group giving word for word the Latin text and the right column the Greek translation. Abbreviation: for -que there is normally only -q. Spelling good, but 'haut' for haud. Script is a later Roman cursive: d, m, r, s have the minuscule form; e rises well above the line; N, written by itself, is usually majuscule; o is small; u is often written suprascript.

Written doubtless in Egypt where it was found. Provenance unknown. Purchased with other papyri from the Fayûm.

Our plate from fol. 11r.

Bibliography: Zimelien. *Abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters aus den Sammlungen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. Ausstellung 13. Dezember 1975-1. Februar 1976* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 13, no. 8 and plate on p. 23 (Pl. A 11r); H. Maehler, 'Zweisprachiger Aeneis-Codex' in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international de papyrologie*, part 2 (*Papyrologica bruxellensia* 17; Brussels, 1979), pp. 18-41 and pl. 3 (Pl. A 11r); R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* 2.1 (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 158-60, no. 65 and pl. XXXVII.65 (fols. 11v-14r).

1814. – BERNE, BURGERBIBLIOTHEK 50 (pastedown and fol. 1).

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ PASSIONES SANCTORUM (ANASTASIAE; AFRAE).

Two mutilated leaves (fragments of one pasted on the inside of the front cover, the other forming fol. 1 in a ninth-century manuscript of Iosephus); height cut down to 345 mm., width 280 mm. < more than 315 × 240 mm. > in 2 columns of more than 34 lines. Single bounding lines. Punctuation: the medial point marks various pauses; other points added later. Abbreviations include: **-b;**, **-q;** = -bus, -que; **-r̄** = -runt; **-n;** = -nus. The abbreviation-stroke is a vertical flourish. Script, by more than one hand, is a calligraphic upright minuscule with very long ascenders; **œ** is more frequent than **a**; among the ligatures: **ct**, **fr**, **roæ**, **ro**, **te**.

Written in France in a centre of high standard. The manuscript into which the fragments were bound belonged to Micy. It came to Berne with the library of Jacques Bongars (†1612).

Our plate from fol. 1v.

Bibliography: H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Berne, 1875), p. 74; O. Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften* (Berne, 1962), p. 91.

1815. – BREGENZ, VORARLBERGER LANDESARCHIV S.N.

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII².

¶ DEFENSOR, LIBER SCINTILLARUM (64-66, 75-77, exc.); ALPHABETUM GROMATICUM.

One larger fragment of irregular shape, from a bifolium, and two small rectangular fragments; height 215 mm., remaining width 50 mm. < height of

written space 180 mm. > in 24-25 long lines. Headings in uncial. Punctuation: the medial point marks various pauses; in the Alphabet there occurs a semicolon or point with stroke above. Abbreviations: -r with cross-stroke = -rum; -r' = -runt. Simple hollow initials or capitals surrounded by red dots. Script is a tiny low minuscule with **œ** and **a**, **d** and round **d**; the horizontal stroke of **t** often curves down at the left; ligatures are relatively numerous and include **fi**, **mi**, **ri**, **ro**, **rs**, **rt**, **ti** for the soft sound.

Written probably in Switzerland.

Our plate from the recto and verso of the larger fragment.

Bibliography: the fragment will be published by U. Brunold in 1985 in the series 'St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte'.

1816. – CAIRO, MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES PAP. NARM.
inv. 66.362 (cat. prov. 1/11/67/3).

MIXED RUSTIC CAPITAL SAEC. II¹ (?).

¶ VERGILIUS, ECLOGAE (VIII. 53-62).

A fragment of a papyrus roll, containing on the papyrological recto the remains of 10 lines of Virgil and on the papyrological verso a series of names in Greek cursive (assigned to saec. II med. and presumably written after the Latin was copied); present measurements 180 × 80 mm. Script is Rustic Capital in the transitional stage: **A** has no bar; **D** and **E** approximate to the uncial forms; the foot of **L** goes below the base-line; **R** resembles **A**; there is no distinction made between thick and thin strokes.

Origin uncertain. Found in 1966 at Medînet Mâdi (Narmuthis), Egypt.

Our plate from the papyrological recto.

Bibliography: C. Gallazzi, 'P.Narm.inv.66.362: Vergilius, Eclogae VIII 53-62', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982) 75-78 and pl. 2a (entire Virgilian fragment).

1817. – CAIRO, MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES S.N.

RUSTIC CAPITAL ca. 50 B.C.-ca. A.D. 25.

¶ CORNELIUS GALLUS, EPIGRAMMATA.

Five fragments of a papyrus roll joining to form a whole measuring 163 × 194 mm.; on the papyrological recto 2 columns of 12 lines surviving (12 lines in col. a and scanty remains of 1 line in col. b), while the papyrological verso is blank. No abbreviations. Interpunction regularly employed. A larger letter begins each line, and pentameters are indented. Divisions apparently

between poems indicated by wide spacing and H-shaped signs placed near the left and right margins in this spacing. Noteworthy spellings are 'quom' for cum and 'ei' for long i. Script is a small slightly uneven Rustic Capital and constitutes one of the oldest examples of this type of writing. In the Gallus fragment **A** is barred; upper loop of **B** and **R** is narrow; **M** and **N** are broad; **O** has sometimes a pointed, sometimes a flattened top; **V** is often rather broad; **Y** is formed like Greek epsilon.

Written in Italy or possibly (during Gallus' Egyptian prefecture) in Egypt. Found in 1978 at Qaşr Ibrîm in a refuse deposit.

Our plate from the papyrological recto.

Bibliography: R. D. Anderson-P. J. Parsons-R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaşr Ibrîm', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979) 125-55 and pls. 4-6 (complete facsimile and enlargements); but cf. F. Brunhölzl, 'Der sogenannte Galluspapyrus von Kasr Ibrim', *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984) 33-40 ('a modern fake').

1818. – CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MS. 5948.

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII EX.

¶ ISIDORUS, ETYMOLOGIAE (IV. 6. 19-8. 12).

One leaf measuring 258 × 203 mm. < 208 × 170 mm. > in 2 columns of 45 lines. Chapter-headings in cultivated red uncial. The medial point marks various pauses. Very few abbreviations include the Insular symbol for 'enim'; **at̄** = autem; **-b**; = -bus; **c'** = cum; **dī** = dicitur; **.ē.** = est; **-r'** = -rum; **-t'** = -tur. Script is an easy flowing early minuscule with only **æ**, **N** occasionally; ligatures numerous, especially with **e**, **r** and **t** – among them **eo**, **eti**, **eu**, **ri**, **ro**, **te**, **ti** (for the hard and soft sound), **tri**, **tu**.

Written presumably in France. The fragment was No. 15105² in the Phillipps collection. Bought at the 1913 Phillipps sale by H. A. Selden. Acquired by the University Library in 1916.

Our plate from the verso.

1819. – CAMBRIDGE (MASS.), HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY MS TYP 620.

IRISH MAJUSCULE SAEC. VIII².

¶ EVANGELIA ANTEHIERONYMIANA (LUC. XVI. 27-XVII. 26).

One folio, trimmed on 3 sides, in rather bad condition; 231 × 169 mm. < width 160 mm. > in long lines of which 27 survive. Small slits seen in the untrimmed

margin; ruling, now no longer visible, probably after folding. Punctuation: the medial point occasionally used for a major pause, and 3 dots in a row at the end of sections. Accents occur on monosyllables and on final syllables in *-is*. Abbreviations: **tñ** = tamen, **-q̃** = -que and the Insular forms for 'autem' and 'est'. Omitted **M** is denoted by a stroke extending to the right of the vowel. Spelling displays the interchange of **o** for **u** ('nontiet'), **s** for **z** ('scandaliset') and the Insular confusion of single and double consonants ('possillis', 'dimitis'). Brown ink. Thick vellum. Script is a late ungainly Irish majuscule with some minuscule elements: **d**, **n**, **r** occur regularly; the majuscule and minuscule forms of **s** are used indifferently; ligatures with **e** are frequent, including **eg**, **em**, **er**, **es**, **eu**. Some slight corrections. The verso was used to practice writing some large letters (probably saec. XII).

Written presumably in Ireland. Removed from a binding. The leaf was purchased by the bookseller Willy Heimann from a private source in Sweden, and then bought by Bernard M. Rosenthal in 1971 from whom Harvard University acquired it in 1978.

Our plate from the recto.

1820. – CASSEL, GESAMTHOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK 4° MS. THEOL.
166 (formerly MANUSKRIPTE-ANHANG 19/7, 1).

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII EX.

¶ HOMILIARIUM (GREGORIUS M., HOMILIA XXI IN EVANGELIA, ABBREV.).

One leaf cut down to 200 × 145 mm. < original height ca. 210 × 135 mm. > in 28 long lines of which 27 survive. Prickings seen only in the outer margin. No original punctuation except **:**, at the end of texts, and an occasional comma. Headings in red minuscule. Elegant initial group **IN** ends in a fine plait-ornament, with some colour; it is followed by some capital letters with **O** in hourglass form. Abbreviations include: **angl̃** = angelus; **aut̃** = autem; **-b̃**, **-m̃**; = -bus, -mus; **dr̃** = dicitur; the normal forms for 'per', 'prae', 'pro'; **q̃si** = quasi; **q̃** and **q̃:** = quae; **q** crossed obliquely = quia. Spelling shows some confusion of **ae** and **e**, **e** and **i**. Membrane is vellum of the Insular type. Script is a well-formed Anglo-Saxon minuscule with **a** and round **d** only; **c** and **s** also have tall initial forms; the lower half of **g** sweeps markedly to the right; ligatures include **aet**, **st**, **ti**, **tis**, **tio** and even **tion** (see our plate).

Written presumably in Germany in a centre with Anglo-Saxon traditions.

Our plate from the verso.

1821. – CHUR, STAATSARCHIV GRAUBÜNDEN A I 2b, No. 2.

RHAETIAN MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ HIERONYMUS, COMMENTARIUS IN IOELEM (III. 19-21, exc.); CATENA IN LIBRUM IOELIS.

One folio measuring $243-248 \times 180-184$ mm. $< 202 \times 126$ mm. $>$ in 27 long lines. 'Explicit' in cursive with 8-shaped e. Punctuation: the semicolon marks the main pause, the medial point lesser pauses. Abbreviations include: -b̄; -q̄; = -bus, -que; aū = autem; -r with cross-stroke = -rum; -t' = -tur; curious is the large use of arbitrary suspensions, e.g.: mī̄s = misereatur, sanḡ = sanguinem. Script is Rhaetian minuscule with the typical form of t: æ is more frequent than a; ligatures occur of et, mi, ni, ri, ro.

Written in a Rhaetian centre. Used for binding a book printed in Geneva in 1638.

Our plate from the recto.

Bibliography: U. Brunold, 'Neu entdeckte Handschriftenfragmente in rätscher Minuskel' in H. Maurer, ed., *Churrätisches und st. gallisches Mittelalter. Festschrift für Otto P. Clavadetscher zu seinem fünfundsiebzehnten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 10-13, with fig. on p. 18 (recto).

1822. – DARMSTADT, HESSISCHE LANDES- UND HOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK 4262.

UNCIAL SAEC. VIII¹.

¶ BEDA, DE TEMPORUM RATIONE (capp. 26-28).

One folio, blackened on the verso and trimmed at the top and one side so that approximately 5 letters of a column are lost; actual size $272 \times 173-177$ mm. (calculated original size $300-310 \times 220$ mm.) $< 217 \times$ estimated original 170 mm. $>$ in 2 columns of 32 lines. Punctuation: the medial point denotes minor and occasionally even final pauses, the latter being indicated more frequently by the semicolon. A larger letter begins sentences. The only abbreviations are -q̄ = -que and d̄N̄I = domini. Spelling excellent; one confusion of i and e ('hebitari'). Word separation clear. Ink dark brown with traces of black; headings in bright red. Script is an expert example of Northumbrian uncial of the capitula type: shallow, sloping S, also in ligature with V, at line-end. Some corrections and interlinear glosses in Caroline minuscule saec. IX².

Written in Northumbria at Wearmouth or Jarrow. Formerly used as a wrapper for a book printed at Wittenberg in 1587.

Our plate from the recto.

Bibliography: K. H. Staub, 'Ein Beda-Fragment des 8. Jahrhunderts in der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt. Ein Fundbericht', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 17 (1983) 1-7 and pls. 1, 2 (recto and verso).

1823. – EICHSTÄTT, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK 477a.

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ TRANSLATIO BENEDICTI; VERSUS SIMPLICII; REGULA BENEDICTI.

One bifolium, the third from the centre of the quire; 245 × 175 mm. < 195 × 125 mm. > in 31 long lines. Headings in uncial. The medial point marks various pauses. Few abbreviations include **-b**; = -bus; **-m** with cross-stroke = -mus; **-r** with cross-stroke = -rum. Spelling: 'deifficum'. Initials are simple hollow capitals. Script is a roundish typically North Italian minuscule with **œ** more frequent than **a**; **c** and high broken **c**; two forms of **d**; **t** with the top stroke curved down at the left; many ligatures with **e**, **r** and **t**. The script may be compared to London, British Library Additional ms. 43460 (C.L.A. II. 180).

Written in North Italy, most probably at Nonantola. The fragment was salvaged from Eichstätt ms. 477, a fifteenth-century Bavarian copy of lectures held by Paduan law professors.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

Bibliography: detailed study by A. Belloni in *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 27 (1984) (forthcoming).

1824. – FLUMS (KANTON ST. GALLEN), TURMARCHIV S.N.

UNCIAL SAEC. VII-VIII.

¶ PSALTERIUM (Ps. CXII. 4-8).

Palimpsest, primary script (the upper script written with the palimpsest upside down contains *Differentiae Verborum* in a variety of Rhaetian script saec. IX¹); one fragment of a bifolium measuring ca. 90-94 × 181-185 mm.; width of the leaf 150 mm. < width of the written space ca. 118 mm. >. Abbreviations are confined to the normal forms of *Nomina Sacra* and **NĠ** = *noster*. Initial **B** of Ps. CXI has left traces of red and green colour. Script is uncial of poor quality mixed with half-uncial elements. Letters are of uneven height; **a** is half-uncial; **D** is uncial in line 1 while in line 2 with the stem almost upright it approaches a half-uncial form (see our plate); **S** exceeds the other letters above and below; half-uncial **en** in ligature.

Written presumably in North Italy. Rewritten in the Rhaetian area in the first half of the ninth century. Later used as jacket to a Flums 'Urbar' of the year 1590.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

Bibliography: U. Brunold, 'Neu entdeckte Handschriftenfragmente in rätischer Minuskel' in H. Maurer, ed., *Churrätisches und st. gallisches Mittelalter. Festschrift für Otto P. Clavadetscher zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 13-16, with figs. on pp. 19, 20.

1825. – FREIBURG-IM-BREISGAU, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK
FRAGM. 63.

UNCIAL SAEC. VII¹.

¶ PHILO, QUAESTIONES SUPER GENESIN (235. 2-236. 5; 237. 1-238. 3; 244. 10-245. 10; 245. 13-22).

Fragment of one bifolium, the third from the centre of the quire, cut irregularly in order to be used in a bookbinding; calculated height ca. 220 mm., width 160 mm. <calculated height of the written space ca. 190 mm., width 124 mm.> in 27 or 28 long lines. Ruling before folding. Single bounding lines. Prickings inside the written space. First words of lemmata written in red. No punctuation. One sentence on fol. 2v begins with a slightly larger letter after a short space. Omitted M at line-ends abbreviated by a horizontal stroke with dot below. Script, mostly scriptura continua, is a firm uncial of a later type with shafts slightly bending to the left – this is especially noticeable with the descenders; LL run together. Words are separated by thin strokes probably added by the editor Johannes Sichardus.

Origin probably Italy. The fragment was used to reinforce the binding of a 1554 edition of Dioscorides bound by the Freiburg binder Caspar Reppich. In all probability it is a remnant of the Lorsch manuscript which had been used by Johannes Sichardus for his editio princeps of 1527. Like other Lorsch manuscripts it may have belonged to Charlemagne's court library; this may explain why another copy is attested in the catalogue of Saint-Riquier of 831, as Saint-Riquier probably had copies made from books of the court library.

Our plate from fol. 1r.

Bibliography: F. Petit, 'Le fragment 63 de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Fribourg-en-Brisgau', *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983) 164-72, with complete reduced facsimile; V. Sack, 'Fundbericht zu Fragment 63 der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i. Br.', *ibid.*, 173-74.

1826. – GERLEVE (near KOESFELD), STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK S.N.

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII².

¶ HIERONYMUS, COMMENTARIUS IN EPISTOLAM AD GALATAS (LIBB. II fin.-III in.).

One leaf measuring ca. 275 × 200 mm. <225 × 180 mm.> in 27 long lines. Punctuation rare: a medial comma or point marks various pauses. Omission

marked by **h** in the text and **d** preceding the correction in the lower margin. Abbreviations few: the Insular symbol for 'autem'; **-bz**, **-qz** = -bus, -que; **p̄** = prae; the normal symbol for 'pro'; **st̄** = sunt. Spelling shows interchange of **e** and **i**, **o** and **u**, **s** for **ss**; also 'labis' for 'labiis', 'prophetis'. Script is a curiously angular Anglo-Saxon minuscule with short descenders; **i** after **r** and in the ligatures **ci**, **si** and **ti** forms a distinct curve. Contemporary corrections in a stiff Insular hand. The first few words of book III are in a slightly more stately script.

Written presumably in England. Later history unknown.

Our plate from the recto.

1827. – GHENT, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ 4051.

CURSIVE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII¹.

¶ LIBRI REGUM (III. 21. 7-15; 22. 5-12; IV. 1. 1-6; 2. 6-14; 4. 40-5. 10; 5. 12-27; 7. 4-8. 13).

Remains of two mutilated bifolia, which probably constituted originally the first and third bifolia of a quire; actual measurements vary, ranging from 215-220 × 117-193 mm. < 210 × (maximum) 182 mm. > in 2 columns of 29-32 lines squeezed into ca. 25 ruled lines. Ruling on the hair-side before folding. Single bounding lines seen in the margins and between columns. Punctuation: an angular comma marks the main pause; a medial point marks lesser pauses. Very few abbreviations include **-b:** = -bus; **-q** with a sinuous stroke through the shaft = -que; the ordinary symbol for -rum; and the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted **m** is indicated by a zigzag-like flourish placed above the vowel. Spelling good on the whole: some confusion of **f** and **ph** ('Iosafath', 'profetas'). Ink brown. On fol. 2r the pen-and-ink initial **P** is 12 lines long; the shaft is filled with pearls separated from one another by pairs of lines, giving the effect of fish-scales, and the extremities end in foliage. Script is a bold Merovingian cursive to be compared with Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 17655 (C.L.A. V. 671) although slightly more settled: **œ** normally; the shaft of **d** often descends below the base-line; **o** is small, with a hook at the top; **y** is gamma-shaped and dotted; **u** after **q** can be attached as a bow bending down to **e** following; ascenders are thick, leaning to the left or right. On fol. 2r 'Liber Quartus' in big capitals added probably in the ninth century.

Written in Northeast France, possibly at Corbie. Removed from a binding. Acquired in 1980.

Our plate from fols. 3v-2r.

Bibliography: A. Derolez, 'Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit en écriture précaroline', *Scriptorium* 36 (1982) 236-38 and pl. 26 (fols. 3v and 2r).

1828. – GIESSEN, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK HS. N.F. 143a.

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ SACRAMENTARIUM GREGORIANUM.

Two leaves cut down to $205 \times \text{ca. } 145 \text{ mm.}$ $< 173 \times \text{ca. } 105 \text{ mm.}>$ in 17 long lines. Ruling after folding, as prickings are seen in the inner margin. Some headings in red uncial. Each prayer begins with an enlarged uncial letter in red or black. Punctuation: a medial point or comma marks various pauses; other points added later. Abbreviations confined to normal forms of 'per', 'pro'; also $q\bar{s}$ = quaesumus, and normal forms of Nomina Sacra. Script is straight and narrow Anglo-Saxon minuscule with very long descenders: open **a** occurs; **g** with a protruding chest. Small interlinear correction in Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

Written in an Anglo-Saxon centre in the Main region or in Hessia. The leaves were salvaged from the binding of Giessen ms. 815, which at the end of the fifteenth century belonged to the monastery of Butzbach. Possibly a Butzbach scribe about 1500 tried to imitate the script of these leaves on sheets now kept in ms. 1250.

Our plate from fol. 1v.

Bibliography: W. G. Bayerer, 'Libri capituli ecclesiae sancti Marci. Zur Katalogisierung der Butzbacher Handschriften an der Universitäts-Bibliothek Giessen', *Wetterauer Geschichtsblätter* 24 (1975) 65 and fig. on p. 63 (fol. 2r).

1829. – GRENOBLE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ÉVÊCHÉ S.N.

UNCIAL SAEC. VIII.

¶ EVANGELIA (LUC. XI. 50-XII. 5; XXII. 40-53).

Two folios, still pasted down on the inside covers of a printed Pontificale (Venice: Giunta, 1510); $\text{ca. } 360 \times 230 \text{ mm.}$ $< 310 \times 205 \text{ mm.}>$ in 2 columns of 27 lines. Double bounding lines in the margins and between the columns. Running titles in big uncial letters. Medial comma or point at the end of verses. Nomina Sacra are abbreviated with two parallel strokes; abbreviation of **M** with a simple stroke is frequent in mid-line. Each verse begins with a big uncial letter filled with colour. Script is a carefully written uncial with long ascenders cut horizontally and with pointed descenders: **S** is distinctly top-heavy; **V** occurs suprascript at line-end.

Written doubtless in Italy. Later history unknown.

Our plate from fol. 2, pasted on the back cover.

1830. – HALLE, UNIVERSITÄTS- UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK QU. COD.
93d (fragm.).

UNCIAL SAEC. VII-VIII.

¶ GREGORIUS M., *DIALOGI* (iv. 26-27, 29).

One bifolium immediately preceding the central bifolium of a quire; now cut down to 295 × 200 mm. in 22 long lines (with the first and last almost cut away). Ruling not discernible. Punctuation: the medial point, shaped often like a backward comma, marks all pauses. Abbreviations: **-b:**, **-q:** = -bus, -que. Omitted **M** is indicated by a wavy line over the vowel. There are a fair number of misspellings, some bizarre: frequent confusion of **b** and **u**, **e** and **i**, **s** and **x** ('xi' for 'si'). Parchment fine. Red ink used for names of interlocutors and initial letters; otherwise brown. Script is a rather carefully written uncial of a late type: the bow of **A** is a small oval placed horizontally above the base-line; **D** has a short stem; the tail of **G** is long and often straight before ending in a slight curve to the left; **LL** run together; the second stroke of **N** is comma-shaped; thick finials hang down from the crossbar of **T**.

Written most probably in Italy. Formerly used as final fly-leaves for Qu. Cod. 93d, part of a fifteenth-century Bible probably from Magdeburg-Sudenberg, which belonged in 1439 to Pfarrer Friedrich in Domersleben b. Magdeburg (a portion of the ex-libris is visible on our plate); now detached and preserved separately. Transferred in 1938-39 from the Gymnasialbibliothek, Quedlinburg.

Our plate from fol. 1v.

Bibliography: J. Fliege, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek Quedlinburg in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale). Geschichte der Sammlung und beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Halle, 1982), p. 110.

1831. – HERSFELD, STIFTSKIRCHE S.N.

ANGLO-SAXON HALF-UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ PATERIUS, *LIBER TESTIMONIORUM VETERIS TESTAMENTI* (LIB. I, IN GENESIN, capp. 26-32).

One bifolium, the central bifolium of a quire; ca. 320 × ca. 242 mm. < 247 × 180 mm. > in 2 columns of 27 lines. Ruling after folding, prickings to be seen in both margins. Double bounding lines in the margins and between the columns. The membrane is apparently vellum of the Insular type. The long headings in red are in a script which is more half-uncial than minuscule, with **æ** regularly, two forms of **d**, **r** with short shaft, **S** almost regularly. A medial point or comma marks the main pause. Abbreviations include the

Insular symbols for 'autem', 'eius', 'enim', 'est', 'quia'; **dr̄** = dicitur; **qđ**, **quō** = quod, quoniam; **-r̄t** = -runt; **-t'** = -tur. Chapters begin partly with bold enlarged letters in red or black. The main script is narrow Anglo-Saxon minuscule with very long descenders: open **a** occurs, also in ligature with **e**.

Written in a German centre with Anglo-Saxon traditions, most likely at Hersfeld. The bifolium served as a jacket to a book of accounts of the year 1589.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

Bibliography: Facsimile in *Bad Hersfelder Jahresheft 1969*, p. 15 (cf. p. 14 n.).

1832. – LONDON, EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY PAP. OXY. 3553.

EARLY B R-UNCIAL SAEC. V.

¶ VERGILIUS, AENEIS (l. 615-621) CUM VERSIONE GRAECA (l. 622-628).

One scrap from a parchment codex; 165 × 31 mm. < height 141 mm. > in one surviving column of 29 lines; originally the text was probably arranged in 2 groups of 2 columns each with 36 lines, the left column in each group giving word for word the Latin text and the right column the Greek translation. Abbreviation: **atq̄** = atque. Punctuation: the medial point used once for a lesser pause. Initial letter of each hexameter is enlarged and placed in the margin. A few accents and vowel quantities marked (some erroneously). Ink brown. Script is careful uncial of a distinct type associated primarily with legal manuscripts: the bow of **A** is small, thin and angular; **B** rises above the line; the tongue of **E** is thin; the two uprights of **N** are thick and the cross-stroke thin, as in Greek uncial; the upright of **R** descends below the line, the bow touches the line, and the last stroke is almost horizontal.

Written in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Found at Oxyrhynchus and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Our plate shows the recto (l. 618-620) and verso (l. 625-627).

Bibliography: W. E. H. Cockle in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 50 (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 70; London, 1983), pp. 134-38.

1833. – LONDON, EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY PAP. OXY. 3554.

ANCIENT CURSIVE SAEC. I-II (II¹ ?).

¶ EXERCITATIONES SCRIBENDI (VERGILIUS, AENEIS, XI. 371-372).

Two fragments of a papyrus sheet, now measuring ca. 305 × an estimated ca. 363 mm.; one side contains approximately one and a half verses from Virgil in one continuous line without interpunction or word-division repeated six times; on the other side is a register of men's names in Greek dated by experts to the

late first or early second century A.D. and written presumably before the Latin was copied. The Latin script is written at right angles to the Greek so that both sides are written parallel to the fibres. Script is ancient cursive to be compared with London, University College Pap. Hawara 24 (C.L.A. S 1718): an enlarged letter begins the line; the crossbar of **A** is truncated; the uprights of **I** and **L** and the second stroke of **U** are topped by serifs; **O** is smaller than the other letters; the right half of **R** is simplified.

Written probably in Egypt. Found at Oxyrhynchus in 1903-1904 and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Our plate from the Latin side. (N. B. The two parts of the papyrus are mounted too close together).

Bibliography: W. Cockle, 'A New Virgilian Writing Exercise from Oxyrhynchus', *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) 55-75 and pl. 1 (Latin side); idem in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 50 (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 70; London, 1983), pp. 139-41 and plate (Latin side).

1834. – LONDON, EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY PAP. OXY. 3660.

CURSIVE HALF-UNCIAL AND CURSIVE SAEC. IV-V.

¶ TEXTUS INCERTUS (GLOSSARIUM PRIMITIVUM ?).

One mutilated leaf from a papyrus codex, now measuring 305 × 189 mm. in 2-3 columns with 23-27 lines surviving. Ink reddish-brown. Script manifestly by two hands. The first writes early half-uncial with many cursive features: **I**-longa is used after **g** and **t**; the foot of **I** extends horizontally below the following letter. The second script is sloping later cursive. Both hands use majuscule **N** and **o** of varying size.

Written in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Found at Oxyrhynchus and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Our plate from columns II and III of the verso.

Bibliography: H. M. Cockle in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 52 (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 72; London, 1984), pp. 63-70 and pls. 6, 7 (recto and verso).

1835. – LOUVAIN, KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT, CENTRALE BIBLIOTHEEK FRAGMENTA H. OMONT 1.

IRISH MAJUSCULE SAEC. VIII¹.

¶ LECTONARIUM (GEN. IV. 20-26; VI. 9-21).

One folio, trimmed and mutilated so that portions of the text are missing; actual size 270 × 181 mm. < calculated original 260 × 190 mm. > in 22 of originally

23 long lines. Ruling on the flesh-side. Punctuation: the medial point marks various pauses. Abbreviations: **-b·**, **-q·**, **q̄m** = -bus, -que, quoniam; the Insular symbol for 'autem'; and the usual Nomina Sacra. Brown ink. A pen-and-ink initial **H** (shown on our plate), whose broad loop terminates in the fantastic head of a bird with a long beak. Spelling shows confusion of **d** and **t**, **e** and **i**, **xs** and **x**, and the typically Insular **ss** for **s**. Script is careful but not particularly expert Insular majuscule: **a** is sometimes uncial when followed by **e** (and also once in 'Cain'); **d** and **r** have the minuscule form; **n** and **N** are both used, the former being more frequent; **S** is more often majuscule. The rubric is written in Insular minuscule.

Written presumably in Ireland. It may have come to North Italy, as there is possibly an analogy with the later attested Milanese liturgy. Probably removed from a binding. Belonged to Henri Omont (1857-1940) whose collection was acquired in 1949-50.

Our plate from the recto.

Bibliography: M. McCormick, 'Un fragment inédit de lectionnaire du VIII^e siècle', *Revue bénédictine* 86 (1976) 75-82 and plate (recto).

1836. – LOUVAIN, KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT, CENTRALE BIBLIOTHEEK **FRAGMENTA H. OMONT 2A** + LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE, ARCHIVES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE **FRAGMENTA H. OMONT 2B**.

UNCIAL SAEC. VII¹.

¶ **LEX ROMANA VISIGOTHORUM** (IX. 15. 2-17. 1; IX. 24. 2-26. 1).

Two folios, both apparently slightly trimmed (Frag. 2A, which textually precedes, is torn almost in half horizontally); 310 × 230 mm. < 230 × 205 mm. > in 29 long lines. Ruling on the hair-side, curiously enough after folding, to judge from the prickings in both the inner and outer margin. There is a possible quire signature in the lower margin of Frag. 2A^r. Running titles on the recto and verso. Rubrics and certain official titles in red, now for the most part no longer visible. Punctuation: the medial point. There are numerous abbreviations of technical terms and suspensions of dates; abbreviations of non-technical words include **-B·** and **-q·** = -bus, -que. Omitted **M** is indicated by a horizontal stroke slightly to right of centre with dot below. Spelling departs widely from classical norms. Ink black-brown. Rope-like decoration in ink of the text at the ends of short lines. Parchment thin. Script is uncial, each leaf having been copied by a different scribe. Shared palaeographical features include: **G** with a relatively short tail; **L** whose foot terminates in a dot; **S** with larger second loop; **T** whose crossbar is either a thin stroke or a slightly thicker

stroke commencing with a loop. In Frag. 2A the first stroke of **A** often has a noticeably downward slant and the bow, usually thin, can be rather pointed; **D** has a long stem bent upwards. In Frag. 2B the bow of **A** is usually fuller and exhibits a greater variety of positions, now touching the base-line, now placed above it; the bow of **D** is rounder and the stem inclines to the left; a faint hair-line stroke constitutes the tongue of **E**. Several sets of more or less contemporary corrections on both leaves.

Written in Spain or South France. Both folios apparently served as fly-leaves, and a Gothic pen-trial (saec. xiv) seems to associate Frag. 2B with Langres. Formerly belonged to Henri Omont (1857-1940) whose collection was acquired in 1949-50.

Our plate from Frag. 2A^v.

Bibliography: M. McCormick, 'An Unknown Seventh-Century Manuscript of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* N.S. 6 (1976) 1-13 and pl. 1 (Frag. 2A^r).

1837. – LUCERNE, PROVINZARCHIV DER KAPUZINER, P. ADALBERT WAGNER COLLECTION S.N.

ALEMANNIC MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII ex.

¶ GREGORIUS M., MORALIA IN IOB (xv. lvii. 68; xv. lxi. 72-xvi. i. 1).

Fragments of two damaged folios, now cut down to 155 × 116 mm. and 110 × 153 mm. < width 123 mm. > in long lines of which 20 and 17 survive respectively. Ruling on the flesh-side. Heading in capitals mixed with uncial followed by a leaf to fill the line. Punctuation: a semicolon marks the main pause, and a dot or comma surmounted by an oblique line marks various pauses. Abbreviations: **-b;**, **-q;** = **-bus**, **-que**; **ē** = **est**; **m̄s** = **meus**; **m̄-** = **men-**; **om̄** = **omnes**; ordinary abbreviations for 'per', 'prae', 'pro'; **-t'** = **-tur**. Omitted **m** indicated by a simple stroke over the vowel. Simple initial decorated with a heavy leaf pattern. Ink dark brown. Spelling good on the whole; however, some curious mistakes occur: 'prensente' (for praesente) and 'turquet' (for torquet). Script is a pre-Caroline minuscule of the Alemannic type: both forms of **a**; the ascender of **h** can be **s**-shaped; all but the first, curved stroke of **z** is placed below the base-line; the **nt**-ligature occurs in mid-word; **ri** is written in ligature; the cursive **ti**-ligature is used for the hard sound.

Written in an Alemannic centre. The fragments formerly served as pastedowns. Transferred to Lucerne from Appenzell, Kapuzinerkloster in 1976.

Our plate from fol. 2v.

Bibliography: A. Bruckner, 'Ein unbekanntes Fragment in alemannischer Minuskel des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Der Geschichtsfreund* 125 (1972) 13-18 and plate (fol. 2v).

1838. – MARBURG, HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV HR 2, 10c (DEPOT V. BUTTLARSCHES ARCHIV).

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ BEDA, HOMILIAE (I. 9-10).

Two fragmentary folios, cut down to 230 × ca. 210 mm. < calculated height of written space ca. 235 mm., width of written space ca. 170 mm. > in 2 columns of 28 lines of which 25 survive. Ruling apparently before folding. Single bounding lines. The membrane is vellum of the Insular type. Punctuation: the main pause is marked by a kind of semicolon, lesser pauses by an oblique stroke; other points added later. Quotations are marked by ., to the left of each line. An omission is marked by *signes de renvoi*. Few abbreviations include the Insular symbol for 'est'. Script is Anglo-Saxon minuscule with pointed descenders.

Written presumably in an Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany. Used for binding a book of accounts for the years 1642-46.

Our plate from the verso of the second leaf.

1839. – MILAN, UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI, ISTITUTO DI PAPIROLOGIA PAP. MIL. VOGL. inv. 1190.

UNCIAL SAEC. V.

¶ CICERO, IN VERREM (ACT. II. V. 15-16, §§39-41).

A tiny scrap of parchment, in damaged condition, from the lower part of a folio; 89 × 97 mm. < verso, col. a (seen in our plate) 66 × ca. 45 mm.; calculated original height of 1 column 165 mm. > in 2 columns of which 6-11 lines survive of an original estimated 28. Ruling on the hair-side. The only punctuation seen is the point marking the conclusion of §40. A larger letter begins §41. Abbreviations confined to a stroke at line-ends to indicate omitted **M**. Script is calligraphic uncial of the oldest type: the bow of **A** is triangular; the upper loop of **B** is small; the eye of **E** is very small; **M** is broad and the first stroke is straight; **N** is also broad, and the first upright goes below the line.

Written probably in Italy. Acquired in 1980 together with some Greek documents on papyrus whose provenance seems to be Oxyrhynchus.

Our plate from the verso.

Bibliography: C. Gallazzi, 'P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1190: frammento di Cicero, *In C. Verrem Act. Sec. lib. V*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 54 (1984) 21-26 and pl. 1a (verso).

1840. – MONTSERRAT, BIBLIOTECA DEL MONASTERIO **1252**.

UNCIAL SAEC. VII-VIII.

¶ HIERONYMUS, COMMENTARIUS IN EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM MATTHAEUM (III. 20-21).

Three damaged fragments, two of which form the upper and lower half of the outer half of one leaf including the upper and lower margin; (original) height of leaf 260 mm. < original height of written space 220 mm. > in 24 long lines. Punctuation: a medial point for a minor pause and a colon for a full stop. Abbreviations include -q: = -que and the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted M is indicated by a horizontal flourish surmounted by a dot. Script is a late uncial manifestly by two different hands, one of which has a tendency to squeeze the letters: ascenders of H and L are noticeably tall, and the foot of L sometimes goes below the line; the left half of M is often closed; the first stroke of N goes below the line, often finishing in a serif or heavy dot, while the second upright is usually comma-shaped; descenders of p and q are long and pointed.

Origin uncertain. Removed from the binding of a book printed at Basel in 1557 which has a seventeenth-century ex-libris in Catalan: 'Es del Dr. Francesch Bugunya'.

Our plate shows the verso of the second and third fragments.

Bibliography: A. Olivar, 'Trois nouveaux fragments en onciale du commentaire de Saint Jérôme sur l'évangile de Matthieu', *Revue bénédictine* 92 (1982) 76-81.

1841. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 2601** (offset and fragm.).

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ COMES DUPLEX.

One fragment pasted down on the back cover and an offset on the front cover remain; actual measurements ca. 115 × ca. 165 mm.; written in long lines of which 13 and 14 survive in part. Heading in mixed capitals. Offset of a coloured initial filled with broad plait-ornament. Early Caroline minuscule of Bavarian type, written by two scribes.

Origin Bavaria. The fragments were used for the binding of a thirteenth-century schoolbook of the Cistercian monastery of Aldersbach.

Our plate shows the fragment on the back cover.

Bibliography: B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 50.

1842. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 5447** (fly-leaves).

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII EX.

¶ **COMPUTUS HIBERNENSIS.**

Two halves of one almost complete leaf, bound in at the beginning and at the end of a fifteenth-century paper manuscript; estimated original height ca. 330 mm., width 240 mm. < calculated height of written space ca. 280 mm., width 195 mm. > in 30 long lines of which 29 survive. Ruling before folding. Double bounding lines. Chapter-headings in red uncial or in red mixed majuscule. The medial point marks various pauses. Abbreviations include the Insular symbol for 'enim' and also **au** = autem, **.ē** = est. Script is a firm upright early Caroline minuscule of the Salzburg type showing Saint-Denis influence: the left leg of **x** hangs down almost vertically; ascenders are thickened and cut off obliquely; ligatures occur e.g. of **ci**, **li**, **NT**, **or**, **rae**, **rt**. At the beginning of a paragraph the name 'agustinus' is written in half-uncial.

Written doubtless at Salzburg. The manuscript into which the fragments are bound belonged to the episcopal library of Chiemsee.

Our plate shows the central part of the verso of the front fly-leaf.

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 1.3 (Munich, 1873), p. 17; B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 86 (incorrect).

1843. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29270/1.**

UNCIAL SAEC. V.

¶ **EVANGELIUM MATTHAEI VERSIONIS ANTEHIERONYMIANAE** (ix. 17, 30 sq., 33 sq., 36 sq.; x. 1-10).

Palimpsest, primary script (the secondary script, a grammatical text in minuscule saec. viii ex., shows that this fragment is a membrum disiectum of *C.L.A.* **X. 1475 – see below); fragment of a bifolium, cut down to ca. 100 × 220 mm., width of the leaf more than 170 mm. < calculated height of the written space ca. 140 mm., width of the written space 148 mm. > in 3 columns of presumably 17 lines, 9 of which survive. No punctuation. Abbreviations include: **-B.**, **-q.** = -bus, -que; the only Nomen Sacrum, 'SPS', is misused (for

'spiritus immundos'). Omitted **M** and **N** at line-ends are marked by a simple stroke. Script is excellent uncial of the oldest type.

Origin uncertain. Rewritten with a grammatical text at Salzburg in the late eighth century.

Our plate from fol. 2v.

Bibliography: B. Fischer, 'Ein altlateinisches Evangelienfragment' in M. Brecht, ed., *Text – Wort – Glaube. Studien zur Überlieferung, Interpretation und Autorisierung biblischer Texte* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 50; Berlin-New York, 1980), pp. 84-111; B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 84 and pl. 3b (fol. 2v).

1844. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29270/3**.

UNCIAL SAEC. VII.

¶ EPISTULA AD HEBRAEOS (XII. 26-XIII. 1; XIII. 9-13).

Two strips measuring 263 × 23 mm. each < height of written space 240 mm., estimated width of one column ca. 50 mm. > in 2 columns of 26 lines. Omitted **M** at line-end marked by a simple stroke. Ink greyish-brown. Script is carefully written uncial of a later type.

Written presumably in Italy. The fragments were salvaged from the binding of Clm 27128, a twelfth-century legendary from Ottobeuren.

Our plate shows the entire verso in sections.

1845. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29400/2**.

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ GREGORIUS M., HOMILIAE IN EVANGELIA (I. 15-16).

Six strips of varying height survive, which were originally parts of the outer bifolium of one quire; height of leaf ca. 230 mm. < height of written space 185 mm., estimated width ca. 120 mm. > in 21 long lines. Punctuation: the medial point apparently marks various pauses; other points added in greyish ink. Relatively frequent use is made of the old chapter-mark **K** (cf. our plate, 1. 3). Few abbreviations: **-b**; = -bus. Script is a rather formless minuscule: only **a**; flat-topped **g**; ligatures e.g. of **ex**, **ri**, **st** (but also **st** not in ligature). The capital **N** betrays Insular influence.

Written in South Germany.

Our plate from fol. 2v.

1846. – MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PAP. LAT. MONAC. inv. 2.

RUSTIC CAPITAL VERGING ON CURSIVE ca. 100 A.D. (?).

¶ FRAGMENTUM IURIS ROMANI (?).

One small fragment from the upper part of a papyrus roll, in damaged condition; 103 × 33 mm.; remains of 8 lines survive. Points are seen after several words, a symptom of early Roman writing. The papyrus was early reused, as an account was written at right angles on the papyrological verso probably in the second century.

Origin uncertain.

Our plate from the papyrological recto.

Bibliography: A. Bruckner-R. Marichal, eds., *Chartae latinae antiquiores* 12 (Dietikon-Zürich, 1978), nos. 544-545 and plates (complete facsimile of both sides); R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* 2.2 (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 38-39, no. 2 and pl. I.2 (papyrological recto).

1847. – MÜNSTER IN WESTPHALIA, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK
FRAGMENTENKAPS. 1, No. 2.

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII².

¶ GREGORIUS M., DIALOGI (III. 1-5, 7).

Four folios survive, all mutilated; largest measures 226 × 212 mm. < written space 200 × 145 mm. > in 23 long lines. Single bounding lines. No punctuation. Accents occur over monosyllables. Abbreviations: **-bz**, **-qz** = -bus, -que; the abbreviation of the Nomen Sacrum 'sp̄s' is several times used for evil spirits. Spelling: interchange of **e** and **i**, **o** and **u** occurs. Script is a relatively broad Anglo-Saxon minuscule: descenders including **g** are short; **æ** (flat-topped), **R** and round **S** are used beside **a**, **r** and long **s**; round **d** prevails by far; **a** occasionally has a long curved shaft even in mid-word; **m** turned sideways occurs at line-end; ligatures with enlarged **e** are frequent. Corrections in pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

Written presumably in England. Later history unknown.

Our plate from fol. 4r.

1848. – MÜNSTER IN WESTPHALIA, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK
FRAGMENTENKAPS. 1, No. 3.

ANGLO-SAXON MAJUSCULE SAEC. VIII².

¶ BEDA, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORUM (iv. 8-9).

One folio, mutilated and trimmed so that part of the text is lost at the inner margin and at the bottom; 282 × 205 mm. < calculated written space ca. 295 × ca. 217 mm. > in 2 columns of 32 lines of which 30 survive. Prickings seen in the outer margin, presumably lost with the inner margin. Punctuation: the medial point or comma marks various pauses; the groups ., or .., at the end of sections. Run-overs carried to the line above are set off by an oblique line. Accents over some monosyllables. Abbreviations include the Insular forms for 'eius' and 'est' and the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation of -tur (a vertical stroke through the crossbar of t); also -b₃, -q₃ = -bus, -que; the normal forms for 'per' and 'pro'; *schī* = saeculi; and the usual forms of Nomina Sacra. Spelling good on the whole; some confusion of e and i, o and u. Sentences begin with a simple enlarged letter in Insular style in the margin or in the body of the text. Script is an expert Anglo-Saxon majuscule of the compressed type verging on minuscule: a mostly majuscule, rarely minuscule, once in the open form (see our plate); d and n are minuscule; r majuscule (with long stem and open) and minuscule are both used, likewise s; ligatures with e are frequent; *mi*, *ni*, and *ti* occur. Some contemporary and later corrections. Curiously enough a late-medieval pair of spectacles (in part seen on our plate) left a clear offset on the verso.

Written in England. Later presumably in a German monastery.

Our plate from the verso.

Bibliography: B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), p. 33 n. 72.

1849. – NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIVERSITY, BEINECKE LIBRARY 516.

UNCIAL SAEC. VIII¹.

¶ GREGORIUS M., MORALIA IN IOB (xviii. 26. 41-42).

Upper half of one folio; 175 × 235 mm. < 144 × ca. 180 mm., estimated height ca. 240 mm. > in an estimated 25 long lines of which 15 survive. Punctuation: a medial point is used for various pauses. Citations marked by two flourishes or a single flourish placed to the left of each line. Abbreviations include the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted M, at line-end only, is denoted by a wavy stroke after the vowel. A slightly larger letter begins a sentence. Ink dark brown with traces of black. Membrane is thin with greasy transparent patches. Script is a very

careful, regular uncial of the type practiced in the Northumbrian monastery of Jarrow or Wearmouth: the bow of **A** is a thin shallow loop; **R** is generally open; horizontal finials and upper curves are fork-shaped. There are two additions to words at line-ends (see our plate, ll. 1 and 6); the first, in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, is manifestly by an Insular scribe, the second in small uncial.

Written in England at a Northumbrian centre. In the fourteenth century the fragment served as fly-leaf to a book which belonged to Reynerus de Capella, a monk of the Benedictine monastery at Soest (Westphalia); cf. his ex-libris on the verso. Acquired in 1972.

Our plate from the verso.

Bibliography: C. E. Lutz, 'A Manuscript Fragment from Bede's Monastery', *Yale University Library Gazette* 48 (1973) 135-38, rpt. in eadem, *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Hamden, Conn., 1975), pp. 19-23 and plate (verso) serving as frontispiece.

1850. – NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM,
KUPFERSTICHKABINETT KAPSEL 536/SD 285.

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ BEDA, DE TEMPORUM RATIONE (capp. 6, 7, 9).

One bifolium; height cut down to 230 mm., width 230 mm. < 193 × 167 mm. > in 2 columns of 23 lines. Ruling after folding. Vellum of Insular type. Punctuation: a semicolon marks the main pause, a medial point lesser pauses. Almost no abbreviations: the Insular symbol for 'est'; **ss̄** = suprascriptarum. Script is narrow Anglo-Saxon minuscule with not very long descenders: two forms of **d**; **ae** occurs in ligature.

Written in a German centre with Anglo-Saxon traditions in the Main region or in Hessa.

Our plate from fol. 1r.

1851. – NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM,
KUPFERSTICHKABINETT KAPSEL 536/SD 286.

PRE-CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII med.

¶ LIBER ESDRAE (vi. 14-x. 1).

Two fragmentary leaves, cut down to 290 × 160 mm. < calculated width of written space 230 mm. > in 2 columns of ca. 48 lines of which 28 survive. Punctuation: a low comma marks the main pause, a medial point marks lesser pauses. Abbreviations include: **-b:** = -bus; **Nr̄** = noster; **-n** with cross-

stroke = -nus; \bar{p} = prae; the normal form for 'pro'; -r (also -or) with cross-stroke = -rum; \bar{r} = -runt; and the quite unusual forms of **pp** with suprascript **s** or **m** = populus, -lum (see our plate). The abbreviation-stroke is a rising flourish. Script is a straight, somewhat stiff minuscule with long ascenders: **a** occurs; **N** is frequent; the last stroke of **r** sweeps over the following low letter; ligatures include **NT**, **r&**, **ro**, **rr**, **uT** and, at the beginning of sentences, **Et** in a form influenced by charter-cursive.

Origin North or Northeast France. Later history unknown.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

1852. – NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, KUPFERSTICHKABINETT **KAPSEL 536/SD 3329**.

HALF-UNCIAL SAEC. VI vel VII.

¶ FRAGMENTUM TEXTUS INCERTI.

Palimpsest, primary script (the secondary script running across the primary script contains an application of the Regula Benedicti for nuns in Rhaetian minuscule saec. ix in.); 2 fragments measuring 200 × 128 mm. each, each forming one half of an original leaf. On fol. 2r traces of 10 lines ca. 160 mm. long seem to be visible. The script, certainly not majuscule, has been treated with reagent and traced with pencil where it best was seen; it is now illegible.

Origin uncertain. Rewritten in the early ninth century in Southeast Switzerland.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

1853. – ORLÉANS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE CLASSÉE DE LA VILLE **297 (250)** (fragm. and offset).

CURSIVE SAEC. VI vel VII¹.

¶ LEO M., EPISTULAE (27, 29, 54).

Poor remains of one leaf pasted to the inside front cover, which for three quarters has been stripped off but whose verso left offsets on the residuous patches of paste. Estimated measurements of the leaf perhaps ca. 210 × 160 mm.; written in at least 24 long lines. Abbreviations seen apart from dates: **xpianissimum** = christianissimum; **eḡm** = episcopum; **-bs**, **-qs** = -bus, -que. Script is later Roman cursive with many ligatures: **g** is broad and flat-topped; among the ligatures occur **ff**, **fi**, **oc**, **on**, **te**, **tu**. The names of the consuls in the date of Ep. 27 and the entire address of Ep. 29 are written in good sloping uncial.

Origin uncertain. The manuscript whose binding preserves these remains probably belonged to Fleury.

Our plate shows both fragment (recto) and offset.

Bibliography: C. Jeudy, 'L'*Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo* de Priscien. Manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2 (1972) 80 n. 3 and pl. V.

1854. – PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE LAT. 1719 (fragm.).

HALF-UNCIAL ca. SAEC. VII med.

¶ ISIDORUS, ETYMOLOGIAE (xviii. i. 7, 9, 10).

Two rectangular cuttings of 38 × 63 mm. each are sewn on in the middle of the lower margin of fol. 11r and 11v in a twelfth-century manuscript of Ambrose < estimated width of line ca. 90-95 mm. > ; the fragments come from the same leaf and contain parts of (a) 4 and (b) 5 lines. Double bounding lines in the outer margin. First letter of a sentence in red. Script is a well-formed half-uncial: descenders (f, p) are very long; G is uncial.

Written most probably in France. The fragments are amongst the earliest remains of the manuscript tradition of Isidore. The Ambrose manuscript in which they were preserved is supposed to have belonged to Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle.

Our plate shows the verso of both fragments.

1855. – PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE LAT. 17770 (fragm.).

'CORBIE' MAJUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ TEXTUS INCERTUS (INSCRIPTIONES?).

A tiny strip of parchment written on one side only and now glued to fol. 249r; actual size ca. 79 × 9-12 mm., with the beginnings of 11 lines surviving. Dark brown ink. Script is the characteristic majuscule found with the 'Corbie' **ab**-type: A has the uncial form; D, E and Q are capital; the tail of uncial G leans to the left; the foot of L ends in a flourish descending below the line; the cross-bar of T curves around to the left, touching the upright.

Written in all probability at Corbie, or in a nearby region. Recovered when the codex was restored in 1976. The main ms. is definitely connected with Corbie: it contains, inter alia, the *Regula S. Benedicti* copied in 1304 at the request of 'Iohannes du Candas officialis Corbeie' (cf. the subscription on fol. 100r) and also documents connected with the monastery of Corbie; the Corbie ex-libris is found on fol. 3r.

Our plate shows the complete text in two sections.

1856. – PARIS, INSTITUT CATHOLIQUE MS. LATIN 55.

HALF-UNCIAL SAEC. V-VI vel VI in.

¶ AUGUSTINUS, DE CIVITATE DEI (v. 20-21; v. 26).

Two mutilated and damaged leaves, one of which was cut into two pieces; present extreme measurements 330×240 mm. $< 230 \times 155-160$ mm. $>$ in 28 long lines. Punctuation: the medial point is used for various pauses. Abbreviations are rare and include **-q̄** = -que and the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted **m** at line-end is marked by a horizontal flourish with a dot above and below. Parchment very fine. Ink brown. Script is a careful half-uncial resembling the Ravenna manuscript of Ambrose (Archivio Arcivescovile S.N. – C.L.A. IV. 410a-b): **A** and **G** exhibit the uncial form; **D** has both the uncial and half-uncial forms, the former predominating; the cross-strokes of **F** resemble two commas placed one on top of the other; **I**-longa appears initially, and medially for the semi-vocal sound; uncial **M** occurs once at the end of a word; the shaft of **p** ends in a swing to the right.

Written in North Italy, possibly at Ravenna. Formerly used as part of a wrapper for a printed edition of Simplicius' commentary on the *Praedicamenta* of Aristotle (Venice, 1543) that belonged to M. l'abbé Jean-Marie Charles Bulliot (†1915) and was acquired in 1921.

Our plate from fol. 2r.

Bibliography: H. Rochais, 'Fragments du *De Ciuitate Dei*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Catholique de Paris (ms. latin 55, vi^e s.)', *Revue des études augustinienes* 17 (1971) 293-98 and plate (fol. 2r, detail).

1857. – PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PAP. E. 10295 (strips).

RUSTIC CAPITAL AND UNCIAL SAEC. IV (?).

¶ IUS ANTEIUSTINIANUM.

At least three small horizontal parchment strips used to fasten the central fold of two quires of a Greek papyrus codex containing Cyrillus Alexandrinus, De Adoratione in 'Coptic' ductus saec. vii; the two better preserved strips measure ca. 15×100 mm. each; as they may have been originally parts of the same longer strip and as one comes from the central part of a bifolium, the width of the leaf may have been ca. 150 mm., and the width of the written space ca. 105 mm.; parts of two lines are visible on each side of each strip. Abbreviations: some ancient Notae are used; **H̄TAS** = hereditas; **QQ.** = quoque; also **B.Q.**. Omitted **M** at line-end is marked by a horizontal stroke above the vowel. Script is elegant Rustic Capital. With these fragments are kept two

brittle narrow vertical strips; the larger one, which measures 95×12 mm., is 16 lines long; on some of the lines one or two uncial letters are seen.

Origin uncertain.

Our plate shows both scripts.

Bibliography: E. M. Thompson et al., eds., *The New Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.*, First Series, vol. 2 (London, 1903-12), pl. 203 (two of the Latin strips are still seen in situ).

1858. – PARIS, SORBONNE, INSTITUT DE PAPYROLOGIE **PAP. REI-NACH 2173.**

SLOPING UNCIAL SAEC. VI.

¶ DIGESTA (XIX. 2. 54, 56).

One small fragment of a papyrus codex from the upper part of a leaf; 60×80 mm. < estimated width ca. 160 mm. >; remains of 3 lines of the Latin text survive. The text was glossed in Greek in the sixth century.

Written apparently in the Byzantine Empire. Found in Egypt.

Our plate shows the recto.

Bibliography: S. De Ricci, 'Deux nouveaux papyrus juridiques' in *Études d'histoire offertes à Paul Frédéric Girard* 1 (Paris, 1912; rpt. Aalen, 1981), pp. 273 ff.; R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* 2.2 (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 68-69, no. 18 and pl. VI.18 (recto and verso).

1859. – REGENSBURG, BISCHÖFLICHE ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK **CIM. 2.**

EARLY CAROLINE MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ EVANGELIA (MATTH. XXIII. 35-XXIV. 15; XXIV. 39-XXV. 29; XXVI. 6-25).

Four leaves, somewhat mutilated; height more than 205 mm., width 210 mm. < height of written space more than 196 mm., width ca. 152 mm. > in ca. 25 long lines of which 20 survive. Punctuation: the semicolon marks the main pause; other points added later. Abbreviations very few: **-b;**, **-q;** = -bus, -que; the normal symbol for 'per'. Each verse begins with an enlarged black majuscule. Script is excellent early Caroline minuscule with long ascenders and descenders – it is to be compared with Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 13038 from St. Emmeram, Regensburg (C.L.A. IX. 1288) (Gamber's assertion that the script is related to the second hand of the Mondsee Psalter in Montpellier [C.L.A. VI. 795] cannot be accepted): both **æ** and **a**, **ð** and round **d** are used; among the ligatures occur **ent**, **eri**, **nt**, **or**, **ri**, **ro**.

Written at Regensburg. The fragments were used for binding the protocols of the Regensburg Chapter of 1617-19.

Our plate from fol. 1r.

Bibliography: K. Gamber, 'Fragmentblätter eines Regensburger Evangeliars aus dem Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980) 72-77 and pl. 11 (complete facsimile, reduced); B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 236.

1860. – SÁROSPATAK, LIBRARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH S.N.

UNCIAL SAEC. VIII.

¶ ANTIPHONARIUM.

One folio, mutilated and rubbed on the verso; now cut down to a maximum 293×215 mm. in 2 columns of 36 lines. Pricking-marks seen in the outer margin. Punctuation: a triangular group of three dots marks the end of a section; the colon and medial point serve the same purpose and also indicate lesser pauses. Abbreviations include **aū**, **gl̄a**, **mīē**, **qm̄** = autem, gloria, misericordie, quoniam; numerous liturgical terms (**FĒR**, **PS̄**, **GR̄**, **OF̄**, etc.); and the normal Nomina Sacra. In these instances the horizontal stroke is usually surmounted by a dot, but not in the case of 'autem' and omitted **M** where a wavy line and the horizontal stroke respectively alone suffice. Spelling good on the whole. Black and red ink used for rubrics; otherwise brown ink. Simple pen-and-ink, mostly hollow initials of varying sizes project into the margin; they are partly filled with colour. Script is a small, closely-written uncial of a natural type: the bow of **A** is a small oval placed above the base-line; **I**-longa sometimes occurs initially; **LL** run together; the first and third strokes of **M** form closed loops; **n** has both the majuscule and minuscule forms; at least one instance of minuscule **ri** in ligature ('peccatoris'). A contemporary marginal gloss in ordinary minuscule.

Written probably in Italy. Removed from a binding.

Our plate from the recto.

Bibliography: S. N. László, 'VIII. századi antiphonarium-töredék Sárospatakon', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976) 256-62 and two plates (recto and verso).

1861. – SCHWEINFURT, STADTARCHIV COD. FRAGM. No. 3.

ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE SAEC. VIII-IX.

¶ EVANGELIA (LUC. I. 20-24, 31-36).

Lower half of one folio; 152×233 mm. < ca. 90×150 mm., calculated original height ca. 190-200 mm. > in an estimated 19-20 long lines of which 9

survive. Ruling after folding, as slits are seen in both margins. On the verso there is a quire-mark in the middle of the lower margin. Punctuation: either the point or the comma may be used for various pauses. Accents occur over monosyllables. Sentences begin with a larger letter. Abbreviations seen on the fragment are \bar{n} , $\bar{q}uo$, $\bar{r}t$, $\bar{s}t$ = non, quoniam, -runt, sunt; the ordinary symbol for 'per'; the Insular symbol for 'autem'; and the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted **m** is indicated by a horizontal flourish. Spelling good; some confusion of **b** and **u**, and also 'concoepit'. Ink dark. Membrane is certainly vellum of the Insular type. Script is an expert Anglo-Saxon minuscule with long descenders: **a** has two forms; **D** is uncial; **e** is tall and mostly open. Two suprascript corrections, also in Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

Written in Germany in a centre with Anglo-Saxon traditions. Formerly used as a binding for a book printed at Wittenberg in 1564 which belonged to Leonhard Bausch (†1636) and then to his son Johann Lorenz Bausch (1605-65).

Our plate from the verso.

Bibliography: O. Meyer, 'Ein Bibelfragment des 8. Jahrhunderts aus dem Schweinfurter Stadtarchiv', *Miscellanea Suinfurtensia historica* 5 (Schweinfurt, 1970), pp. 140-47 and 2 plates (recto and verso).

1862. – VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA
S. MARIA IN VIA LATA I 45 (fragm.).

HALF-UNCIAL SAEC. VI-VII.

¶ Iob (xxxix. 24-xlii. 7).

One bifolium, mutilated and heavily damaged by humidity, preserved separately from the rest of the ms. (Evangeliarium, saec. ix); 226 × 153 mm. < 187 × 115 mm. > in 30 long lines. Fols. 1v and 2r, glued together, could not be examined; fol. 1r contains Iob xxxix. 24-xl. 3 (+ estimated xl. 4-6) and fol. 2v contains Iob xli. 15-xlii. 7, with fols. 1v-2r probably containing the intervening verses (xl. 7-xli. 14). No traces of ruling or pricking. Punctuation not visible. Abbreviations comprise the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted **m** is indicated by a horizontal flourish placed over the vowel. Reddish-brown ink. Spelling: some confusion of **b** and **u** ('ferbens') and **e** and **ae** ('adpraehenderit'). Script, now much rubbed and faded, is half-uncial with cursive features: the bow of **a** is sometimes open, sometimes closed; the main stroke of **g** is s- or 3-shaped; the shoulder of **r** slopes down in the manner of minuscule **n**; the loop of **e** is usually closed and the tongue extended to form such ligatures as **en**, **er**; the crossbar of **t** is similarly extended for the **te**-ligature; **y** has the shape of capital upsilon.

Written presumably in Central or Northern Italy, Rome not being excluded. Apparently used as pastedown and fly-leaf.

Our plate from fol. 2v.

Bibliography: P. Supino Martini, 'L'evangelario di S. Maria in Via Lata', *Scrittura e civiltà* 4 (1980) 285-88 and pl. 3 (fol. 2v).

1863. – VENICE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA **MARC. LAT. XIV 232 (4257)** (fol. 29).

UNCIAL SAEC. VII med.

¶ GREGORIUS M., HOMILIAE IN EVANGELIA (II. XXVI. 3-4).

One mutilated leaf in a miscellany of fragments, trimmed at the top and one side so that approximately half of one column is missing; actual measurements 275×187 mm. $< 240 \times 151$ mm. $>$ in 2 columns of which 34 lines survive of an estimated 38. Ruling on the flesh-side, with double bounding lines enclosing each column. Punctuation: a point or comma marks various pauses; the oblique is occasionally added above the point. Abbreviations include **-b'**, **-q'** = -bus, -que; the ordinary symbol for 'per'; and the usual Nomina Sacra. Omitted **M** is indicated by two or three strokes placed over the vowel. Spelling shows confusion of **b** and **u**, **s** and **ss**, and **cs** and **x** ('sucsit'; cf. 'uncxit'). Ink dark brown. Script is a late uncial: the bow of **A** rests on the line; **D** has a short stem; **LL** run together; **S** is often top-heavy.

Written in Italy. The collection of fragments was assembled by Giacomo Morelli (1745-1819), who was the Marciana librarian from 1778 to 1819.

Our plate from the recto.

Bibliography: R. G. Babcock, 'Two Unreported Uncial Fragments', *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) (forthcoming).

1864. – WASHINGTON (D. C.), THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY **X. d. 536**.

IRISH HALF-UNCIAL SAEC. VII.

¶ RUFINUS, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA (I [x Mommsen]. 1-3, 10).

One bifolium, mutilated at all margins; being the fourth from the centre of the quire, it might be the outer bifolium of a quaternio, but the list of chapters for book I precedes and the quire may have been a quinio as is usual in Irish mss.; now measuring $182 \times$ ca. 130 mm. $<$ calculated written space ca. 140 mm. $>$ in 2 columns of which 27-30 lines survive. Ruling on the flesh-side. Single bounding lines enclose columns. The last entry in the list of chapters of book I is

followed by 'fiN(it)' and a rope ornament. Punctuation: the main pause is marked by the medial point or comma or two points (..); the medial point or comma also signifies minor pauses; while points normally are followed by a clear small blank space, script on the whole may be called *scriptura continua*. First words of a chapter are written in larger letters diminishing gradually to the normal size. Abbreviations confined to the normal forms of *Nomina Sacra*. At line-end omitted **m** is marked by a flourish between two dots, and omitted **N** by a simple flourish. Spelling good: there is some confusion of **e** and **i** ('queidem', 'semplicitas', 'uehementer'). The first modest initial **C**, with ends curving in, includes a zigzag line. The membrane is reported to be fine parchment (not vellum which one expects in normal Insular mss., but compare the *Usserianus Primus* [*C.L.A.* II. 271], one of the very oldest Irish mss.). Ink brown. Script is an elegantly and fluently written early Insular half-uncial with both **d** and uncial **d**, both **N** and **n**, minuscule **r** and **s**; **a** once at line-end has a cursive form; the tongue of **e** is high; **g** ends with a small angle below the line; the first stroke of **N** is prolonged, the second almost rests on the line; the lower left limb of **x** is often long. Ligatures found are flat **&**, **t** with attached long **j**, once at line-end **em** with **m** turned sideways. A single minuscule **m** added by an Insular corrector.

Written presumably in Ireland. To be included in the Sotheby sale of 25 June 1985 as lot 50.

Our plate from fols. 1r and 2v.

Bibliography: *Folger Library Newsletter* 16.3 (February 1985) 1 and plate (fol. 1r); Sotheby sale catalogue, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures ... Day of Sale Tuesday, 25th June 1985*, lot 50 and 2 colour plates (complete facsimile).

1865. – CHARLOTTESVILLE (VIRGINIA), PROF. MARVIN L. COLKER COLLECTION S.N.

Palimpsest of an unidentified text in pre-Caroline minuscule saec. viii, rewritten with a papal letter in early tenth-century minuscule. A full-length study of this ms. is to be expected from Professor Colker, who kindly permitted the inclusion of this notice.

II

NEW MEMBRA DISIECTA

****I.** 38 + III, p. 15. VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA **VATIC. LAT. 5760** (fols. i-ii) + MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA **C. 91 inf.** (fols. 128-129) + TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA **F. IV. 29** (binding). – Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Interprete Rufino. Half-uncial saec. vi. – The new fragment is a palimpsest strip used to mend fol. 8 of TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA **F. III. 8**; actual measurements are 73-85 × 214 mm. in 2 columns of which 11 lines survive, the primary script containing *Historia Ecclesiastica* iv. 15 and the upper script a calendar in Gothic writing. Like the Milan and Vatican items, the new fragment is preserved in a manuscript from Bobbio. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 3-5, no. 1 and pl. 1 (fol. 8r).

****II².** 146 + XI, p. 20 + S, p. 19. CAMBRIDGE (MASS.), HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY **fms TYP 6** + MARBURG, HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV **HR 2, 4a-c**. – Hieronymus, *Epistulae*. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. viii ex. – One and a half new leaves came to light at NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT **KAPSEL 536/SD 281 + 284**. Fol. 281 contains part of Ep. xxii; fol. 284, the outer half of a leaf, contains part of Ep. lx. 10.

****II².** 155 + ****VIII.** 1144. DURHAM, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY **C. IV. 8** (fly-leaf) + CASSEL, GESAMTHOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK **2° MS. THEOL. 266** (formerly **MANUSKRIPTE-ANHANG 19**) + HERSFELD, STADTARCHIV **LAT. IV**. – Gregorius M., *Moralia in Iob*. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. viii-ix. – A new fragment (lib. xxxv. 21-22) is COLUMBIA (MO.), UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY **FRAGMENTA MANUSCRIPTA No. 8**. Upper part of one column in damaged condition; actual measurements 122 × 103 mm., with 13 of the original 35 lines surviving. Prickings seen in outer margin.

****II².** 163 + V, p. 49 + S, p. 24. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY **ADDITIONAL MS. 11878** + **ADDITIONAL MS. 41567 J** + CAMBRIDGE

(MASS.), HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY **MS TYP 592** (formerly CHELTENHAM, PHILLIPPS COLLECTION **36184**) + PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE **NOUV. ACQ. LAT. 2243** (fols. 1-2) + **NOUV. ACQ. LAT. 2388** (fols. 1-2). – Gregorius M., *Moralia in Iob.* Luxeuil minuscule saec. viii in. – In January 1977 two bifolia (lib. xxiv. xi. 31-32, xiii. 37) were offered for sale by the Paris bookseller Pierre Berès. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

****II². 168 + VII, p. 4 + VIII, p. 44. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MSS. 18301** (fol. 1) + **18304** (fols. 2-3, 100-101) + **18322** (fol. 2) + **18344** (fol. 2) + **18347** (fol. 2) + **18349** (fol. 2) + **18350** (fol. 150) + **EGERTON 3273** (fols. I, II and strips) + BASEL, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK **N I 1, No. 7** + DONAUESCHINGEN, FÜRSTLICH FÜRSTENBERGISCHE HOFBIBLIOTHEK **FRAGM. B. III. 17 (925)**. – Homiliarium Alani, pars aestivalis. German minuscule saec. viii ex. – Six fragments in INNSBRUCK, TIROLER LANDESMUSEUM FERDINANDEUM **FB 32.140 A-F** comprising mutilated single leaves (A, E, F) and bifolia (B, C, D), of which the largest is frag. A now cut down to 265 × 160 mm. in 26 long lines. The fragments were probably used as pastedowns and fly-leaves before they were placed in ms. Dip. 973, a collection of fragments assembled by Anton Roschmann (1694-1760), from which they have now been removed. The Innsbruck leaves once belonged doubtless to the Georgenberg monastery in the Tyrol, as did the London, Basel and Donaueschingen fragments. Cf. J. Riedmann, 'Die ältesten Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Museum Ferdinandeum', *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum* 56 (1976) 132-35 and pl. 2 (frag. B^{v-r}); idem, 'Unbekannte frühkarolingische Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 84 (1976) 267-77 and pl. 2 (frag. A^r).

****II². 177. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MS. 37777 + ADDITIONAL MS. 45025.** – Biblia. Uncial saec. vii-viii. – One folio (Ecclus. xxxv. 10-xxxvii. 2), a fragment of one of the companion volumes of the Codex Amiatinus written in the abbacy of Ceolfred, was discovered in 1982 at Kingston Lacy House (Dorset) and is now on deposit indefinitely at the BRITISH LIBRARY as the **BANKES LEAF** (numbered 'Loan ms. 81'). The leaf, trimmed at the bottom just below the last line of text, measures 410-420 × 330-334 mm. < ca. 370 × 255 mm. >. Spelling generally good, but with some confusion of **b** and **u**, **e** and **i**, **l** and **ll**. First line of a chapter is written in red, as in the case of the other membra disiecta, and a later hand has added Roman numerals in red to mark the beginning of a chapter. The new leaf was

used as a cover (with the verso on the outside) for certified copies of documents relating to the ownership of the manor of Langton Wallis (Isle of Purbeck) and apparently assembled for its sale in 1585 by Sir Francis Willoughby to Sir Christopher Hatton. Additional ms. 45025 was also used as a cover for Willoughby estate documents. Cf. *The Daily Telegraph* (21 October 1982) and *The Guardian* (21 October 1982) with facsimile (recto, detail).

****II². 224. MANCHESTER, JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY PAP. RYL. I 61.** – Cicero, In Catilinam cum Versione Graeca. Early half-uncial saec. iv. – A fragment of one leaf in VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONAL-BIBLIOTHEK, PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG **PAP. VINDOB. L 127** comes from the same bilingual papyrus codex and contains parts of the third oration. Present measurements of the new fragment are 100 × 144 mm., in 2 columns of which parts of 5 and 6 lines survive, the Latin occupying the left column. Cf. H. Harrauer, 'Ein neues bilingues Cicero-Fragment auf Papyrus (P. Vindob. L 127)', *Wiener Studien* N.F. 16 (1982) 212-19 and 2 plates (recto and verso); H. Maehler, 'Bemerkungen zu dem neuen Cicero-Fragment in Wien', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52 (1983) 57-59.

****III. 303b. LUCCA, BIBLIOTECA CAPITOLARE 490.** – Isidori Chronicon; Liber Pontificalis; Canonum Collectio Sanblasiana; etc. Uncial and mixed pre-Caroline scripts saec. viii-ix. – 16 leaves in a private collection containing Hieronymus-Gennadius, De Viris Illustribus fill the lacuna between fols. 136 and 137 in the Lucca ms. Present measurements: ca. 270 × ca. 195 mm. < 238 × 153 mm. > ruled normally for 50 lines, but there are some pages with 22, 24 and 48 lines. The leaves are now arranged in two gatherings of eight in a modern binding; fol. 8v displays the quire-mark 'XVIII.' in the centre of the lower margin. The script is entirely small debased uncial. Such features as ruling, punctuation, decoration, etc. conform exactly to those described in the main entry.

****III. 322. MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA C. 98 inf. + M. 77 sup.** (fol. 93). – Maximus Taurinensis, Homiliae. Cursive minuscule saec. viii¹. – Palimpsest, primary script of one folio that has been folded in two and serves as front fly-leaves, trimmed and thoroughly scraped, in **MS. M. 1 sup.**; present measurements 239 × 187 mm. in 21 long lines written at right angles to the upper script (miscellaneous entries, saec. xv, including an ex-libris of Bobbio). The main ms., saec. ix², contains works by Augustine, Alcuin, etc. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 5-6, no. 2.

****III. 325.** MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA **C. 238 inf.** (fly-leaves) + **E. 26 inf.** (fly-leaves). – Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei* (marginalia). Sloping b-d uncial saec. v-vi vel vi. – The offsets that remain of a missing fragment formerly attached to fol. 9r of **TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA F. III. 8** comprise traces of a gloss in 5 long lines, 72 × 40 mm. The similarity between the writing here and that of the marginalia in Milan ms. E. 26 inf. suggests that the Turin fragment originally belonged to the same codex. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 6, no. 3.

****IV. 439.** [TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA **A. II. 2**]. – Iulius Valerius, *Res Gestae Alexandri*. Cursive minuscule saec. viii in. – One strip now preserved between fols. 21 and 22 and containing Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* (lib. ii) in **MS. F. IV. 25**; 112 × 55 mm., with 20 lines surviving. Provenance of the main ms. (Eugippius, Heraclides, Rufinus, saec. x) is Bobbio. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 12-13, no. 8, 15-30 and pl. 4 (recto and verso).

****IV. 449.** TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA **F. IV. 1 (fasc. 2)**. – Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Uncial saec. vii¹. – 18 strips recovered from the binding of **MS. F. IV. 14** (Bernardus Claravallensis, *Sermones*, saec. xv) and kept separately. 16 strips combine to form 3 folios consisting of 8, 6 and 2 strips respectively and containing in 29 long lines *In Psalmos* xciii. 1-2, 5, 7. Two of the new folios constituted the second and sixth folios of the same quaternion for which ms. F. IV. 1 (fasc. 2) served as the central bifolium, while the third folio began the next quire. Contrary to what was stated in the main entry, ms. F. IV. 1 (fasc. 2) is preserved in its entirety, and the codex registered as no. 9 in the 1461 Bobbio inventory is not the manuscript now represented by these surviving fragments but rather Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D. 547 inf. (saec. ix). Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 7-8, no. 4 and pl. 2.

****IV. 462.** [TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA **G. V. 4** (fly-leaf)] + BIBLIOTECA REALE **VARIA 186 bis**. – Probus, *Catholica*. Cursive half-uncial saec. v. – Probably from the same codex is one strip strengthening the binding and clearly visible between fols. 21 and 22 in **TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA F. IV. 25**. Only a few letters remaining on each line; text not identified ('Grammaticus?'). Provenance of the main ms. (Eugippius, Heraclides, Rufinus, saec. x) is Bobbio. Contrary to what was stated in the main entry, only the fly-leaf of ms. G. V. 4

perished in the fire of 1904. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 9, no. 6.

****IV. 466. TURIN, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA O. IV. 20.** – Evangelia (fragm.). Irish majuscule saec. viii. – New fragments have been found in **MSS. F. IV. 14** (binding fragments), **F. IV. 16** (binding fragments), **F. VI. 2 (fasc. 8)**, and **G. V. 2** (fols. 139, 167-170, lower script), all from Bobbio. Only the three leaves that presumably comprised ms. F. VI. 2 (fasc. 8) and are now kept separately have escaped rewriting; actual measurements are 180-190 × 125-129 mm. in long lines of which 16 survive; of special importance is the fragment showing the decoration of 'canon primus'. Contrary to what was stated in the main entry, ms. O. IV. 20 was not entirely destroyed in the 1904 fire; 152 of 189 folios survive, though in damaged condition. Further, this codex seems to have been registered in the Bobbio catalogue of 1461 as no. 5. Cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 9-12, no. 7 and pl. 3 (F. VI. 2, fasc. 8).

****IV. 504. VERONA, BIBLIOTECA CAPITOLARE LI (49).** – Maximinus Arianus (?), Homiliae, etc.; Apostolorum constitutiones et canones; Nomina apostolorum. Uncial saec. v-vi. – The seven leaves in **VENICE, BIBLIOTECA GIUSTINIANI RECANATI S.N.** contain Maximinus Arianus (?), Homilia xxiv (fin.), excerpts from Augustine (Enarrationes in Psalmos xxxvi. 2, De Trinitate iv. 5. 9-6. 10) and Hieronymus (De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum), Sermo de Nativitate Domini and fill the lacuna after fol. 39v in the Verona codex. There is exact conformity between the two in height of written space, number of lines, quality of parchment, red ink for titles (now faded), confusion of spelling, hand of text script and marginal notes in Gothic. Cf. B. Pagnin, 'Codice sconosciuto in onciale del vi secolo', *Ricerche medievali* 10-12 (1975-77) 3-17 and pls. 1-3 (fols. 2r, 4v, 6v) and 'Espressioni scritte dell'ambiente culturale veronese dal v al vii secolo', *ibid.* 13-15 (1978-80) 6 n. 5, 13, 15 and pl. 3 (fol. 2v); *idem*, 'Il codice Giustiniani Recanati in onciale del sesto secolo ed il passo del *De Trinitate* di S. Agostino in esso contenuto', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 90.3 (1977-78) 171-82 and plate (fol. 2v) on 173; R. Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone (MS. LI de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire et feuillets inédits de la collection Giustiniani Recanati). Étude codicologique et paléographique* (Instrumenta patristica 13; The Hague-Steenbrugge, 1982), pp. 39 ff. and pls. 5-18 (complete facsimile of the Venice leaves).

****V. 563 + I, p. 34 + X, p. 43. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE LAT. 6400 B** (fols. 1-8, 285-290) + **VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTECA APOSTO-**

LICA VATICANA REGIN. LAT. 1709 A (fols. 34-35) + LEYDEN, RIJKSBI-BLIOTHEEK VOSS. LAT. Q. 110 A (fols. 167-172). – Eusebius-Hieronymus, Chronicon. Uncial saec. v. – Further remains could be identified in the poor offsets on the front and back cover of ORLÉANS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE CLASSÉE DE LA VILLE 306 (259) with the help of photographs provided by Louis Holtz who also suggested this identification. The offsets contain parts of A.D. 318-322 (back cover) and A.D. 344-348 (front cover). The main ms. belonged to Fleury.

**VI. 708 + I, p. 32 + S, p. 23. AMIENS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 12 (fol. 1) + PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE LAT. 10399 (fols. 1-2) + LAT. 13043 (fragm.) + VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA REGIN. LAT. 329 (fols. 1-2). – Ephrem, Paraenesis; Vita S. Abrahae Heremitaе. Half-uncial saec. vii. – New fragments were found in the bindings of two manuscripts from Corbie: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE LAT. 12190 (one longish fragment showing parts of 18 lines) and LAT. 13386 (8 small pieces in poor condition).

VII. 887. LUCERNE, STIFTSARCHIV ST. LEODEGAR SCHACHTEL No. 96. – Vitae Sanctorum (S. Apri; S. Eugeniae). Pre-Caroline minuscule saec. viii². – A second bifolium, mutilated at the bottom and containing parts of Vitae S. Genovefae et S. Amandi, is now INNSBRUCK, TIROLER LANDESMUSEUM FERDINANDEUM FB 32.141 and has recently aroused deserved interest. Written in the same calligraphic style as the Lucerne fragment, but by a different hand, which for omitted **m frequently uses a sign resembling an inclined **c** (regarded as typically Burgundian – cf. *C.L.A.* V. 721). Spelling shows confusion of **b** and **u**, **d** and **t**, **e** and **i**, **o** and **u**. Script is a roundish pre-Caroline minuscule, with ascenders mostly leaning slightly to the left and descenders very long: **N** appears in a medial position; ligatures are frequent and include **cn**, **ec**, **ep**, **eri**, **ron**; cursive **ti**-ligature used for the soft sound. Small contemporary corrections (by the scribe?). Written probably in a Swiss centre under Burgundian influence. The fragment has now been separated from ms. Dip. 973, a collection of leaves formed by Anton Roschmann (1694-1760). Cf. J. Riedmann, 'Die ältesten Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Museum Ferdinandeum', *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum* 56 (1976) 137-39 and pl. 3 (fol. lv); idem, 'Unbekannte frühkarolingische Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 84 (1976) 277-89.

**VII. 890. MÜNSTER IN GRAUBÜNDEN, STIFTSARCHIV XX 48 No. 9. – Gregorius M., Homiliae in Evangelia. Rhaetian minuscule saec. viii-

ix. – Two leaves in INNSBRUCK, TIROLER LANDESMUSEUM FERDINANDEUM **FB 32.139**, now cut down to 275-280 × ca. 210 mm. and containing Hom. II. xxii. 3-7, constituted originally the central bifolium of a quire. The new bifolium had apparently been folded for use as a wrapper or fly-leaf before it was placed in ms. Dip. 973, a collection of leaves assembled by Anton Roschmann (1694-1760), from which it has now been removed. Cf. J. Riedmann, 'Die ältesten Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Museum Ferdinandeum', *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum* 56 (1976) 130-32 and pl. 1 (fol. 1v); idem, 'Unbekannte frühkarolingische Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 84 (1976) 265-67 and pl. 1 (fol. 1v).

****VII. 1015. ZÜRICH, STAATSARCHIV C VI 3.** – Gregorius M., *Moralia in Iob*. Uncial saec. VIII¹. – 45 strips (palimpsest, upper script) in ROME, BIBLIOTECA CORSINIANA S.N.; 10-18 × 300-318 mm. < calculated written space of 1 folio 250-260 × 165-175 mm. > in an estimated 36-37 long lines of which 2-5 survive on each strip. Biblical citations written in a minuscule with cursive elements. The new fragments, from apparently five different folios, contain parts of books xxvi (capp. 24-27, 29-32, 35-36) and xxvii (capp. 17-20, 24-32). They were discovered in 1974 in an incunabulum consisting of two editions (Augustinus, *De Trinitate* and *De Civitate Dei*, both published in Basel in 1489) where they had been used to strengthen the sewing threads of individual gatherings; they have since been removed and are kept separately. Also found in the incunabulum were fragments of a document dated 1488 from the Benedictine monastery at Pfäfers (diocese of Chur). Three ex-libris connect the incunabulum with, respectively, Appenzell and Rorschach (in 1567), Bremgarten (in 1576), and St. Leodegar, Lucerne (s. xviii) before its acquisition by Principe Tommaso Corsini in the nineteenth century. Cf. A. Petrucci-G. Braga-M. Caravale, 'Frammenti corsiniani del *Codex Theodosianus* (sec. vi in.) e dei *Moralia in Iob* di Gregorio Magno (sec. VIII¹) (Notizia preliminare)', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 8th Ser., 29 (1974) 587-603 and 1 plate.

****VII. 1016. ZÜRICH, STAATSARCHIV C VI 3.** – *Codex Theodosianus*. Uncial saec. v-vi vel vi in. – 44 strips (palimpsest, primary script) in ROME, BIBLIOTECA CORSINIANA S.N., from seemingly 5 folios containing parts of books vi, x and xi. Now measuring 10-18 × 300-318 mm. < calculated written space of 1 folio 150 × 125 mm. > in ca. 30 long lines of which 2-4 survive on each strip. Usual abbreviations include -b• = -bus and -q• = -que; there are

others for specialized terminology. For the provenance of the fragments and bibliography, see **VII. 1015.

****VIII. 1052.** BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ **LAT. FOL. 877** + REGENSBURG, SCHLOSS HAUZENSTEIN, GRAF WALDERDORFF COLLECTION. – Kalendarium et Sacramentarium Bonifatianum. Anglo-Saxon majuscule saec. viii. – A new bifolium, formerly occupying the central position in a quire, is in REGENSBURG, BISCHÖFLICHE ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK **CIM. 1** (transferred from the Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv where it was discovered in 1974). The new leaves contain the Canon missae. Present measurements are 450-455 × 327 mm. < 240 × 180 mm. > in 2 columns of 23 lines. Insular initials surrounded by red dots at the beginning of prayers. The bifolium previously served as a cover for an account book of 1649 of the St. Wolfgangbruderschaft, Regensburg. Cf. K. Gamber, 'Das Regensburger Fragment eines Bonifatius-Sakramentars. Ein neuer Zeuge des vorgregorianischen Messkanons', *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) 266-302; idem, *Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar und weitere frühe Liturgiebücher aus Regensburg mit vollständigem Facsimile der erhaltenen Blätter* (Textus patristici et liturgici 12; Regensburg, 1975), pp. 40-48, 53-69 and plates.

****VIII. 1133.** CASSEL, GESAMTHOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK **PHILOL. FOL. 15** + FRITZLAR, STIFTSKIRCHE ST. PETER, SCHATZKAMMER S.N. – Priscianus, Institutiones Grammaticae. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. viii-ix. – Three leaves and one strip are in MARBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK **375, 1-3**.

****VIII. 1145.** CASSEL, GESAMTHOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK **2° MS. THEOL. 265** (formerly **MANUSKRIPTE-ANHANG 19, 1a**). – Hieronymi Prologus in Daniele. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. viii ex. – Five bifolia in MARBURG, HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV **HR 2, 17** (formerly **BEST. 315 I Nos. 321-325**) contain Hieronymus, Commentarius in Daniele (Prol. i. i-iii, iv. 1-18, ii. vi. 10-22); 290 × 230 mm. at maximum in 27-29 long lines. Ruling after folding, as prickings are clearly seen in both margins. Punctuation varies considerably: a final pause is marked by a point followed by a comma, while a point or a comma marks various pauses. Biblical citations are indicated by a point (or points) in the margin followed by a comma, and in the text by a point and comma immediately preceding the first word of the quotation. A large letter likewise denotes the beginning of a quotation and sometimes of a sentence. Numerous abbreviations, including the Insular symbols for 'autem', 'con-', 'enim', 'eius', 'per'. Spelling shows many confusions of **e** and **ae**, **e** and **i**, **o** and **u**, and the typically Insular misuse of single for double consonants and

vice versa ('mitemini', 'uassorum', etc.). Ink dark brown. Corrections in the hand of the original scribe and also in Carolingian minuscule. The Marburg leaves formerly served as covers for five account books of various parishes in Hessa. Cf. I. Auerbach, 'Ein Fragment des Daniel-Kommentars von Hieronymus im Staatsarchiv Marburg', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 23 (1977) 55-103 and pls. 1, 2.

****VIII. 1184. DÜSSELDORF, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK K. 1: B. 210** (formerly **B. 210**). – Isidorus, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, Allegoriae*. Anglo-Saxon majuscule saec. viii². – Two imperfect folios in **SAN MARINO (CALIFORNIA), HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY RB 99513 (PR 1188 F)**, of which one serves as a pastedown on the front cover and the other as a front fly-leaf; now cut down to (maximum) 306 × 228 mm., in long lines of which 31 survive. Bounding lines and prickings cut off with margins. Both folios have been washed; the text of the pastedown is mostly illegible, while that of the fly-leaf can be read in large part and contains Isidorus, *In Libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti Prooemia* (capp. 33-46). Offset remains of the back pastedown (now missing). The leaves are preserved in an incunabulum (Robertus Holcot, *Super Sapientiam Salomonis* [Cologne, ca. 1479]) which formerly belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Werden; cf. the ex-libris on fol. iii^r: 'Liber monasterii sancti Luytgheri episcopi in Werden'.

****VIII. 1217. HEIDELBERG, GERHARD EIS COLLECTION MS. 82 + DONAUESCHINGEN, FÜRSTLICH FÜRSTENBERGISCHE HOF-BIBLIOTHEK FRAGM. B. II. 2.** – Comes Duplex. Minuscule saec. viii-ix. – New fragments are in **MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK CLM 6017** (16 strips) and **CLM 29303/12**, and **STUTTGART, WÜRTTEMBERGISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK COD. FRAGM. 74**. Apart from the mutilated bifolia at Donaueschingen, all that remains of the manuscript consists of narrow strips used to fasten the quires of paper manuscripts. They are now mostly recomposed to bifolia; only the 16 strips in Clm 6017 are still scattered over this manuscript. The Lectionary was cut up in the Benedictine monastery of Ebersberg near Munich. Cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 214 (correcting the entry in vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1940], p. 108, no. 61); K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd edition, 2 (Fribourg, 1968), pp. 479, no. 1233 and 481, no. 1240f (to be corrected).

****IX. 1323 + **S 1795. MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK CLM 19901** (fragment on front cover) + **CLM 29400/1** (formerly **CLM**

29050. – Homiliarium (?). The fragments (described in IX. 1323 as excerpts from Bede on Luke and in S 1795 as Gregorius M., Homiliae in Evangelia) belong together. Early Caroline minuscule saec. viii ex. – Another leaf (containing Gregorius M., Homiliae in Evangelia II. 33) is pasted down on the back cover of **CLM 19142**. All fragments came from Tegernsee. Cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 228.

****IX. 1337 + X, p. 2 + XI, p. 20.** ADMONT, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK **261** (fly-leaves) + **FRAGM. 12** + CHICAGO, NEWBERRY LIBRARY **FRAGM. 1** (formerly **S.N.**) + MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29265/1** (formerly **CLM 29158**) + NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIVERSITY, BEINECKE LIBRARY **193** + NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY **M. 798 + M. 825** + PRINCETON, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY **GARRETT 172** (formerly **S.N.**). – Prophetæ. Luxeuil minuscule saec. viii in. – Four unrecorded leaves from DONAUESCHINGEN, FÜRSTLICH FÜRSTENBERGISCHE HOFBIBLIOTHEK (**MS. B. I. 1**), which were sold at Sotheby's in the sale of 21 June 1982, are now in the H. BECK COLLECTION at STUTTGART. Cf. *Catalogue of Twenty Western Illuminated Manuscripts from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century from the Library at Donaueschingen ... which will be sold by auction by Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. ... Monday, 21st June 1982*, lot 2, pp. 17-19, with colour plate (fol. 1v).

****IX. 1339 + XI, p. 25.** MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29270/5** (formerly **CLM 29159**) + NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY **G. 26** + STUTTGART, WÜRTTEMBERGISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK **COD. FRAGM. 64** + INCUN. **9600** + VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK **SER. N. 3201** + WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK **M. P. TH. F. 190** (formerly **FRAGM. S.N.**). – Evangelia. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. viii-ix. – Four more leaves (Luc. iv. 33-37 [and due to stripping in offset], v. 7-15, xxii. 55-70; Ioh. v. 3-19, vii. 24-39) were found at WÜRZBURG pasted down on the covers of **INCUN. I. T. F. 516**.

****IX. 1341.** MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29550/1** (formerly **CLM 29168 a** + strips in **CLM 21053**). – Collectio canonum. Pre-Caroline minuscule saec. viii². – Due to the unbinding of **Clm 21053**, from which the 4 bifolia kept in **Clm 29168 a** had been taken out long ago, and to the joining of the 25 strips (not just 19 as reported in *C.L.A.*), the total remains of the manuscript (now united in **CLM 29550/1**) presently comprise 6 bifolia and 1 mutilated leaf. Cf. R. Schieffer, 'Spätantikes Kirchen-

recht in einer rätischen Sammlung des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kanonist. Abt. 66 (1980) 164-91.

****X. 1465. SALZBURG, STIFTSARCHIV ST. PETER FRAGM. a. XII. 25/1** (formerly **FRAGM. 1**). – Isidorus, *Etymologiae*. Caroline minuscule saec. viii ex. – The leaf discovered in SALZBURG, SALZBURGER LANDESARCHIV **FLAS 1** (lib. vii. vi. 46-66) had been used for the binding of the Urbar 411g concerning the St. Anna-Kapelle of the Domstift for the years 1701-34. Cf. O. Weber, 'Ein karolingisches Pergamentfragment im Salzburger Landesarchiv', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 120-121 (1980-81) 39-77, with complete reduced facsimile; B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 90.

****X. 1475. VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK 313***. – Grammatici: Maximus Victorinus, 'Metrorius'. Early Caroline minuscule saec. viii². – A palimpsest leaf from the same manuscript is MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK **CLM 29270/1** with an as yet unidentified grammatical text; for the lower script (Evangelium Matthaei versionis antehieronymianae in uncial saec. v) see our No. 1843 above.

****XI. 1650 + **S 1782. BARCELONA, FUNDACIÓ SANT LLUC EVANGELISTA PAP. BARC. inv. 126-153 + inv. 158-161a + DURHAM (NO. CAROLINA), DUKE UNIVERSITY, PERKINS LIBRARY PAP. DUK. inv. LI** (formerly **PAP. ROBINSON inv. 201**). – Cicero, *In Catilinam* (I-II) (of which only the tiny Duke fragment, i. 13, 14-15, had been published in No. 1650) (= inv. 126-149a); Psalmus Responsorius (published in No. 1782) (= inv. 149b-153); *Carmen de Alceste* (the new folios) (= **inv. 158-161a**): three texts in a miscellaneous papyrus codex. Early half-uncial saec. iv². – Ca. 121-125 × ca. 100-108 mm. < in the Cicero 107 × 93 mm. > in 20-27 long lines (16-17 in the Psalmus). Cicero and the Psalmus (fols. 1-28) are comprised in the same gathering, these folios probably forming only the second half of the original gathering, the papyrological rectos of all leaves being our versos. In the *Alcestis* portion (fols. 33-36a) the papyrological rectos are our rectos. Punctuation: occasional points reveal in many cases a bizarre usage; the poem, in hexameters, was copied as continuous prose by an uncomprehending scribe; asterisks signal the beginning of a new speech. No abbreviations. Spelling shows many confusions: of **c** and **qu**, **d** and **t**, **e** and **ae**, **e** and **i**; simple and double **l**; and plenty of other grotesque errors. Word-division is occasionally bizarre: hun-c, i-psa, qu-od, s-ine. Undulating converging lines separate the two orations. At the end of the second oration a colophon enclosed in a decorated

frame in the form of a tabula ansata reads: 'Filiciter dorotheo', and below this, outside the frame: 'utere felix (?) dorothee'. In the poem two points, as for diaeresis, are used indiscriminately over vocalic and consonantal *i*. Cf. R. Roca-Puig, *Ciceró. Catilinàries (I et II in Cat.)*. *Papyri Barcinonenses* (Barcelona, 1977) and *Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins. Papyri Barcinonenses, Inv. n° 158-161* (Barcelona, 1982) (in both: study, transcription, complete facsimile edition).

****S 1674.** BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTUR-BESITZ LAT. FOL. 445 + MUNICH, DR. BERNHARD BISCHOFF COLLECTION S.N. – Isidorus, *Etymologiae* (fragm.). Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. VIII-IX. – New fragments turned up at LIMBURG, DIÖZESANBIBLIOTHEK (one fragment from the abbey of Eberbach O. Praem.) and at WIESBADEN, HAUPTSTAATSARCHIV ABT. 1105, No. 1 (two small strips from the abbey of Arnstein O. Praem.). The manuscript was probably dismembered at Lorsch, from where both abbeys got numerous books.

****S 1698.** FULDA, LANDESBIBLIOTHEK FRAGM. S.N. + MARBURG, HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV HR 2, 4d. – Hieronymus, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*. Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. VIII ex. – The HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV possesses two more fragments cut round and sewn together in order to form a satchel protecting the seal of URKUNDE HERSFELD, KLOSTER PETERSBERG 1312 OKT. 16. This proves the origin of the manuscript at Hersfeld.

****S 1729.** MARBURG, HESSISCHES STAATSARCHIV HR 1, 2. – Evangelia (Ioh. XVI-XVII). Uncial saec. VIII. – A small fragment (Matth. XXI. 8 sq., 19 sq.) has been found in the binding of CASSEL, GESAMTHOCHSCHULBIBLIOTHEK 2° MS. HASS. 59; it is now 2° MS. THEOL. 183.

****S 1762.** STUTTGART, WÜRTTEMBERGISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK COD. FRAGM. 66 + COD. THEOL. 2° 27 (offset). – Vetus Testamentum (Pentateuchus). Uncial saec. VII-VIII. – The new fragment in VENICE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA MARC. LAT. XIV 232 (4257) (fol. 30) (Lev. XXV. 6-[?]32) adds considerably to the information based on the Stuttgart fragment (Numeri) which is only the lower edge of a bifolium. Actual size 225 × 140 mm. < height more than 225 mm., estimated width ca. 157 mm. > in 2 columns of probably 35 original lines, with 32 lines surviving. Punctuation: a point marks various pauses; two dots (:) occur also. Omitted M marked by a horizontal flourish. Spelling shows confusion of *i* and *e*, *o* and *u*. Script is uncial of a late type slanting to the right: the left half of M is often closed; E with cedilla occurs (even for 'pretium'). Written probably in Italy. The

Venice leaf is part of the collection of fragments assembled by Giacomo Morelli (1745-1819), Marciana librarian from 1778 to 1819. An offset on the upper part of the Venice recto shows traces from the same leaf that left the offset on the back cover of Stuttgart Cod. theol. 2° 27. As the traces run upside down, the Venice leaf must have been bound in upside down in relation to the then still extant bifolium. Cf. R. G. Babcock, 'Two Unreported Uncial Fragments', *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) (forthcoming).

****S 1794. MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK CLM 29392/1.** – Defensor, Liber Scintillarum (xli. 10-xlii. 10). Early Caroline minuscule saec. viii-ix. – A second leaf (formerly **CLM 29167**) containing cap. xviii. 94-111 has now been united to the leaf formerly numbered **CLM 29029** under the definitive number **CLM 29392/1**. Cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 186.

****S 1800. MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK CLM 29300/5** (formerly **CLM 29163 e**). – Sacramentarium Gregorianum. Early Caroline minuscule saec. viii-ix. – The new fragments, 3 strips, are pasted down on the back cover of **CLM 17281**, also from Schäftlarn. Cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 225-26.

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APPENDIX

The force of the proverbial 'Habent sua fata libelli' is amply demonstrated by the vicissitudes of the items described in *C.L.A.* I-XI and Supplement. Changes in location and shelf mark have been noted in S (pp. 78-83, 'List of Manuscripts') and in the second revised edition of vol. II. In the following list, which makes no claim to exhaustiveness, we give similar information that has since come to our notice, together with other substantive details; we also include from S (for the sake of convenience) the present location of manuscripts divided between the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. The minor corrections supplied in the entries for the new membra disiecta (pp. 350 ff. above) are not repeated here.

I. 13 + VIII, p. 9. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Lat. fol. 416: now in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

I. 116. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urbin. lat. 293 (fols. 95-96): text identified as Oribasius Latinus, Euporista iv; cf. Y.-F. Riou, 'Un fragment d'un manuscrit disparu d'Oribase. C.L.A. 116 (Vatican, Urb. lat. 293, f. 95-96, viii^e siècle)', *Scriptorium* 33 (1979) 235-37.

II. 141 + VII, p. 16. Lucerne, Rev. Fr. J. Zinniker Collection 203: now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 481, Box 1, No. 1 (formerly S.N.).

II. 142. Cheltenham, Philipps Collection 1329 (pp. 1-10): now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 440 (formerly S.N.).

II. 144 + IX, p. 28 + S, p. 20. Cheltenham, Philipps Collection 20688 (fols. 1-8): now Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Typ 613.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29051 b: now Clm 29410/2.

II. 163. Cheltenham, Philipps Collection 36184: now Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Typ 592.

II. 173 + VI, p. 27 + VII, p. 16. [Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale Salis 140 (I)]: not destroyed in 1944 and now Metz, Archives de la Ville II 164, pièce 1; cf. R. Étaix, 'Sermon pour l'Épiphanie tiré d'un homiliaire en écriture de Luxeuil', *Revue bénédictine* 81 (1971) 7 and H. Tribout de Morembert, 'Le plus ancien manuscrit de Luxeuil (vii^e siècle). Les fragments de Metz et de Yale', *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Metz*, 5th Ser., 14 (1969-71) 87 ff.

Lucerne, Rev. Fr. J. Zinniker Collection 201: now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 481, Box 1, No. 2 (formerly S.N.).

II. 219. London, Wilfred Merton Collection 21: now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 342 (formerly S.N.).

II. 220. London, Wilfred Merton Collection 42: now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 441 (formerly S.N.).

III. 371. Mombello di Imbersago (Como), Archivio del Principe Pio S.N.: now Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P. 1.

IV. 466. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria O. IV. 20: 152 of 189 folios survived the 1904 fire; cf. M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 10.

VIII. 1024. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29162 c: now Clm 29402/1.

VIII. 1044, 1047, 1049, 1051-1053, 1066-1069. These manuscripts, formerly in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, are now in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

VIII. 1072. [Breslau, Stadtbibliothek Rehd. 107]: not destroyed and now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Depot Breslau 3.

VIII. 1073 (+ facs. in vol. IX, opposite p. 57). [Breslau, Stadtbibliothek Rehd. 169]: not destroyed in 1945 and now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Depot Breslau 5.

VIII. 1143. Cassel, Landesbibliothek Manuskripten-Anhang 18: now Gesamthochschulbibliothek 2^o Ms. theol. 267.

VIII. 1144. Cassel, Landesbibliothek Manuskripten-Anhang 19: now Gesamthochschulbibliothek 2^o Ms. theol. 266.

VIII. 1145. Cassel, Landesbibliothek Manuskripten-Anhang 19, 1a: now Gesamthochschulbibliothek 2^o Ms. theol. 265.

VIII. 1174. Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek 191 (fly-leaf): lot 1 in the Sotheby sale of 21 June 1982; purchased by Quaritch for the Pax Ex Innovatione Foundation.

VIII. 1177. Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek Fragm. E. I. 10: lot 4 in the Sotheby sale of 21 June 1982; purchased by Quaritch for the Pax Ex Innovatione Foundation.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29135 + 29136: now Clm 29684.

VIII. 1178. Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek 18: lot 3 in the Sotheby sale of 21 June 1982; purchased by Kraus and now in the same private collection as III. **303b (see p. 352 above).

VIII. 1184. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek B. 210: now Universitätsbibliothek K 1: B. 210.

VIII. 1185. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek B. 212: now Universitätsbibliothek K 1: B. 212.

Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv S.N.: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek.

VIII. 1186. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek B. 213: now Universitätsbibliothek K 1: B. 213.

VIII. 1187. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv Fragm. 20: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek.

VIII. 1188. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek E. 32: now Universitätsbibliothek K 2: E. 32.

VIII. 1189. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv Fragm. 28: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek K 15: Nr. 28.

VIII. 1215 and 1216. The manuscripts in Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek now belong to Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek; the shelf marks remain the same and are preceded by the designation 'Oett.-Wallerst.'.

IX. 1236. Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv Raritäten-Selekt 108: still missing and presumed lost.

IX. 1248. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 6223 (offsets): the original two folios have been found and are now Clm 29380; text has been identified as 'Ambrosiaster', In Epistulam ad Romanos vi. 6-13, vii. 17-23. On the origin (Aosta) and the unique abbreviation + for 'cru(x)', cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 224.

IX. 1274. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29022 + 29022 e: now Clm 29416.

IX. 1312. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29134: now Clm 29688.

IX. 1320. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29062 c + 29066 b: now Clm 29891/1.

IX. 1326. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 28547 (= 29164 b): now Clm 29300/1.

IX. 1327. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29005/18: now Clm 29216/7.

IX. 1328. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29033 a: now Clm 29338/1.

IX. 1329. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29045 a: now Clm 29404/1.

IX. 1330. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29047: now Clm 29386/1.

IX. 1331. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29050: now Clm 29400/10.

IX. 1332. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29051 a: now Clm 29410/1.

IX. 1333. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29121 b: now Clm 29670/5.

IX. 1334. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29155 c: now Clm 29303/1.

IX. 1335. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29155 d: now Clm 29270/9.

- IX. 1336. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29155 e: now Clm 29270/2.
- IX. 1337 + XI, p. 20. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29158 a: now Clm 29265/1.
Chicago, Newberry Library S.N.: now Fragm. 1.
Princeton (N.J.), University Library, Garrett Collection S.N.:
now Garrett 172.
- IX. 1338. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29158 b + 29055 a: now Clm 29265/6.
- IX. 1339 + S, p. 20. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29159: now Clm 29270/5.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Wm. S. Glazier Collection
- G. 26: the Glazier Collection, deposited in the Morgan Library in 1963, was donated to that Library in 1984.
- Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek Fragm. S.N.: now M. p. th.
- f. 190.
- IX. 1340. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29166 a: now Clm 29400/5.
- IX. 1341. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29168 a: now Clm 29550/1.
- IX. 1352. Quedlinburg, Gymnasialbibliothek 74: now Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Qu. Cod. 74.
- X. 1465. Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St. Peter Fragm. 1: now Fragm. a. XII. 25/1.
- X. 1539. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung L 117: text identified as Sallust, *Historiae*; cf. B. Bischoff-H. Bloch, 'Das Wiener Fragment der "Historiae" des Sallust (P. Vindob. L 117)', *Wiener Studien* N.F. 13 (1979) 116-29 and 2 plates (recto and verso).
- X. 1570. Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Pap. Fuad 5: now located (journal d'entrée no. 72044); cf. R. Seider, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte und Paläographie der antiken Vergilhandschriften' in H. Görgemanns-E. A. Schmidt, eds., *Studien zum antiken Epos* (Meisenheim an der Glan, 1976), pp. 164-65 and pl. 16.2; R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* 2.1 (Stuttgart, 1978), no. 64, pp. 156 f., pl. XXXVI.
- XI. 1646 and 1647. Berkeley (Calif.), University of California, Bancroft Library Pap. S.N. (recto and verso): now Pap. Tebt. 686.
- XI. 1648. Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University, Lilly Library Pap. S.N.: now Poole MS. Fourth century.
- XI. 1649. Chicago, Newberry Library S.N.: now Fragm. 2.
- XI. 1650. Durham (No. Carolina), Duke University, Perkins Library Pap. Robinson inv. 201: now Pap. Duk. inv. LI.
- XI. 1651. El Cerrito (Calif.), Western Baptist Bible College Allen Pap. S.N.: now Salem (Ore.), Western Baptist College, Robert S. Allen Archaeology Museum S.N.
- XI. 1652. New York, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection Pap. 1: now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Colt Pap. 1.
- XI. 1653. New York, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection Pap. 2: now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Colt Pap. 2.
- XI. 1663 and 1664. The manuscripts in the Wm. S. Glazier Collection, deposited in the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1963, were donated to that Library in 1984.
- XI. 1665. Princeton (N.J.), University Library, Scheide Collection S.N.: now Scheide M69.

XI. 1666. Princeton (N.J.), University Library Pap. Am. 4095: now Pap. Princ. AM 4095 = Pap. Oxy. VI 871.

S **1372 (p. 20). Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29163 b: now Clm 29300/4.

S 1681. Cambridge, University Library Additional MS. 5902 (Pap. Oxy. 1315): text identified as Vergilius, Aeneis iv. 129 (xi. 1); cf. B. Bischoff, review of *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* IV (Olten-Lausanne, 1967) in *Historische Zeitschrift* 223 (1976) 695-96.

S 1686. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv HS. Z. 4 nr. 1: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek K 19: Z. 8/1.

S 1687. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv HS. Z. 4 nr. 2: now Z. 11/1.

S 1688. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv HS. Z. 4 nr. 8: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek K 16: Z. 4/2.

S 1732. Marburg, Staatsarchiv HR 2, 6: text identified as Ps.-Clemens Romanus, *Recognitiones* i. 47-50.

S 1785. Cassel, Landesbibliothek Manuskripten-Anhang 18 (2): now Gesamthochschulbibliothek 2^o Ms. theol. 283.

S 1786. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv Fragm. S.N.: now (on permanent loan of the City to) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek K 16: Z. 3/1.

S 1793. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29014: now Clm 29478.

S 1794. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29029 + 29167: now Clm 29392/1.

S 1795. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29050: now Clm 29400/1.

S 1796. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29159: now Clm 29270/4.

S 1797. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29163 a: now Clm 29300/2.

S 1798. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29163 c: now Clm 29303/2.

S 1799. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29163 d: now Clm 29300/3.

S 1800. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 29163 e: now Clm 29300/5.

S 1804. Orléans, Bibliothèque Classée de la Ville 161 (138) (offset): text identified as Origenes, In Epistulam ad Romanos (ed. Lommatsch 2.77-78) (*teste* C. Bammel-Hammond).

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BISHOP ROBERT GROSSETESTE
AND HIS CATHEDRAL CHAPTER:
AN EDITION OF THE CHAPTER'S OBJECTIONS
TO EPISCOPAL VISITATION

F. A. C. Mantello

I

No medieval English bishop placed greater emphasis on the pastoral responsibilities of the episcopal office than Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln (1235-53).¹ His diocesan statutes,² his many pastoral writings,³ and the majority of his extant letters⁴ all attest to his belief that a bishop is first and foremost a pastor obliged 'to suffer with those who are ignorant and go astray, to keep watch over the flock entrusted to his care as if he will have to render an account

¹ On this aspect of Grosseteste's career see especially Leonard E. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care' in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979), pp. 3-51 (rpt. in his *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* [London, 1981]); J. H. Srawley, 'Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln' in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955; rpt. 1969), pp. 146-77; and E. B. King, *Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Office* (Diss. Duke, 1969).

² Edited most recently by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils & Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 2: *A.D. 1205-1313*, part 1 (Oxford, 1964), pp. 267-78. Twenty-five manuscripts are extant. On the influence of Grosseteste's statutes see C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd impression with new introduction (Oxford, 1968), pp. 110, 124 ff.

³ Grosseteste's numerous pastoral treatises are listed by S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940; rpt. New York, 1971), pp. 121 ff. One of the most popular of these, extant in some ninety-six complete or fragmentary copies, was the *Templum Dei* (Thomson, pp. 138-40, no. 103), ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello from ms. 27 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (Toronto, 1984). This was a handbook designed to educate the common clergy concerning their duties as pastors.

⁴ Edited by H. R. Luard, *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis epistolae* (RS 25; London, 1861). For probably spurious letters in this collection (nos. 130 and 131) see F. A. C. Mantello, 'Letter CXXX of Bishop Robert Grosseteste: A Problem of Attribution', *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974) 144-59 and 'Letter CXXXI Ascribed to Robert Grosseteste: A New Edition of the Text', *Franciscan Studies* 39 (1979) 165-79.

of its souls, and to feed the flock, as it is written in Jeremiah, with knowledge and doctrine'.⁵ All other episcopal interests and concerns must be subordinated, in his view, to the demands of the *cura animarum*. An earnest, pastoral bishop will, to be sure, make good use of his archdeacons, rural deans, and other officials in 'preaching the word of life ceaselessly and indefatigably',⁶ and will be swift to issue injunctions against the abuse or neglect of the care of souls, but his single-minded pursuit of the salvation of his flock will also induce him to visit personally his own diocese. Within a year of his consecration, Grosseteste undertook such a visitation, describing it for Pope Innocent IV in the following way:

Ego post meam in episcopum creationem consideravi me episcopum esse et pastorem animarum et necesse habere, ne sanguis ovium in districto iudicio de manu mea requiratur, omni diligentia, sicut disposuit et praecipit Scriptura, oves mihi commissas visitare. Unde episcopatum meum cepi circuire per singulos archidiaconatus et in singulis archidiaconatibus per singulos decanatus rurales, faciens clerum cuiuscumque decanatus per ordinem certis die et loco convocari et populum post muniri ut eisdem die et loco adessent cum parvulis confirmandis ad audiendum verbum Dei et confitendum. Congregatis autem clero et populo, egomet ut pluries proponebam verbum Dei clero, et aliquis frater Praedicator aut Minor populo, et quatuor fratres consequenter audiebant confessiones et iniungebant paenitentias. Et confirmatis pueris eodem die et sequente, continue ego cum clericis meis intendebarus inquisitionibus, correctionibus et reformationibus secundum quod pertinet ad officium inquisitionis. In primo autem circuitu meo venerunt ad me quidam dicentes mihi, quasi super praedictis me increpando: Domine, novum facitis et inconsuetum. Quibus ego respondi: Omne novum, quod novum hominem instituit, promovet et consummat, veterem hominem corrumpit et destruit, benedictum novum est et omnino acceptum ei qui veterem hominem venit sua novitate renovare.⁷

As a visitor Grosseteste was invariably zealous, thorough, uncompromising, impartial, and intolerant of resistance of any kind.⁸ The adamant refusal, for example, of the dean and chapter of his own cathedral church to subject themselves and their affiliated churches to his scrutiny filled him with

⁵ Ep. 22 (to the archdeacons of the diocese of Lincoln), ed. Luard, pp. 72-73: '... ad pastoris spectat officium his qui ignorant et errant condolere, et gregem sibi commissum *pervigilare quasi rationem pro gregis animabus redditurum* (Heb 13:17), ipsumque gregem *pascere*, sicut in Jeremia scriptum est, *scientia et doctrina* (cf. Jer 3:15)' There is also an edition of this letter in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils & Synods* 2/1.203-205.

⁶ Ep. 112, ed. Luard, p. 330.

⁷ *Propositum* or *Propositio Roberti de visitatione dioecesis suae*, part IV of the Lyons dossier of Grosseteste, ed. Servus Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents', *Collectanea franciscana* 41 (1971) 376 (paragraphs 3 and 4).

⁸ On the regularity and strictness of Grosseteste's visitations see C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1931), pp. 34-36, 81, 98.

consternation. For more than five years (1239-45) he disputed with them, determined not only to demonstrate the perils inherent in their claims to be exempt from episcopal visitation, but also to secure for the entire English episcopate the restoration of a bishop's lapsed right to visit his cathedral chapter.

Grosseteste's letters are the principal source for the details of this long rupture, described most recently by J. H. Srawley in his study of 'Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln'.⁹ But there is a pair of documents connected with this dispute which have never been published and which can tell us something of the other side of the question.

These documents are: (1) a brief summary of some arguments which had been raised by Grosseteste in support of his right of visitation, supervision, and discipline; and (2) a longer rebuttal of the bishop's arguments headed 'Responsio Cancell' Lincolnie' and apparently formulated by Master Nicholas de Wadingham, chancellor of the diocese.¹⁰ These two pieces are printed here for the first time, in an edition based upon the one manuscript in which they appear to have survived: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 760, fols. 176va-178ra.¹¹

Bodley 760 is a parchment codex of i + 252 leaves disposed in double columns and written in England in the late thirteenth century.¹² Its origin is unknown. A fourteenth-century hand has added the words 'in Rading' in the lower margin of fol. 244v. The documents printed below are preceded immediately by (i) an imperfect copy of the 'recensio conciliaris' of the

⁹ Srawley, 'Grosseteste's Administration', 171-77 ('Grosseteste's Relations with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln'). See also F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1899), pp. 186-201, 248-50.

¹⁰ On Nicholas de Wadingham see John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1066-1300* 3 (Lincoln), compiled by D. E. Greenway (London, 1977), p. 17, and Josiah Cox Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936; rpt. New York, 1971), pp. 91-92. On the secretarial responsibilities of the chancellor see Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages. A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century*, 2nd edition (Manchester, 1967), pp. 205 ff.

¹¹ These documents were known to Russell (*ibid.*, p. 92 n. 3) and to Srawley ('Grosseteste's Administration', 173 n. 2). Srawley, however, who learned of them through the courtesy of Dr. R. W. Hunt, published in a footnote only a brief summary of the *responsio* which had been made available to him by Miss D. M. Williamson of the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office. Dr. Hunt has urged publication of both documents *in extenso*.

¹² There is a description of this codex in F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2.1 (Oxford, 1922), pp. 484-85, no. 2673. Included in the volume are copies of the *Corrogationes novi Promethei* of Alexander Neckham, the five books of Gregory IX's *Decretals*, and the *Casus decretalium* of the canonist Joannes de Deo.

constitutions of the first Council of Lyons (1245)¹³ and (ii) the sentence of deprivation published by Pope Innocent IV against the Emperor Frederick II.¹⁴ Following our documents and cognate with them is the text (on fol. 178ra-vb) of the papal decision (25 August 1245) which ended the dispute between Grosseteste and his chapter in the bishop's favour.¹⁵

It is the transcribing of the decree of Innocent IV directly after the summary and the chancellor's response which suggests that these two documents must also be associated with the quarrel between Grosseteste and his chapter. Although the diocese of Lincoln is named three times in the documents, their precise significance is not immediately evident, since the summary is untitled and neither the bishop, nor the chancellor, nor anyone else is ever referred to by name. No dates are mentioned. A study of their contents, however, and the presence of the papal decree, copied in the same small, neat, dark, gothic bookhand (*littera textualis*) which transcribed both the summary and the *responsio*, leave no reasonable doubt that all three pieces form a kind of dossier and belong together as a record of the dispute. We have in ms. Bodley 760, then, an apparently unique copy of the recalcitrant Lincoln chapter's response to the arguments of its bishop.

II

Grosseteste, says the author of the introductory summary of the bishop's position, has asserted that any authority the dean may have to visit and correct

¹³ This recension, here on fols. 172ra-173vb, is known from the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris, ed. H. R. Luard, vol. 4: *A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247* (RS 57; London, 1877), pp. 462-72. See S. Kuttner, 'Die Konstitutionen des ersten allgemeinen Konzils von Lyon', *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 6 (1940) 70-131, and J. Alberigo et al., eds., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3rd edition (Bologna, 1973), pp. 273-77 (prolegomenon to the constitutions). The statutes copied in ms. Bodley 760 conform to Kuttner's list (pp. 78-79) in the following way: M 1-M 10, M 11 (*om.*), M 12 (*om.*), M 13 (*om.*), M 15, M 14, M 16 (*om.*), M 17, M 18 ('Cvm medicinalis sit excommunicatio ...'; ends imperf. at bottom of fol. 173vb: '... Caueant autem ecclesiarum prelati et Iudices uniuersi ne predictam suspensionis ...'), M 19 (*om.*).

¹⁴ A recent edition of the text of the sentence, here on fols. 174ra-176rb, is in Alberigo et al., *ibid.*, pp. 278-83. See also Matthew Paris, *ibid.* 4.445-55. Other copies are mentioned by Alberigo, p. 276.

¹⁵ This notification to the bishop is also to be found in the *Liber niger* of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, edited by C. Wordsworth and H. Bradshaw, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* (Cambridge, 1892), part I ('Liber niger'), pp. 315-19, and in the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris (4.497-501). There is a copy in the registers of Innocent IV in the Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 21, fols. 227r-228r, no. 97, which is calendared in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* 1, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), p. 219. On the difficulties raised by this papal award, which 'seems to have marked a turning point in the relations of bishops and secular chapters in England', see Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 129.

each and every member of the cathedral does not preclude the bishop's right of visitation. To support this assertion, the summarist continues, the bishop has pointed to the angelic hierarchy, whose superior spirits have the power to do whatever inferior spirits can do, and whose hierarchic structure of power has, as God Himself has ordained, an earthly counterpart in the human hierarchy. Every jurisdictional authority enjoyed by the dean over those subject to him belongs also, therefore, to the bishop as the dean's superior. A similar relationship between superior and inferior prevails with respect to the powers of rational creatures and the order of natural things.

The bishop has further contended that he is obliged to correct all his spiritual sheep without exception and that the chapter is no less sinful or needful of correction than any other members of the flock committed to his care. Any resistance to episcopal visitation is in any case a violation of God's law, since a bishop is enjoined in the Gospel of John and the books of the Prophets to visit and correct all those subject to his authority.

The *responsio* of the chancellor, Nicholas de Wadingham, who is here presumably formulating the objections of the cathedral chapter as a whole, begins with the assertion that, although superior powers in both the angelic and human hierarchies can indeed do everything their inferiors are empowered to do, they nevertheless do not exercise that power. For the bishop, therefore, to correct what the dean has already corrected would be merely a meaningless repetition, conducive to despair and confusion. What is more, the human hierarchy, blemished as it is by impotence and ignorance, those penalties of original sin, cannot share the 'immutable and perpetual perfection' (l. 34) of the hierarchy of angels. Bishops are subject to ignorance and error and are incapable of sustaining alone the burdens of their office; they are 'speculatores, superintendentes, consummatores' (l. 44) who, like Moses, must be told that their responsibilities are beyond their strength and that they are required to share the powers of their office.

The defects inherent in the human hierarchy also contradict the bishop's position with respect to the relationship between the superior and inferior powers of a rational creature, which have a natural and universal order one to the other. Nor is his reference to the order of natural things accurate or appropriate, for in that order superior causes cause and conserve being ('faciunt ad esse et ad esse conseruacionem' [ll. 54-55]), and there can, therefore, be no effects should superior causes be removed. But an inferior official called upon by a prelate to share the latter's responsibilities will continue to function competently in his subordinate office following the removal of the prelate.

To the bishop's contention that all the clerics and laymen in the diocese are 'his' spiritual sheep, the chancellor responds that they are 'his' only as far as the episcopal responsibilities of teaching, preaching, and admonishing are

concerned. They are subject, however, to his jurisdictional authority only in certain cases of major significance. Jurisdiction in minor matters he has granted to lesser officials, as is evident from the example of Moses (Ex 18:22), who wisely reserved for himself only the most serious cases.

As far as the disciplining of the chapter is concerned, the dean has from the pope himself and from two papal legates the authority to join with his brother priests in correcting one or more members of the chapter, invoking the bishop's help only when they are unsuccessful.¹⁶ Should the whole chapter, excluding the dean, be guilty of sin, the dean will advise it to desist and seek repentance; he will request episcopal aid only in the case of recalcitrance. When, however, the dean is at fault, it is the custom of the cathedral churches of England for the chapter as a whole to assemble and correct him.¹⁷ The chapter is a more powerful entity than the dean, enjoying a position of authority which, if depicted graphically, would fall at mid-point along a vertical line joining the bishop at the top to the dean at the bottom. The dean, however, does not thereby surrender the power he has to correct individual members of the chapter.

This division of authority, the chancellor concludes, is in accordance with God's law and will. Its endorsement by the dean and chapter of Lincoln is a clear demonstration of their loyalty to His ordinance, regardless of what the bishop may say.

The Text of the Documents

The edition which follows is a transcription of Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 760, fols. 176va-178ra. The reader will want to note the following

¹⁶ In 1241 some of the canons of Lincoln produced an absurd forged document, quoted by Matthew Paris (*Chronica majora* 4.155-56), which described how, during the reign of William Rufus, secular canons were appointed to a restored Lincoln Cathedral and the question of the authority of their dean and of the bishop was resolved once and for all, to the satisfaction of two cardinal legates, eight archbishops, sixteen bishops, and the pope himself: 'Fuit ... ordinatio talis, quod episcopo ordinato, et canonicis in suis possessionibus constitutis, ex tunc ordinate et discipline Deo et ejusdem sacratissimae Matri nocte dieque deservirent. Quorum canonicorum si quis a tramite disciplinae deviare, et correptus non corrigeretur, per decanum visitatus puniretur, nisi prius capitulum pertimens et increpationem in ipso factam. Si autem nec sic nec sic se corrigeret, privaretur per annum suo beneficio, vel per biennium, secundum quantitatem delicti. Quod si adhuc rebellis fuerit, advocaretur episcopus in adiutorium, ad coercendum induratum. Quod si et adhuc obstinatus incorrigibilis recalcitraret, ipse rex privatum ab omni beneficio poena gravius puniat. Et cum omnibus talis ordinatio complacuisse, in scriptum redacta est, et Apostolica auctoritate roborata; et inscripserunt. Et dedicata ecclesia, omnes qui praesentes erant sollempniter excommunicarunt omnes hujus ordinationis perturbatores.'

¹⁷ To demonstrate their support for the position of the canons of Lincoln in this dispute with their bishop, other secular chapters apparently made available to them copies of their own capitular privileges. See Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 128-29.

editorial practices: (a) the orthography of the manuscript has been retained without exception; (b) all abbreviations have been silently expanded and in such a way as to conform with the prevailing usage of the scribe; (c) punctuation, paragraphing, and capitalization are in accord with modern taste and convenience; (d) parentheses enclose indications of change of folio/column in the manuscript and the sources of the author's citations; (e) angle brackets surround letters and words supplied for the sake of the sense; square brackets enclose a superfluous *quod* (l. 98); (f) 'cachedralis' (l. 138) has been silently corrected to 'cathedralis'.

(1)

(f. 176va) Dicit episcopus quod etsi decanus iurisd < i > c < ci > onem habeat uisitandi et corrigendi singulos de capitulo, non propter hoc minus tamen ad ipsum spectat uisitacio predictorum. Et ad hoc inducit illud Exodi quod dixit Dominus Moysi: 'Fac michi tabernaculum ad similitudinem quod tibi
 5 monstratum est in monte' (cf. Ex 26:30, 25:9). Tabernaculum monstratum in monte est gerarchia angelica. Set in gerarchia angelica ita est quod quicquid potest spiritus inferior, potest superior; et non conuertitur. Ergo sic est in gerarchia humana. Ergo omnem potestatem iurisdicciois quam habet decanus in suos subditos, habet episcopus in eosdem, cum episcopus sit superior decano.
 10 Ad hoc idem inducit quod in uiribus rationabilis creature quicquid potest uis inferior, potest et uis superior; et non conuertitur. Item, ad idem inducit quod in naturalibus, ita est generaliter. Item, dicit quod omnes de sua diocesý oues sue spirituales sunt, et sanguis eorum de manu eius requiretur; et ita quod omnium illorum correccio ad ipsum spectat, siue sint de capitulo Lincolnie, siue de
 15 prebendis, siue de communa, siue de dignitatibus. Item, cum contingat multitudinem peccare, ut patet per expiacionem multitudinis quam determinat Moyses in Leuitico, dicit quod bene contingit totum capitulum peccare et ad ipsum spectare correccionem ipsius. Item, dicit quod in Iohanne et in prophetis precipitur uisitacio et correccio subditorum, et sic qui resistit uisitacioni
 20 episcopi, Dei ordinacioni resistit.

(2)

Responsio Cancellarii Lincolnie

Ad primum respondemus quod cum ad similitudinem tabernaculi monstrati in monte precipiatur Moysi facere tabernaculum, cum ita sit in tabernaculo monstrato in monte, id est, in gerarchia angelica, quod licet omne quod possunt
 25 inferiores an(f. 176vb)geli possunt superiores, a quibus inferiores illuminantur, tamen cum mittuntur inferiores ad aliquid agendum, quamuis superiores ad illud idem agendum posse habeant, ad illud agendum non exeunt. Ergo a simili

in gerarchia humana, cum decanus ad correccionem sibi subditorum de potestate sue iurisdiccioni descendat, ad istud corrigendum non debet
 30 descendere episcopus, quia hoc esset acta agere et correcta corrigere, hoc esset aliquid frustra agere, hoc esset correctos in desperationem mittere, hoc esset in ecclesiam Dei confusionem inducere. Preterea tabernaculi inferioris ad superius non est penitus similitudo. In tabernaculo enim superiori nullus est defectus set incommutabilis et perpetua perfeccio. In tabernaculo autem inferiori est
 35 defectus duplex, scilicet inpotencie et erroris; et hoc patet per illud Exodi quod instinctu Spiritus Sancti dixit Getro Moysi: 'Non bonam rem facis; stulto labore consumeris et tu et populus tuus qui tecum est' (Ex 18:17-18). Per hoc quod dicit *stulto*, innuit ignoranciam et errorem que sunt contra Filij sapienciam; et per hoc quod dicit *consumeris*, innuit inpotenciam que est contra Patris
 40 potenciam; et per hoc quod dicit *non bonam rem facis*, innuit impedimentum contra benignitatem Spiritus Sancti. Et propter hoc preceptum est ibi prelati ut, partito honore, pondus sustinere possint, quia, ut ibidem dicitur, 'supra uires tuas est hoc negocium' (Ex 18:18). Est eciam supra uires episcoporum nostrorum, qui sunt speculatores, superintendentes, consummatores, nisi ipsi
 45 sint maiores Moysi. Et ita patet quod differenter est in gerarchia humana et in gerarchia angelica.

Item, cum inpotencia et ignorancia, cum errore quem introducit, sit pena peccati primi parentis, virtutem affectus penes quam attenditur potencia (f. 177ra) enervat; similiter lumen intellectus penes quod attenditur sciencia
 50 obtenebrat. Vnde ex hoc est defectus in gerarchia humana, propter quod non omne id quod potest inferior, potest superior, sicut contingit in uiribus rationabilis creature que naturalem et uniuersalem habent adinuicem ordinacionem. Nec est simile de causis superioribus et inferioribus in ordine rerum naturalium, quia in illo ordine cause superiores faciunt ad esse et ad esse
 55 conseruacionem. Vnde illis subtractis deficient causata. Sed si aliquis prelatus in partem sollicitudinis sue uocet aliquem ministrum ydoneum, ipso prelato subtracto de medio, bene ministrabit in suo officio inferior uocatus. Et ita patet quod non est ibi similitudo.

Ad hoc quod dicit quod tam illi de capitulo quam illi de prebendis et de
 60 communa, siue sint canonici, siue uicarij, siue clerici, siue laici, oues sue spirituales sunt, respondemus quod sue secundum quid et non simpliciter. Sue oues sunt quoad erudicionem, instruccionem, informacionem, predicacionem, et admonicionem. Non autem sunt sue quoad iurisdiccione nisi secundum quid, scilicet in casu appellacionis, negligencie, et inpotencie. Et hoc patet ex
 65 illo Exodi quod instinctu Spiritus Sancti dixit Getro Moysi: 'Audi uerba mea atque consilia, et erit Dominus tecum. Esto tu in populo in hijs que ad Deum pertinent, vt referas que dicuntur ad Deum, ostendasque populo cerimonias et ritum colendi, uiam per quam ingredi debeant, et opus quod facere

debe <a> nt' (Ex 18:19-20). Per hoc quod dicit *in hiis <que> ad Deum*
 70 *pertinent*, ostendit quod uacare debuit contemplacioni, cuius partes sunt leccio,
 oracio, sancta meditacio, graciary accio. Per hoc quod dicit *ostendas populo*
 (f. 177rb) *cerimonias* etc., ostendit quod illi parti actiue uacare debuit Moyses et
 prelati significati per Moysen, que consistit in erudicione, instruccione, et
 predicacione. Et post subiungit: 'Alij minora iudicent; quicquid maius fuerit ad
 75 te referant' (cf. Ex 18:22). Sic ergo conceditur et datur iurisdiccio cognoscendi
 in causis inferioribus, reseruata tamen Moysi et significatis per Moysen
 potestate cognoscendi maiora. Maiora autem sunt que sunt supra potenciam
 inferioris iudicis. Minora eciam sunt peccata negligencie que uergunt in
 periculum anime iudicis negligentis et eciam in periculum animarum
 80 subditorum. Si forte opponatur sic, quod quamuis Moyses concessit
 inferioribus iudicibus iurisdiccione iudicandi minora, si uoluisset, potuisset
 cognouisse de illis, ad hoc respondemus quod etsi potuisset, non debuisset, quia
 non debuit rem non bonam agere, nec debuit stulte agere, nec debuit seipsum et
 populum qui cum eo erat consummere. Et ista tria innuuntur cum dicitur: 'Rem
 85 non bonam facis; stulto labore consumeris tu et populus tuus qui tecum est'
 (Ex 18:17-18). Preterea ibidem habetur: 'Hijs auditis, omnia fecit Moyses sicut
 ille suggesserat' (cf. Ex 18:24). Ergo cum legislatoris accio episcoporum debeat
 esse instructio, sicut ille iurisdiccione iudicandi minora concessit alijs, et post
 concessionem eadem non est usus, ergo eadem racione cum decanus habeat
 90 iurisdiccione uisitandi <et> corrigendi sibi subditos, et hac iurisdiccione
 utendo, idem facit penitus quod faceret episcopus, non debet episcopus in
 subditos decani hoc sibi uendicare. Preterea si opponatur quod Moyses post
 adoracionem uituli in propria persona puniuit populum pro peccato ydolatrie,
 licet Aaron sub eo prefuisset populo, dicendum est quod hoc fecit propter
 95 magnitudinem peccati, quia (f. 177va) maiora erant referenda ad ipsum; quia
 eciam Aaron inpotens erat ad puniendum peccatum istud. Ad hoc quod
 obicitur de peccato multitudinis, dicendum est quod decanus ex tenore
 fundamenti nostri [quod] auctoritatem habuit a domino papa et duobus legatis
 optinendi iurisdiccione corrigendi singulos de capitulo cum ceteris fratribus,
 100 ita quod si ipsi nollent corrigi ad instanciam decani et aliorum fratrum, et
 decanus et alij fratres delinquentem corrigere non possent, tunc inuocetur
 auxilium episcopi. Eodem modo et eadem racione, si peccent duo uel tres uel
 plures de fratribus, idem seruatur ordo in corrigendo. Si autem tota multitudo
 capituli preter decanum peccet, tunc admonetur a decano ut desistat et peniteat.
 105 Si autem pertinaciter in peccato persistat, tunc decanus inuocet auxilium
 episcopi. Si uero decanus peccet, ex consuetudine ecclesiarum cathedralium
 Anglie, capitulum totum, ita ut sumatur capitulum collectiue et formaliter,
 corrigat decanum; et in tali correccione non est circulus, cum decanus corrigat
 singulos de capitulo, et totum capitulum decanum, quia non est motus ab

- 110 eodem ad idem per idem medium, sicut contingit in motu circulari. Item, quod totum capitulum preter decanum corrigat decanum rationi consonum est, quia si statuatur decanus aliquid per se rationi non consonum, totum capitulum istud in irritum reuocare potest. Ergo eodem modo, si peccet decanus, totum capitulum illum de iure corrigere potest. Item, simile est de inordinato facto
- 115 regis, quod corrigi potest per omnes de regno. Item, dicunt iurisperiti quod totum capitulum preter decanum maius est decano, non tantum magnitudine quantitativa sed potestativa. Set quod potestatem habet super aliud, in illud uti potest sua potestate. Ergo totum (f. 177vb) capitulum, cum potestate maius sit decano, si decanus peccet, illum de iure corrigere potest. Item, tam episcopus
- 120 quam capitulum residuum a decano in magnitudine potestatis excedunt decanum. Tam ergo episcopus quam capitulum quasi in una linea intensionis magnitudinis potestative superponuntur decano, set non in eodem gradu superpositionis, quia sic neutrum super alterum haberet potestatem. Set hoc falsum, quia episcopus super residuum capituli a decano potestatem habet, cum sit
- 125 caput eius. Ergo patet in hac linea superpositionis episcopi ad decanum et capituli residui a decano ad ipsum decanum <quod> medium locum inter episcopum et decanum tenet capitulum residuum a decano. Ergo cum immediatus ei supponatur, immediate ab ipso beneficium correccionis influere debet in decanum. Item, ad idem dicit Ysaïas loquens de ecclesia: 'Sternam per
- 130 ordinem lapides tuos, et firmabo te in saphiris' (Is 54:11). Lapides hij sunt lapides uiui quadrati quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus. Isti lapides in ecclesijs cathedralibus sternuntur per humilitatem ministerij et per ordinem. 'Ordo autem est', ut dicit Augustinus, 'parium dispariumque unicuique loca sua tribuens posicio' (*De civ. Dei* 19.13).¹⁸ Ergo cum potestative decanus ponatur
- 135 super singulos de capitulo, et totum capitulum collectivè sumptum preter decanum ponatur potestative super decanum, bene competit decano correccio singulorum de capitulo, et correccio decani toti capitulo preter decanum; et sic firmabitur ecclesia cathedralis in saphiris, qui, cum sint lapides habentes colorem celi, significant residuum capituli a decano, 'habens faciem euntis in
- 140 Ierusalem' (cf. Lc 9:53). Qui secundum dictam formam operantur, concordēs sunt legi Dei et ita per consequens uoluntati Dei; et ita cum decanus (f. 178ra) et capitulum Lincol' ecclesie hanc formam intendunt, quicquid dicat episcopus, Dei ordinationi non resistunt.

¹⁸ E. Hoffmann, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi De civitate Dei libri XXII* (CSEL 40.2: Vienna, 1900), p. 395.16-17.

III

It will be obvious at once that the brief recapitulation of Grosseteste's views edited above as no. 1 hardly does justice to the skill with which the bishop in his letters elaborated his arguments in support of his claims to visit his chapter (as well as the churches comprising part of the *Communa* or Common Fund of the canons) and exploited his knowledge of Scripture for analogies and injunctions. The principle at stake was, as we have seen, of consummate importance for him, deserving of as much energy and expense as were necessary to restrict the chapter's immunities and exemptions with respect to episcopal visitation.¹⁹

The most detailed explanation of Grosseteste's position in the conflict (and simultaneously of his conception of the structure of authority within the Church) is the long pamphlet published as letter 127 by H. R. Luard and tentatively dated 1239.²⁰ Hardly a letter in the ordinary sense, as Thomson has observed,²¹ this document of some seventy-five printed pages is considered by Srawley to have provoked the chapter's objections edited here.²² While the chancellor's response (no. 2 above) does indeed attempt a refutation of three of the arguments elaborated at great length by Grosseteste in Ep. 127 (and condensed as the preamble to the *responsio* itself), the preliminary précis of the bishop's case (no. 1 above) begins with a citation (ll. 4-5) allegedly introduced by Grosseteste in support of his claim that the dean does not have exclusive jurisdictional authority over the chapter: '... ad hoc [episcopus] inducit illud Exodi quod dixit Dominus Moysi: "Fac michi tabernaculum ad similitudinem quod tibi monstratum est in monte." ' This quotation, behind which is Ex 26:30

¹⁹ Matthew Paris (*Chronica majora* 4.497), using predictably exaggerated language, states that after 'multos labores et pecuniarum inaestimabilium effusiones' Grosseteste was able to obtain the judgment he desired from the pope, 'quem cum multis donariis respexerat'. Among other expenses the bishop was of course responsible for those of his proctor, S. de Arden (or Arderne), who was resident at the papal court as Grosseteste's advocate in this case. On this proctor see Kathleen Major, 'The *Familia* of Robert Grosseteste' in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, ed. Callus, Appendix 1, p. 219. Ep. 80 (ed. Luard, pp. 253-60) is a long description of the progress of the dispute and of the arrangements he had made to resolve it addressed by the bishop to this envoy in Rome.

²⁰ Ep. 127, ed. Luard, pp. 357-431. Luard suggests (p. cxvi) that this pamphlet was composed 'probably at the beginning of the quarrel ... and therefore in 1239', although it might be argued that Grosseteste wrote it somewhat later in the protracted controversy, after the continued resistance of the dean and chapter persuaded him that a more elaborate defense of his claims was necessary. An English translation of most of Ep. 127 is available in the unpublished M.A. dissertation (The Catholic University of America, 1956) of R. M. O'Shea, *The Structure of Authority within the Church according to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253)*, pp. 43-84.

²¹ Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 129, no. 86.

²² Srawley, 'Grosseteste's Administration', 173 n. 2.

and 25:9, is not to be found in Ep. 127 as published, or elsewhere in those letters of Grosseteste to his dean and chapter which are concerned specifically with this dispute.²³ The summarist here perhaps had access to a letter or document of the bishop which has not come down to us. Or he may have presumed that it was this text from Exodus upon which the bishop was commenting when he compared the angelic or heavenly hierarchy with the earthly one of the Church: '... concordat ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae ordinatio cum Hierarchia caelesti, in qua quicquid potest inferior ordo, potest et superior, et non e converso.'²⁴ In any case, the three arguments which are abridged in the summary and attacked in the *responsio* appear together in Ep. 127. This very carefully formulated statement of the episcopal position was so powerful an assault on long established decanal and capitular rights and privileges that the dean and chapter of Lincoln no doubt realized at once that it could not be ignored or dismissed without some attempt at a rejoinder.

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²³ Ed. Luard, nos. 71 (pp. 199-203), 73 (pp. 235-40), 90 (pp. 277-84), 91 (pp. 285-87), 92 (pp. 287-90), and 94 (pp. 291-95).

²⁴ Ep. 127, ed. Luard, p. 362.

TRAUMA AT TORTOSA: THE TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM RIMOCH*

Frank Talmage

*Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Ché la diritta via era smarrita*

Midway the journey of this life I was 'ware
That I had strayed into a dark forest,
And the right path appeared not anywhere

Dante, *Divina Commedia*

I

THE beginning of the end of Iberian Jewry was marked a century before the expulsion by the wave of persecutions across Spain in 1391-92.¹ Spanish Jewry was reduced to a fraction of its former numbers, with one significant segment killed and another forcibly converted to Christianity. Important centres were doomed to complete extinction. The community of Barcelona, for example, ceased to exist, not to be reconstituted until the twentieth century. This devastation was followed some two decades later by an event no less shattering, especially as far as Catalonia and Aragon were concerned: the well-known disputation of Tortosa and San Mateo which took place in 1413-14. Although Antipope Benedict XIII had other matters on his mind, he concentrated his efforts on that project. If he could succeed in converting the Jews

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¹ See Y. F. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. L. Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1961), 2.170-243.

of the Kingdom of Aragon, it could be reckoned in his favour in his attempt to be recognized as the true pope at the Council of Constance in 1415. At their own or at their communities' expense, representatives of the communities of Catalonia and Aragon were required to attend the disputation which was held in Tortosa in the palace of the archbishop and was presided over by Benedict himself. The famous convert to Christianity, Jerònim de Santa Fe, the former Joshua Lorki, represented the Catholic faith while the relatively large assembly of Jewish scholars were called upon to answer. To sum up the results of the debate briefly, one may say that it was hardly the finest hour of Catalo-Aragonese Jewry. Unlike the performance of Moses Nahmanides of Gerona in the Barcelona disputation of 1263, the Jewish representatives at Tortosa put up a poor show. Some ended by converting to Christianity, others by quitting Tortosa in despair. In either case, ambivalence was the dominant mode. There could be no truly right, or perhaps no completely right, decision. Apostates underwent agonizing periods of doubt,² and apparent Jewish stalwarts seemed to protest far too much.³ Still others sat not so very comfortably on the fence, converting to Christianity, but proceeding with their Jewish, Hebrew and cultural lives almost as if nothing had happened.⁴

All this had, as Benedict had hoped, a ripple effect on the Catalo-Aragonese communities as a whole, and an already demoralized Jewry sank into further despair. Some have ascribed this failure on the part of the Jews to their inability

² The most striking example for our purpose is Jerònim de Santa Fe himself. Before his conversion, he had written a lengthy letter to his onetime mentor Pablo de Santa Maria (Paul of Burgos), the former Solomon Halevi, questioning him as to the reasons for his conversion. This letter was, of course, an expression of his own inner struggle at the time. It is ironic but not surprising that the author of the article on Lorki in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901-1906) could not reconcile this letter with Lorki's conversion and treated the author of the epistle and the apostate as two separate individuals. See the two articles 'Ibn Vives Al-Lorqui (of Lorca), Joshua ben Joseph'. On this episode, see Baer, *ibid.* 2.171, 478 n. 1.

³ Rather than ask whether writers of explicit or implicit polemics direct themselves to their ostensible adversaries or to their own cohorts to halt their possible going over to the other side, one should probe the extent to which their words are an iteration of inner doubt and an attempt at self-persuasion. One may assume that Petrus Alphonsi, the former Moses the Spaniard (1062-c. 1140), did not name the Jewish participant in his *Dialogus* (PL 157.535-672) Moses solely after his biblical namesake. In this regard, the words of R. G. Collingwood should be kept in mind:

... Plato's attack on the poets might make an unintelligent reader fancy that Plato cared little for poetry. In order to interpret such things correctly we must remember that no competent thinker or writer wastes his time attacking a man of straw. An intense polemic against a certain doctrine is an infallible sign that the doctrine in question figures largely in the writer's environment *and even has a strong attraction for himself* (*The Idea of History* [Oxford, 1946; New York, 1956], pp. 21-22; emphasis added).

⁴ The aged poet Solomon da Piera continued to correspond in Hebrew with his associates after his conversion at Tortosa. See J. Schirmann, *Ha-shirah ha-^civrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provans*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1956), 2.566.

to cope with the sophistic modes of argumentation of scholastic philosophy used by the Christian polemicists.⁵ When one realizes, however, that Jewish thinkers in general were not unfamiliar with these methods, that a thinker as distinguished as Joseph Albo was present and that the highly sophisticated polemical manual of Profiat Duran of Perpignan, the *Reproach of the Gentiles*,⁶ was available, it seems unlikely that this was the root of the problem. A reading of the protocols of the debate, both the Hebrew and the Latin, indicates that the debacle may have been due rather to poor organization on the part of the Jews themselves. They seem to have spent as much time arguing with each other as with the Christians, with a good deal of time and energy expended on calling each other to task in public.

The proceedings of the debate are known to us from the lengthy Latin protocols published by A. Pacios López⁷ and the two Hebrew protocols, one contemporary with the events⁸ and the other a sixteenth-century reworking,⁹ which have recently been translated into Catalan with an analysis by Jaume Riera i Sans.¹⁰ Other sources, however, serve to complete the portrayal of the mood of Catalo-Aragonese Jewry in this period and it is these which lend the account of the disputation in Y. F. Baer's *History of the Jews in Christian Spain* its richness and humanity.¹¹ One such source is the poetry of Solomon Bonafed who was present at the debate and testifies to the general atmosphere of desperation. He speaks of his shock at the ambivalent apostasy of his aged

⁵ Baer maintains that 'at Tortosa the Christians used formal logic inconsistent with the highest conscientious standards of the age' (*History* 2.208 and see 2.209-10).

⁶ Shlomo Pines has singled out Hasdai Crescas who died not long before Tortosa (1410) as one of the foremost scholastics of the age ('Ha-sekholastiqah she-'aharei Thomas Aquinas u-mishnatam shel Hasdai Crescas ve-shel qodemav' in *Bein mahshevet Yisra'el le-mahshevet ha-Cammim* [Jerusalem, 1977], pp. 189, 197). Although Albo had not yet reached maturity as a philosopher at the time of the disputation, Jewish thinkers seem to have been conversant enough with and skilled in the modes of thought and techniques of Christian scholasticism (*ibid.*, p. 179), certainly where interreligious polemical debates were concerned. That contemporary Jewish intellectuals were *au courant* with the activities of their Christian colleagues is seen in such references as that of Hasdai Crescas to practices of Christian universities (*battei midreshei hem ha-kolelim*, 'Or 'Adonai 4.10) and Profiat Duran's specific references to the latest currents of thought in physics at the University of Paris. See F. Talmage, ed., *Kitvei pulmos le-Profiat Duran* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 81. On Duran's modes of argumentation see Talmage, *ibid.*, introduction, pp. 15-25 (English adaptation: 'The Polemical Writings of Profiat Duran', *Immanuel* 13 [Fall, 1981] 69-85). On a typical imitator of Duran, Solomon Bonafed, who was present at Tortosa, see F. Talmage, 'The Franciscan de Sant Jordi-Solomon Bonafed Letters' in Isadore Twersky, ed., *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass. - London, 1979), pp. 337-64.

⁷ A. Pacios López, *La disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1967).

⁸ 'Vikkuah Tortosa', ed. S. Z. Halberstam in Kobak's *Jeschurun* 6 (1868) 45-55.

⁹ Solomon Ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, chap. 40.

¹⁰ J. Riera i Sans, *La crónica en hebreu en la disputa de Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1974).

¹¹ Baer, *History* 2.211 ff.

confrere, the distinguished septuagenarian poet, Solomon da Piera, and expresses the wish that Hasdai Crescas, perhaps the greatest mind of fourteenth-century Aragonese Jewry, were still alive so that he could pull his brethren out of this morass. He calls upon that eloquent champion of Judaism, Profiat Duran, to appear and make his presence felt – an utter impossibility, of course, since Duran had apparently been forcibly converted to Christianity some time earlier and could not publicly act on behalf of the Jews.¹²

In the course of my work on Jewish commentaries on the Psalter in the Middle Ages, I chanced upon a lengthy Hebrew commentary by one Abraham ben Hayyim Rimoch,¹³ which may now serve as an additional source for the history of the period. The work is extant in two manuscripts differing from each other only in very slight details: one at El Escorial, which seems to have been copied by an Italian convert to Christianity in the sixteenth century¹⁴ (another instance of post-conversion involvement with Judaism such as we noted above), and another at Oxford, written in a Spanish, apparently fifteenth-century, rabbinic hand.¹⁵ The Bodleian ms. alone contains the author's introduction, or at least the bulk of it. Without that introduction, the commentary is a moderately interesting exegetical text. With it, it becomes a historical document worthy of the attention of all those interested in the prehistory of what was to occur during the fifteenth and following centuries in Iberia.

Beginning with the topos of the exile, Rimoch tells how fate had caused him to wander from place to place, finding no rest from the time he was born in Barcelona, whence:

¹² See the discussion in Talmage, *Kitvei pulmos*, p. 11.

¹³ No data on our author are available, to my knowledge, outside of this commentary. Professor Joseph Shatzmiller has pointed out to me that an Abram Rimoch is mentioned in a communal tax list from Perpignan in 1413 (I. Loeb, 'Histoire d'une taille levée sur les juifs de Perpignan en 1413-1414', *Revue des études juives* 14 [1887] 66). This would not be our author, however, since the levy was based on an assessment made in 1410 when, as we shall see, he would have still been in Barbastro (*ibid.*, p. 57).

¹⁴ Escorial ms. G.I.7 (hereafter E), described in José Llamas, 'Los manuscritos hebreos de la Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial', *Sefarad* 1 (1941) 212. The introduction, except for a fragment of the introductory poems, is missing, so that the author is not identified in this manuscript. It is to be noted that the manuscript, like all Escorial Hebrew codices, is foliated from left to right, i.e., in reverse. The colophon gives the date of completion as 3 April A.D. 1576. The film number in the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts is 10356.

¹⁵ Bodleian Library ms. Hunt. 485 (hereafter B), described in A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford, 1886), no. 326. The introduction found in this manuscript is published here in Appendix A with some emendations from the poem in E. The film number at the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts is 17245. On philological data concerning this manuscript see Appendix B.

The differences between the readings of B and E are more or less microscopic. I used both manuscripts since both suffered from considerable water damage. Where significant variants are found these are indicated.

... my parents took me out of fear of the persecution and exterminations and brought me to the kingdom of Aragon to the city of Barbastro and I dwelt there some thirty-five years depressed and downcast ... over the afflictions visited upon my people. I remained in my dwelling [i.e., minded my own affairs] and placed my trust in my creator. Study of Torah was my constant preoccupation to distract me from misery ... [and] I thought I could concentrate [*'etboded'*] on my speculation. But now new afflictions made themselves felt and new decrees were enacted. They consumed me and discomfited me and deprived me of my welfare. They carried me off forcibly and brought me to the house of assembly with the rest of the sages and heads of communities *to debate with the pope and his sages*. We were there for a long period of time and they tried me severely. When I saw that many of our leaders abandoned their faith saying to each other 'our hope is lost, none sees me', I was aghast. I fled for my life [lit., my soul] and trusted in the mercy of the Lord to save me. I left my house and abandoned my possessions, wealth and fortune, my sons and daughters, my family, friends and belongings. At that time they decreed that they would deprive us of our precious Torah [and] our prayerbooks and would place them in their churches. They did violence to our Torah before my eyes and I was left impoverished and depleted. Afterwards I settled down with my few disciples who stayed with me and remained faithful in their love for me, and I began to read the Book of Psalms to give thanks to God who saved me and rescued me from affliction and allowed me to survive until the present time. Because of the lack of books, I felt constrained to explain this Book according to my understanding and insight¹⁶

This brief statement thus identifies an apparently heretofore unmentioned participant in the Disputation of Tortosa. It tells us of a Jew born in Barcelona who with his family was forced to migrate to Barbastro in Aragon in the wake of the persecutions of 1391. After two decades of assumed tranquility, Rimoch suddenly found himself conscripted into the ranks of the Jewish protagonists of the Disputation of Tortosa. While at Tortosa, Rimoch experienced a profound sense of desperation at the falling away of many of his coreligionists and longed to withdraw from this scene of despair. Because it would have been quite impossible for him to return to his home in Barbastro since that city's Jewish community had ceased to exist, apparently through forced or voluntary conversion, with its synagogue consecrated as a church by order of Benedict XIII,¹⁷ he went to another community whose identity is not specified, and, together with a group of disciples, engaged in the study of the Book of Psalms.

¹⁶ B 2v-3r.

¹⁷ See *Encyclopaedia judaica* 3 (Jerusalem, 1971), s.v. 'Barbastro'; J. Cabezero Astráin, 'Los conversos de Barbastro y el apellido *Santángel*', *Sefarad* 23 (1963) 265; Ma. de la Encarnación Marín Padilla, 'La inquisición en Barbastro y la Ermita de San Salvador' in *Homenaje a Don José María Lacarra de Miguel en jubilación del profesorado. Estudios medievales*, 4 vols. (Saragossa, 1977), 4.213-33.

In his introduction, Rimoch also gives expression to his frustration at the falling away of so many of his coreligionists as a result of the events of 1413-14. He tells of the erosion of Aragonese Jewry and in so doing rewrites his biography. He speaks in melodramatic terms of *his* abandonment of his home and family in Barbastro, but in reality, as we have seen, he could not have gone home for his home no longer existed. Moreover, it is quite possible that it was not he who abandoned his family but his family who abandoned him by their apostasy. It is in the light of this, then, that we must examine Rimoch's words.

Rimoch's commentary on the Psalter may serve as a key to his experiences and his psychological state, which are representative of those of a good portion of Spanish Jewry. Rimoch, in expanding and expounding on the words of the Psalmists, is perforce reading them in terms of his own contemporary personal situation and it is this which interests us here as historians. Admittedly, the nature of the document from which we are trying to reconstruct Rimoch's experience may require us at times to take what might be considered a conjectural approach, although we shall attempt at the same time to avoid extravagant speculation.¹⁸

II

Rimoch's choice of the Psalter as the object of his study and contemplation was not adventitious. The study and exegesis of the Book of Psalms was not seen as a purely intellectual exercise, if it was seen as an intellectual exercise at all. Rimoch's contemporary, Profiat Duran, tells us that to the extent that the communities of Catalonia and Aragon were saved at all in the persecutions of 1391, it was because 'they rose for nocturnal vigils supplicating before the Lord, formulating their words on passages of Scripture and the hymns in the Book of Psalms for it is, as it is said, their virtue to draw the divine effluence and providence over the people, as it is said, *My eyes forestalled the nightwatches, that I might meditate on Your word* (Ps 119:148).' At the same

¹⁸ The methodology used is essentially that employed in F. E. Talmage, *David Kimhi. The Man and the Commentaries* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1975). Although for obvious reasons this treatment of the subject is not to be regarded as psychohistory in the proper sense, we have been guided by the words of S. Friedländer, *History and Psychoanalysis. An Inquiry into the Possibilities and Limits of Psychohistory*, trans. S. Suleiman (New York-London, 1978), p. 26:

Psychoanalytic history, like psychoanalysis, is as interested in what is not said as in what is said What Alphonse Dupont says about history in general is true of above all psychohistory: 'We now know that silence itself speaks, if to no other effect than to make us aware of what has actually been destroyed and thus to oblige us to diversify our approaches in order to attain the lived reality of a period.' The meaning of a text's silence, or of an individual's or group's inertia, can only be judged in relation to certain words and certain actions whose obviousness and necessity strike us only afterwards.

time, far to the east of Spain, Avigdor Kara of Prague relates a tale at the end of his commentary on Ps 150 in which the study of Psalms is seen to have redemptive and protective value.¹⁹ Yet beyond such a theurgic use of the Psalter,²⁰ the appropriateness of the collection at this moment of retreat and withdrawal in the lives of Rimoch and his disciples cannot be gainsaid. For reflection on the Psalter is by its nature at one and the same time intensely personal and yet conducive to a sensation of community.²¹ In the words of a later Spaniard, don Miguel de Unamuno:

Have you ever heard more profound, intimate, or enduring poetry than that of the Psalms? And the Psalms were meant to be sung when one is alone. I know they are chanted by crowds gathered under a single roof for religious services; but those who intone them are no longer members of a multitude. When one sings them, he withdraws into himself; the voices of the others resound in his ears only as an accompaniment and reinforcement of his own voice. I notice this difference between a crowd gathered to recite the Psalms and one brought together to see a play or hear a speaker: the first is a true society, a company of living souls, wherein each exists and subsists separately; the second is a shapeless mass, and each member of it only a fragment of the human swarm.²²

III

From Rimoch's reflections on the Psalter, there emerges a portrait of an intellectual immersed in the Aristotelian philosophy of the time and tinged with a bit of kabbalistic theory, a combination not uncommon in this period. While much blame for the falling away of Jews from their faith is laid at the door of so-called Averroism,²³ a skepticism engendered by the study of philosophy, it must be recalled that many intellectuals remained true to the rationalist dictum, propounded by Moses Maimonides and others, that only faith bolstered by philosophical proof was true faith. Profiat Duran stresses this repeatedly in his

¹⁹ Profiat Duran, *Ma'aseh 'efod*, ed. J. Friedländer and J. Kohn (Vienna, 1865), p. 14; Avigdor Kara, 'Qodesh hillulim' (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek ms. Heid. 102, fol. 99v). This passage is cited with minor variants in Naphtali Bachrach, *Emeq ha-melekh* (Amsterdam, 1647-48), p. 15b and Simha Assaf, 'Iggerot mi-Sefat', *Qoveš 'al yad* 13 (1939) 120, and see the forthcoming edition of the theological writings of Avigdor Kara by Moshe Idel and Frank Talmage.

²⁰ See *Ensiqlopedyah 'ivrit*, s.v. 'Tehillim ba-qabbalah'.

²¹ On four medieval formulations of the nature of the Book of Psalms, see U. Simon, *'Arba' gishot le-sefer tehillim* (Ramat Gan, 1982).

²² Miguel de Unamuno, 'Soledad', *Ensayos*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1916-18), 6.50; translation by J. Upton, 'Solitude', *Centennial Review of Arts and Science* 2 (1958) 235.

²³ See Baer, *History*, passim; B. Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain* (New York, 1966), passim. For a more skeptical position, see D. J. Lasker, 'Averroistic Trends in Jewish-Christian Polemics in the Late Middle Ages', *Speculum* 55 (1980) 294-304.

polemical writings, especially his satirical epistle to a fictional apostate, and the message is echoed and resonates, without Duran's wit of course, in the sober and sombre pages of Rimoch's commentary.²⁴

Rimoch makes it clear that only the intellectual is religious²⁵ and he displays often his own intellectuality (of a conventional Maimonidean kind). There is a tendency to philosophical interpretations as in Ps 19, for example, which is seen as a general discourse on astronomical theory,²⁶ as well as minor dissertations on physics and metaphysics,²⁷ and on the natural, the acquired, and emanated intellects.²⁸ One finds standard philosophical rationalistic interpretations of the commandments such as the Sabbaths and festivals,²⁹ and the raising of hands in prayer,³⁰ as well as customary allegorical interpretations. Thus we learn that parts of the Temple allude to the sciences of physics and metaphysics,³¹ the various sections of Ps 29 represent the number of the spheres,³² the heart of Ps 42:2³³ is an allusion to the soul,³⁴ and we are told that Moses had to remove his shoes at the theophany of the burning bush (Ex 3:5) as a sign that he had to strip himself of matter so that he could receive the prophetic influence.³⁵

As far as the use of kabbalistic terms and language is concerned, we use the term 'tinge' even though they are found with some frequency because they generally seem to serve as an alternative mode of expression for Rimoch's basic Aristotelian orientation. There are references to occasional individual kabbalistic *sefirot*, yet never by their name but by a term associated with that *sefirah*. Thus at Ps 78:69,³⁶ the word 'ereš ('earth') is used to refer to the supernal earth, the land of life, i.e., the *sefirah malkhut*. But generally such

²⁴ On the colouring of philosophical texts with kabbalistic themes and concepts see Z. Harvey, 'Yesodot qabbaliyyim be-sefer 'Or ha-shem le-rabbi Ḥasdai Crescas' in *Mehqerei Yerushalayim be-maḥshevet Yisra'el* 2 (1982-83) 75-109; Moshe Idel, 'Ha-qabbalah bein 1350-1500', to appear in a volume of essays on medieval Jewish history to be edited by H. Beinart; H. Tirosh Rothschild, 'Sefirot as the Essence of God in the Writings of David Messer Leon', *AJSReview* 7-8 (1982-83) 412, 425.

²⁵ On Ps 105:4, E 83r.

²⁶ B 34r-37v.

²⁷ On Ps 12:1, E 317v; Ps 13:3, E 315v; Ps 15:1, E 381v; Ps 27:1, B 29r; Ps 104, E 89v-84r passim.

²⁸ On Ps 67:2, B 117v.

²⁹ On Ps 25:10, B 46v-47r; cf. Ps 112, B 4r; Ps 119:24, B 211r.

³⁰ On Ps 28:2, B 51r-v.

³¹ On Ps 26:8, B 48v; cf. Ps 27:4, B 49r.

³² B 52v-55v.

³³ B 81v.

³⁴ Cf. comm. on Ps 68:14, B 119v.

³⁵ On Ps 119:148, B 216v; cf. Bahya ben Asher on Gen 3:5; Abba Mari ben Joseph, *Minḥat qena'ot* (Pressburg, 1838), p. 10.

³⁶ B 144r.

references give a philosophical interpretation to the concept. Thus the 'light' known as *sedeq* ('righteousness', i.e., the *sefirah malkhut*) descends on him who reflects on the intelligibles³⁷ or on him 'who sets the intellect as his objective, i.e., [to attain] divine wisdom.'³⁸ Again, the *good of Jerusalem*³⁹ is the effluence bestowed on one from the *sefirah tif'eret* through *yesod* but is declared by Rimoch to refer to intellectual comprehension.⁴⁰

In general, however, the *sefirot* are referred to collectively⁴¹ but are coupled with the ten heavenly spheres of Aristotelian physics⁴² or the ten categories.⁴³ Again, there are several references to the pouring forth of the divine effluence (*shefa*^c) from the supernal reservoir (*berekhah c'elyonah*),⁴⁴ a term associated in the pre-Zoharic kabbalah with 'blessing' (*berakhah*)⁴⁵ and identified with the *sefirah keter*.⁴⁶ This too, however, is identified by Rimoch with the intellect or intellectual apprehension⁴⁷ as are the references to Metatron the 'Prince of the Presence',⁴⁸ or the redeeming angel whose name is like that of his master.⁴⁹ In a similar vein, Rimoch maintains that the 'sages of the kabbalah' took the word 'path' in the verse *That path no bird of prey knows* (Job 28:7), which in the kabbalah is interpreted as the *sefirah binah* (lit., 'understanding')⁵⁰ to refer to

³⁷ On Ps 85:12, B 152v-153r.

³⁸ On Ps 85:14, B 153r.

³⁹ On Ps 218:5, B 223v.

⁴⁰ The interpretation of *hod* and *hadar* (Ps 104:1, E 89v) as *keter malkhuto* and *middat ha-hokhmah* does not seem to be kabbalistic.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Ps 119: 48 (B 210v), where he takes the raising of the hands (*nesi'at kappayim*) as an indication that one should cleave to the ten *sefirot*. Cf. G. Vajda, *Le commentaire d'Ezra de Gérone sur le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1969), p. 203.

⁴² On Ps 116:17 (B 20v), Ps 112:1 (B 196r-v), Ps 150:1 (E 4r). He states that in the alphabetical acrostic Ps 111, the letters *jet* and *yod* are both included in v. 5 in order to allude to the nine spheres and the tenth which is the intellect.

⁴³ Ps 150:1, E 4r. His interpretation of Ps 150 is a sort of pastiche in which he relates the ten forms of 'Hallelujah' to the ten *sefirot*, the ten utterances by which the world was created, the ten commandments, the ten categories, and the ten spheres. Although he does not mention the *sefirot* by name, he does list the ten names of God associated by the kabbalah with the *sefirot* in their proper order.

⁴⁴ On Ps 24:5, B 44v; Ps 28:9, B 52r; Ps 36:9, B 69v; Ps 41:14, B 81r; Ps 45:3, B 86r; Ps 66:8, B 182r; Ps 134:1, B 227v.

⁴⁵ See Vajda, *Le commentaire*, pp. 195-215. Cf. Todros Halevi Abulafia, *Oṣar ha-kavod* (Warsaw, 1878-79), p. 30, gloss to B. T. Sukkah 39a: 'The term *berakhah* (blessing) is derived from *mavrikh* (grafts) and *markiv* (combines) for it draws the holy waters from the supernal reservoir.' Cf. Rimoch on Ps 134:1, B 227r: 'Bless the Lord, i.e., draw the effluence upon yourselves from the source, the reservoir.'

⁴⁶ Vajda, *ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴⁷ On Ps 24:5, B 44v; Ps 36:9, B 61v; Ps 134:1, B 267r.

⁴⁸ Ps 43:5, B 83v.

⁴⁹ On Ps 91:1, B 162r. The redeeming angel is identified at Ps 89:19, B 158v, with God Himself.

⁵⁰ Zohar 2.122b-123a, 3.61b-62a; Tiqqunei Zohar 18 end, 22.30; cf. Zohar 3.193b.

intellectual comprehension.⁵¹ The use of other terms, such as the 'thirty-two paths of wisdom' of *Sefer Yesirah*,⁵² the 'clear light' ('*or ha-bahir*') used to define the word of the Lord (Ps 105:19),⁵³ or the goodness of the Lord (Ps 27:13) are used too vaguely to ascribe any specific kabbalistic interpretation to them.⁵⁴

Indeed, even when the term 'kabbalah' is used, it is never used unambiguously as referring to the mystical tradition known as 'kabbalah' but might just as easily refer to Jewish tradition in general.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the term 'secrets of the Torah' which one might expect to be used in a kabbalistic sense is used sometimes in the Maimonidean sense of 'science of the Torah',⁵⁶ that is, the legal interpretation of the commandments,⁵⁷ sometimes as *ma'aseh bereshit* and *ma'aseh merkavah* (the account of the hexaemeron and the vision of Ezekiel, taken to refer to esoteric tradition both by philosophers and kabbalists),⁵⁸ or as the *piqqudim* (precepts), taken by Saadia Gaon, Abraham Ibn Ezra and David Kimhi to refer to the rational commandments.⁵⁹

Beyond all this, however, and far more to the point is the absence of the theurgic element in Rimoch's kabbalistic references. There are allusions to the power of God's name,⁶⁰ yet not as it is to be used by man but in its instrumentality in the creation of the world.⁶¹ The closest he seems to come to such a theurgic interpretation is an interpretation of a midrash on Ps 25:2: 'In the midrash, it is said: *In You have I trusted* (Ps 25:2), in the twenty-two letters of the Torah as *in You*.'⁶² [The sages] alleged that by receiving the form⁶³ of the letters and their combinations, man will be saved from chance and miracles and extraordinary protection will be granted him from heaven.' This, however, is

⁵¹ On Ps 119:35, B 208v; cf. Ps 119:95, B 213r; Ps 119:105, B 213v.

⁵² On Ps 25:6, B 46r.

⁵³ On Ps 65:19, B 182r.

⁵⁴ On Ps 27:13, B 50v; cf. Ps 25:3, B 47r; Ps 36:9, 36:10, B 69v. Indeed, the term the 'clear light' is specifically taken to refer to intellectual illumination at Ps 116:15, B 202r-v.

⁵⁵ See comm. on Ps 111:1, B 194v-195r. The phrase 'secrets of the kabbalah' is used in the commentary on Ps 19:9, B 35r but E 300v reads 'secrets of the entire kabbalah', which could mean 'secrets of the entire tradition'.

⁵⁶ *Guide*, introd.

⁵⁷ On Ps 119:44-45, B 209r; Ps 119:56, B 209r; Ps 119:63, B 210v; cf. Hasdai Crescas, '*Or Adonai* 3b.1.2.

⁵⁸ On Ps 19:9, B 35r and Ps 83:4, B 150v.

⁵⁹ See F. Talmage, 'David Kimhi and the Rationalist Tradition', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 39 (1968) 202-204.

⁶⁰ On Ps 72:17, E 161r; Ps 72:19, *ibid*.

⁶¹ On Ps 80:20, B 147r; Ps 81:6, B 147v; Ps 138:2, B 232v; Ps 111:3, B 195r; Ps 135:1, B 227r-v.

⁶² B 45r. See Pesiqa de Rav Kahana, *Sos 'asis*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1924-25), p. 131b. The interpretation is changed slightly in E 287v.

⁶³ See M. Idel, 'Tefisat ha-torah be-sifrut ha-heikhalot ve-gilguleha ba-qabbalah', *Mehqerei Yerushalayim be-mahshevet Yisra'el* 1 (1981) 62-63.

hardly sufficient evidence to label our author as a kabbalist in the full sense of the word and would not alter our original categorization.

IV

The central desire of Rimoch, echoed repeatedly in the text, from the introduction on, seems to be for seclusion (*hitbodedut*) to contemplate intellectual matters and rest from distraction and troubles.⁶⁴ This ideal higher spiritual state⁶⁵ of seclusion, separation or isolation (*khalwa*, *tawahhūd*, *tafarrud*, *'infirād*, *bedidut*, *hitbodedut*, *hitparedut*, *hipparedut*) is referred to in the literature from the Jewish Neoplatonists such as Abraham Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi through the Aristotelians such as, of course, Maimonides, Shem Tov Falaquera, Yedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi, Shem Tov ben Isaac Shaprut and Rimoch's recently deceased elder contemporary Hasdai Crescas.⁶⁶

The term is used in a double sense, that of seclusion and that of concentration,⁶⁷ and indeed in some authors both meanings are found. Rimoch, for example, uses it in the latter sense in his introduction but it is by and large in the former sense that it is found in the commentary. In the state of *hitbodedut*, the 'perfect man who lives in solitude (*al-kāmil al-mutawahhīd*, *ha-shalem ha-mitpared*) ... will only apprehend divine and most extraordinary matters, will see only God and His angels, and will be aware and achieve knowledge of matters that constitute true opinions and general directives for the well-being of men in their relations with one another.'⁶⁸ There is, of course, a tension, resolved in various ways, as to how much time should be spent in this state. Generally, however, it is clear, that 'after apprehension, total devotion to Him and the employment of intellectual thought in constantly loving Him should be aimed at. This is principally achieved in solitude and isolation (*bi-l-khalwa wa-l-'infirād*, *bi-vedidut u-ve-hitparedut*). Hence, any excellent man stays frequently in solitude (*'infirād*, *le-hippared u-le-hitboded*) and does not meet anyone unless it is necessary'.⁶⁹ Yet because of the essentially social nature of most currents of Judaism, seclusion or *hitbodedut* was generally considered a

⁶⁴ On Ps 12:18, B 31v; Ps 61:1, B 109v-110r; Ps 118:21, B 204v-205r.

⁶⁵ On Ps 101:4, E 96r.

⁶⁶ See below and, in general, M. Idel, '*Hitbodedut*: A Historical Study', to appear in A. Green, ed., *History of Jewish Spirituality*.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., Gersonides on 2 Kings 9:11: 'They called the prophets crazed, since, because of their great concentration on the Lord, they would be careless about other matters.' Cf. Gersonides, *Wars of the Lord* (Venice, 1546-47), 2.7-8, Ex 34:36 (p. 114a), Lev 11:1 (p. 134a), 1 Sam 28:8; Abraham Saba, *Šeror ha-mor*, 5 vols. in 1 (Warsaw, 1879-80), 1.92.

⁶⁸ Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed* 2.36, trans. S. Pines (Chicago-London, 1963), p. 372; cf. Moses Gikatilia, quoted in Abraham Ibn Ezra on Num 22:9; Bahya ben Asher, *Kad ha-qemah*, ed. C. B. Chavel, *Kitvei rabbenu Bahya* (Jerusalem, 1969-70), p. 427.

⁶⁹ *Guide* 3.51; Pines, p. 621.

short-term phenomenon: '*Behold, there is a place by Me* (Ex 33:21). In this verse, the term signifies a rank in theoretical speculation and the contemplation of the intellect – not that of the eye, this being in addition to the meaning alluding to a local place that was to be found in that mountain on which the separation (*infirād*, *hitbodedut*) and the achievement of protection come to pass'.⁷⁰ Yet, as we shall see, the moment may be extended indefinitely even when one is, as it were, no longer standing on the mountain.

In descriptions of *hitbodedut*, the state is said to apply to the 'perfect one' (*shalem*) which in contemporary terms would apply to the true intellectual. Yet one can see that it frequently is used to describe the ecstatic state of the prophet, something that should not surprise us since so many of the rationalists saw an equivalence between the two, as we shall see in Maimonides' references.⁷¹

This is strikingly brought out in Rimoch's interpretation of Pss 23 and 24⁷² which are taken as illustrations of intellectual ascent in seclusion rising from material to spiritual until one reaches the level of prophecy. In his spiritual interpretations he writes: 'He does kindness to me to perfect my soul and place me in pleasant and delightful places in which my intellect will be glad and rejoice and will from this joy apprehend the intelligibles. It will follow that I will apprehend in my contemplation the perfection of plants and herbs and their virtues.'⁷³ *Still waters* (Ps 23:2) – in which I shall be still so that I may ascend from level to level until I am worthy of the rank of prophecy. *He restores my soul* (ibid.). He will restore my soul to the source from which it was hewn and it will cleave even while in the body to the intelligibles.'⁷⁴

The ultimate achievement of *hitbodedut* is a sort of mystical intuitive grasp of philosophic truth:

I shall yet praise Him (Ps 43:5) for these [intellectual] perceptions which are the *salvations of my countenance* which is always directed towards Him to increase wisdom and knowledge of the intelligibles daily, as well as the perception of God

⁷⁰ *Guide* 1.8; Pines, p. 34. On concepts of asceticism in Judaism in general, see A. Lazaroff, 'Bahyā's Asceticism against Its Rabbinic and Islamic Background', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 21 (1970) 11-38, and on solitude in particular, ibid., 35; *Theologische Realenzyklopedie*, s.v. 'Askese im Judentum', 4.199-204 and especially p. 202 for the Middle Ages.

⁷¹ See, e.g., A. J. Heschel, 'Ha-he'emin ha-RaMBaM she-zakhah li-nevu'ah' in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, 2 vols. (New York, 1945), 2.159-88. Cf. Shem Tov ben Isaac Ibn Shaprut, *Pardes rimmonim* (Sabbionetta, 1553-54), p. 4b: '... for by virtue of his seclusion, man will cleave to the proper place and bring about signs and miracles'; Hasdai Crescas, 'Or 'Adonai 2.4.4.

⁷² B 42v-45r.

⁷³ One of the first stages on the road to esoteric knowledge or providence. See Moses ben Nahman, *Perush ha-RaMBaM 'al ha-Torah*, ed. C. B. Chavel, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1967), 1.5; English translation: Moses ben Nahman, *Rambam (Nachmanides). Commentary on the Torah*, trans. C. B. Chavel, 5 vols. (New York, 1971-76), 1.12 f.

⁷⁴ Ps 23:2-23, B 42v-43r; cf. Pss 23-24 in general, B 42v-45r.

when I will perceive in a single moment the entire universe and its Lord in one moment of isolation. This must be done by the methods of science which require great preparatory study and foundation to understand His true existence. These are the salvations of *my countenance* when I perceive the Prince of the Presence.⁷⁵

In the light of Rimoch's personal experience, we see, then, that the theme of *hitbodedut* becomes not just a topos in his writings but his actual *modus vivendi*: 'I shall walk (Ps 101:7)', he tells us, 'in intellectual perfection within my house for I shall enter into innermost chambers to be secluded there from the preoccupations of the people so that the common folk may not disturb me.'⁷⁶

One may achieve this by choice of profession as did David in becoming a shepherd so that he could 'set himself apart from the ways of men and seclude himself in intellectual contemplation'⁷⁷ or by the observance of the Sabbath which provides at least a weekly release from material concerns.⁷⁸ Ideally, God should provide the intellectuals' needs so that 'they will be free from temporal concerns and burdens and ... be translated to the upper world to bask in the splendour of the Presence, both in their lifetimes like the prophets and in their deaths like the righteous and just, whose souls are bound in the bond of life',⁷⁹ or to free the perfect sage from worrying about his crops so that he can 'be secluded in intellectual activity and his soul will be preserved in his apprehension of the theoretical sciences through which it will acquire eternal life and all the parts of the soul will cleave to the Creator of all.'⁸⁰ Cleavage (*devequt*) of the soul to God, especially constant cleavage,⁸¹ leads to the bestowal of effluence (*haḥalat ha-shefa*).⁸² 'He said the God of Israel (Ps 106:48) since he raised his intellect above the intellects and his intellect cleaved to the Cause of Causes. Therefore God manifested His divinity to him.'⁸³ The true intellectual naturally eschews materialism. The pursuit of

⁷⁵ On Ps 43:5, B 83v. Cf. Judah Halevi's description of the state of the pious man in *hitbodedut* who strives to reach a state of intuitive comprehension higher than that of intellectual apprehension (*Kuzari* 3.1, trans. H. Hirschfeld [London, 1905], p. 138: 'If he, then, has satisfied each of them in [the physical senses and mental processes] he calls you his community as a respected prince calls his disciplined army, to assist him in reaching the higher or divine degree which is to be found above the degree of the intellect').

⁷⁶ B 171v.

⁷⁷ On Ps 78:70, B 144r; cf. Ps 111:1, B 194v.

⁷⁸ On Ps 90:17, B 162r.

⁷⁹ On Ps 28:9, B 52r; cf. on Ps 3:6, B 7v; Ps 4:3, B 8r; Ps 4:5, B 9r; Ps 4:9, B 9r; Ps 5:1, B 9r; Ps 13:3, E 310r; Ps 23:1, B 42v; Ps 27:4, B 49r; Ps 27:7, B 50r; Ps 27:8, B 50r; Ps 31:5, B 56r; Ps 35:9, B 66v; Ps 36:17, B 69v; Ps 44:26, B 85r-86v; Ps 69:15, B 170v; Ps 101:2, E 96r; Ps 146:5, E 7v.

⁸⁰ On Ps 150:6, E 3r.

⁸¹ On Ps 91:1, B 162v.

⁸² On Ps 25:5, B 46r.

⁸³ On Ps 106:48, B 187r.

material goods is the ultimate cause of life's woes,⁸⁴ contradicts the very nature of man who is intended to be a corporeal angel,⁸⁵ and impedes the acquisition of wisdom.⁸⁶ Lending of money on interest, even to Gentiles, is censured by Rimoch even though it was licit in Jewish law, because it detracts from intellectual attainments⁸⁷ as do material and physical pleasures.⁸⁸ Excesses and departures from moderation are among the chief sins,⁸⁹ yet, nonetheless, moderate pleasures are not to be withheld from the righteous.⁹⁰ Indeed, where the text calls for it, our author allows himself a not unexpected Sephardic appreciation for worldly elegance and pleasure, all, of course, for the purpose of enhancing the intellect. The description of the royal court in Ps 45 shows how the esthetic complements the intellectual: 'You have all that is required for man to sharpen his intellect – a lovely woman, who is the queen, for comely forms sharpen the intellect; a lovely dwelling – the ivory palaces and fine garments which are the perfumed garments.'⁹¹

Of course in the tradition of thinkers who preceded him, Rimoch expected the perfect one to be able to go into spiritual seclusion even when engaged in a social and mundane context. Maimonides reconciled Moses' and the Patriarchs' worldly activism with his ideal of them as philosophers by having them function in the mundane world as automatons:

Also the providence of God watching over them [Moses and the Patriarchs] and over their posterity was great. Withal they were occupied with governing people, increasing their fortunes, and endeavouring to acquire property. Now this is to my mind a proof that they performed these activities with their limbs only while their intellects were constantly in His presence, may He be exalted.⁹²

In this wise, Rimoch has the intellectual going into spiritual seclusion⁹³ and preserved by God when his soul cleaves to Him even when he is involved in

⁸⁴ On Ps 69:14, E 168r.

⁸⁵ On Ps 49:14, B 92v.

⁸⁶ On Ps 22:29-30, B 42r-v; Ps 28:3-6, B 51v-52r; Ps 32:2, B 59r; Ps 34:19, B 66r; Ps 40:3, B 78r; Ps 40:13, B 79v; Ps 69:35, B 168r.

⁸⁷ On Ps 15:8, E 12v.

⁸⁸ On Ps 133:37-38, B 137r.

⁸⁹ On Ps 107:12, B 188v.

⁹⁰ On Ps 123:4, B 221r.

⁹¹ On Ps 45:9-10, B 87r; cf. comm. on Ps 45:15, B 88v. Cf. the disquisition of Rimoch's contemporary, Profiat Duran, on the importance of an aesthetically elegant environment for scholarly activity (*Ma'aseh 'Efod*, pp. 19-20 [cited above, n. 19]) and A. Loewenthal, ed., *Musrei ha-pilosofim* 1.8 (Frankfurt am Main, 1896), p. 7.

⁹² *Guide* 3.5; Pines, p. 629. Yedaiah Penini Bedersi applies the parable of the four who entered the orchard with only R. Akiba emerging in peace in this manner: 'The meaning of leaving [the upper orchard of theoretical and true opinions] in peace is the improvement of moral qualities and deeds so that the perfect one withdraws from his isolation to occupy himself in worldly ways' (*Iggeret hitnaṣṣelut*, printed in *She'elot u-teshuvot ha-RaSHBa*, no. 418 [Benei Berak, 1951-52], p. 145).

⁹³ On Ps 34:31, B 73v; Ps 47:15, B 78r.

the material world.⁹⁴ 'His mind (*libbo*) is with God. Even if he is concerned with his own sustenance, *he dwells in the shadow of the Almighty* (Ps 91:1).'⁹⁵

Yet, as we have seen, Judaism in general tended towards a balance, however ambivalent, between seclusion and complete divorce from society, as illustrated in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*:

... A servant of God is not one who detaches himself from the world, lest he be a burden to it, and it to him On the contrary, he loves the world and a long life, because it affords him opportunities of deserving the next world. He even reaches the degree of Enoch ... or ... of Elijah, freed from worldly matters, and to be admitted to the realm of angels. In this case he feels no loneliness in solitude (*wahda, yehidut*) and seclusion (*khalwa, bedidut*), since they form his associates. He is rather ill at ease in a crowd, because he misses the divine presence which enables him to dispense with eating and drinking. Such persons might be happier in complete solitude (*tafarrud, bedidut*); they might even welcome death,⁹⁶ because it leads to the step beyond which there is none higher.⁹⁷

Halevi notes that this is especially true for philosophers and scholars who

also love solitude (*tafarrud, bedidut*) to refine their thoughts, and to reap the fruits of truth from their researches, in order that all remaining doubts be dispelled by truth. They only desire the society of disciples who stimulate their research and retentiveness, just as he who is bent on making money would only surround himself with persons with whom he could do lucrative business⁹⁸

That this was Rimoch's own particular form of seclusion we know from his history. He thus interprets: '*They that stand in the house of the Lord* (Ps 135:2). ... Sometimes they stand in the inner house of the Lord and meditate on His divinity and sometimes in the courts to judge and teach the people the ways of Torah.'⁹⁹

⁹⁴ On Ps 23:4, B 43r; Ps 25:15, B 47v; Ps 30:5, B 55r; Ps 34:2, B 63v; cf. Ps 37:40, B 74r.

⁹⁵ On Ps 91:1, B 162r.

⁹⁶ On the more moderate level, the ideal is separation from matter as stated in the verse *Unto You O Lord do I lift my spirit* (Ps 25:1, B 45r). Cf. Ps 1:1, B 4r-5r; Ps 8:6, B 14r; Ps 12:7, B 31v; Ps 19:15, B 36v; Ps 21:1, B 37v; Ps 23:27, B 41r-42v; Ps 136:7, B 221r. Cf. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Yesod mora*, chap. 7 (Jerusalem, 1930-31), p. 13: 'Man should not occupy himself with the vanities of the world but should go into seclusion to study or meditate on the Torah. When Jacob went to Beth-El, He said, *Abandon the foreign gods* (Gen 35:2) and he abandoned the flock and went into seclusion to serve the Lord.'

On a more intensive level, the philosopher or rationalist mystic speaks of death as liberation from matter, the 'obstructing curtain' (*masakh mone'a*) which prevents 'perception of the intelligibles'. See Rimoch on Ps 119:61, B 211v. Cf. Levi ben Gerson (Gersonides), *Commentary on Proverbs* 13:9, 31:25.

⁹⁷ *Kuzari* 3.1; Hirschfeld, p. 135.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*; Hirschfeld, pp. 135 f.

⁹⁹ On Ps 135:2, B 227v; cf. *comm.* on Ps 116:3, B 202r.

It is clear, then, that Rimoch did not construe his withdrawal as passivity or helplessness; for true activism, true militancy on behalf of the Lord is the pursuit of intellectual perfection. *I have found David My servant* (Ps 89:21). ... He called him His servant because he went into seclusion in pursuit of intellectual matters and fought the wars of the Lord and was not like Saul who had compassion on God's enemies.¹⁰⁰

V

Rimoch's world was peopled with enemies and his pages were replete with prayers for protection from them:

Keep back Your servant also from presumptuous sins that they may not have dominion over me; then I shall be faultless (Ps 19:14). This means 'Do not give them dominion and rulership over me so that they will not force me to abandon my faith.' David asked two things: *Spare me*, so that I will not be led into following their counsel and *remove their dominion* from me so that I will not be forced into following them. *Then I shall be faultless*. ... 'If the sinners, heaven forbid, get control over me and I follow them, every day will I increase my wickedness and presumption and will deliberately (*le-hakh'is*) transgress the Torah and commandments. But if they do not gain dominion over me, I will be innocent of all iniquity.'¹⁰¹

The psalmist said *Deliver me* (Ps 140:22) and not 'save me' to indicate that [God should] remove me from among them that they not attract me or tempt me to follow them.¹⁰²

The armour with which the warrior of the Lord fights is that of the intellect and reason. 'They say to each other "*May your heart* (Ps 22:27), i.e., your intellect, *be quickened forever*", that is to say, do not turn after current crazes but exert yourselves at sustaining the rational soul in order that you may merit eternal life.'¹⁰³

It is this arsenal that allowed Rimoch to remain steadfast and not succumb,¹⁰⁴ either to affliction suffered precisely for remaining steadfast,¹⁰⁵ or to the agonies of mid-life crisis for it was 'nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita' that Rimoch, like Dante, found himself in his 'selva oscura'. We recall that Rimoch had lived

¹⁰⁰ B 118v.

¹⁰¹ On Ps 19:14, B 37r.

¹⁰² B 233r.

¹⁰³ On Ps 22:27, B 39r.

¹⁰⁴ On Ps 66:9, B 82r.

¹⁰⁵ On Ps 113:41, B 131v.

about thirty-five years in Barbastro, so that he would have reached his thirty-seventh birthday at Tortosa. In this light, his reading of *Man is a [breath of] vanity* (Ps 144:4) is revealing. 'My view is that the word *hevel* [vanity] has the numerical value of thirty-seven¹⁰⁶ [and is used] to allude to the fact that when one reaches mid-life (*haši yamav*), he pursues current vanities. His days are thereby shortened and he becomes like a shadow that passes from place to place.'¹⁰⁷

But just who were the enemies against whom Rimoch so successfully mustered the strength to remain steadfast? One would imagine that it was the Christians, and indeed he tells us, '*My soul is continually within my hand* (Ps 119:109) among those wicked ones who seek my soul because I abstain from their deeds and because I debate with them against their religion and belief.' Despite this, '*I have not forgotten Your Torah* (ibid.), I do not fear their persecution. Even though those wicked ones have set up a trap to ensnare me and to make me abandon my faith and even though they wish to lead me astray and to confuse my mind, I have not gone astray in the understanding of Your ordinances which are the secrets of the Torah.'¹⁰⁸ Again, *they shall look* (vv. 18-19) refers to 'the enemies who look at my burden and say to each other: "See what these miserable Jews are doing, how they struggle and labour to bear their yoke and to maintain their faith." *They divide my garments among them.* When they look and see that I persevere and honour the Sabbath and festivals with fine apparel and clothing, they mentally divide up my clothes among them. One says the time will yet come when they will be persecuted and I will take so-and-so's garment for myself, etc.'¹⁰⁹

On *Wherewith Your enemies have taunted O Lord, wherewith Your enemies have taunted the footsteps of Your anointed* (Ps 89:52), Rimoch alludes to the recurrent theme in Christian anti-Jewish polemic and conversionary propaganda of the hopelessness of Israel's insistence on maintaining allegiance to the religion of their fathers since their promised messiah and redemption has not and will not come. He comments: 'This refers to the taunting of Your servants by their enemies for cleaving to Your Torah and religion. They taunt them too because of the delays in the coming of Your messiah. One may say that the word *ḥiqvot* [footsteps] means steps, i.e., that when the nations see that the ways of the perfect man are righteous and just and that he cleaves to God, they taunt him, and, despite all this taunting, he blesses Your name always and says, *Blessed be the Lord forever. Amen. Amen* for the evil; *amen* for the good; *amen*

¹⁰⁶ The consonantal spelling of *hevel* (HBL) has the numerical value of 5 + 2 + 30 = 37.

¹⁰⁷ E 11v.

¹⁰⁸ B 214r; cf. comm. on Ps 119:158, B 217r.

¹⁰⁹ B 40v-41r; cf. comm. on Ps 123:3, B 220v-221r.

in this world; *amen* in the next.' ¹¹⁰ The taunting is endless: '“What”, they want to know, “are those miserable Jews doing?” For because we have persisted in keeping our Torah, they mock us by saying that the time of the Torah is passed All the nations around scorn us when they see our humiliations.' ¹¹¹ In what would be called today their triumphalism, the gentiles vaunt their tranquility and prosperity over the Jews: '*Our soul is full sated with the scorning of those proud like doves* (Ps 123:4) They mock us in that they are tranquil and calm ... and are like doves who take delight in each other ... whose sole purpose is to eat and be happy' ¹¹² 'Jew' simply becomes a derogatory term so that 'when one wants to curse somebody, he says “you miserable Jew”', ¹¹³ or when they 'see an ugly person, they say “He looks like a Jew” and when they see a difficult and ill-behaved person, they call him a treacherous Jew.' ¹¹⁴ Indeed, Jews are not necessary for anti-Semitism for those nations without Jews among them mock those with Jews for not stoning them. ¹¹⁵ This psychological war of attrition threatens to take its toll even on such stalwarts as Rimoch. With the psalmist, he asks, '*Where are Your former mercies?* (Ps 89:30) And where are those mercies now that [the Davidic] kingdom has ceased to exist for so many years and we have *almost* despaired of redemption thinking that hope is lost.' ¹¹⁶ The exile has lasted so long that Asaph asked, '*How long, O Lord, will You be angry forever?* (Ps 79:5), since he foresaw the length of the exile that they would *almost* despair of redemption.' ¹¹⁷ Although he prays for redemption, the reward for his suffering in keeping the Torah and commandments, ¹¹⁸ and although he recalls the promise of redemption, ¹¹⁹ the mood at best is one of desperation: '*What is man* (*enosh*) (Ps 8:5), since all things are grievous and painful (*anush*).' ¹²⁰ The righteous are the afflicted who faint and pour out their prayer before the Lord (Ps 102:1) 'with a contrite heart that He may excise the workers of iniquity from the Lord's city and bring on the redemption as he becomes faint with weakness and swooning near unto death' ¹²¹

¹¹⁰ B 160r; cf. comm. on Ps 69:20, 21, E 170r; Ps 75:18, 22, B 135r; Ps 79:13, B 145v; Ps 80:6, B 146r; Ps 89:46, B 166r.

¹¹¹ On Ps 44:14, B 85r.

¹¹² B 221r.

¹¹³ On Ps 69:12, B 122r.

¹¹⁴ On Ps 144:15, B 85r.

¹¹⁵ On Ps 80:7, B 146r.

¹¹⁶ B 160v; cf. comm. on Ps 80:6, B 146r.

¹¹⁷ B 145r.

¹¹⁸ On Ps 13:2, B 22r; Ps 39:5, B 76v; Ps 43:4, B 76r-v.

¹¹⁹ On Ps 89:4, B 159v; Ps 115:1, E 56r; cf. comm. on Ps 94:4, B 166r; Ps 115:3, E 55v.

¹²⁰ B 14r.

¹²¹ B 95v.

Gentile hostility comes even from unexpected quarters. He would expect to find support at least from the 'princes whose manner it is to love science [but they] also speak against me.'¹²² They are the *many bulls* that *encompass me* (Ps 22:13), 'the princes of the nations who try to persuade the righteous man to abandon his faith.'¹²³ The princes are ultimately materialistic and keep one from acquiring wisdom, but *en revanche*, God will so burden them with problems because they do not allow others to study that they will not be able to do so themselves.¹²⁴ At Ps 22:22 he becomes even more specific: '*Save me from the mouth of the lion*. This is the king for even if he wants or *agrees to have me* abandon my faith, You save me from him.'¹²⁵ And we may read this as a reference to the role of the monarch who did not necessarily instigate but gave assent to conversionary endeavours.

Yet despite all this, specific anti-Christian polemic, such as that found in earlier exegesis, is lacking, and invective against the gentiles is relatively meagre. For one thing, Rimoch realizes that the time for disputation with the gentiles is past, a feeling exemplified by his withdrawal from Tortosa into his 'seclusion'. He confesses this in his interpretation of *I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue; I will keep a curb upon my mouth, while the wicked is before me* (Ps 39:2): 'I used to give definitive and conclusive answers to everyone who trespassed upon my religion and I would rebuke him severely. Now with the changes in religions and their ascendance over me (*be-hishtannut ha-datot u-ve-hitgabberam Calai*), I will take heed and keep from sinning with my tongue. ... *While the wicked is before me* means while anyone of the religions which oppose me provoke me.'¹²⁶ He takes the following verse in the same vein. '*I was dumb with silence*. When I put a curb upon my mouth I was dumb and silent so that because of my silence I was considered as one who could not speak. I cannot even utter the good and strong argument which I have on behalf of my religion. *And my pain is destructive*, i.e., I am destroyed by the great pain that I have because my arguments have been suppressed.'¹²⁷

No, disputation with the gentiles is no longer possible and so we find Rimoch turning his scorn not against them but against what is for him the real enemy, those Jews who have either abandoned their faith and scoffed at their tradition or simply those who have not tried to perfect themselves

¹²² On Ps 119:21, B 207v.

¹²³ B 40r.

¹²⁴ On Ps 2:5, B 5r-6v.

¹²⁵ On Ps 22:22, B 41r. Early exegetes and writers take 'lion' as a reference to the gentile enemies of Israel. See D. Yarden, *Shirei ha-qodesh le-rabbi Shelomoh Ibn Gevirol*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971), 1.174, 1.10, 2.585, 1.10; David Kimhi, *Comm. on Ps. 22:22*.

¹²⁶ On Ps 39:2, B 76v.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

intellectually.¹²⁸ Through a remarkable inversion, the gentiles (*goyim*) are taken to refer to the renegade Jews.¹²⁹ Of these he speaks at Ps 9:6: '*You have rebuked the nations; You have destroyed the wicked; You have blotted out their name for ever and ever.* [The verse is divided into] three parts. *You have rebuked the nations*, those who occupy themselves with the welfare of society but make no effort at acquiring wisdom; *You have destroyed the wicked* – he who neither occupies himself with the welfare of society nor with wisdom but wishes only to pursue his lusts. The third is he who has acquired wisdom and uses it for worthless matters and vanities and sets aside wisdom for physical pleasures. This is God's enemy as well as his own.'¹³⁰

It is not only 'his enemies *who taunt me* (Ps 120:9) because I set myself apart from them and their doings, but even those *who are mad against me* who are of the Jewish nation do *curse by me*. When they want to curse themselves, they say, "May I be like so-and-so, if I've done that".'¹³¹ These are *the ungodly nation* (Ps 43:1) who prevent one from intellectualizing.¹³² It is they 'that *call not upon the Lord*. They are not accustomed to mentioning God's name nor do they say grace over their meal for they think there is no God.'¹³³ A Jew, then, who is characterized by a lack of intellectuality is defined by Rimoch as a gentile;¹³⁴ he is the one who deserts the pursuit of science even when occupied in a proper mundane calling, since this takes him away from God and His religion. *The wicked shall return to the nether world, even all the nations that forget God* (Ps 9:18) is taken to refer to 'the nations that forget the Lord and deny Him because of their concern with current inanities'. This is juxtaposed to *For the needy shall not always be forgotten* (Ps 9:19): 'the expectation of the poor one who desires to occupy himself with Torah and intellectual concerns will not be disturbed and prevented from doing so by the wicked.'¹³⁵ Such are they who '*All the day ... trouble my affairs* (Ps 56:6) because they are always confusing my thoughts and these things are of special import to me, viz., science and speculation, *for all their thoughts are against me for evil.*'¹³⁶ These

¹²⁸ On Ps 9:7, B 15v.

¹²⁹ This type of exegesis is methodologically identical to that found on Ps 67:6 (B 117v) but of course different in intention: '*The peoples ... O God* are an allusion to the tribes of Israel while the *peoples ... all of them* are an allusion to the rest of the nations for they all think they will be saved as well.'

¹³⁰ On Ps 9:6, B 15v; cf. Ps 9:16, B 17v.

¹³¹ B 173r.

¹³² On Ps 43:2, B 83r; cf. comm. on Ps 76:13, B 137r-v; Ps 141:1, B 234r.

¹³³ E 314v.

¹³⁴ On Ps 9:6, B 15v; Ps 9:18, B 16v.

¹³⁵ On Ps 9:18 f., B 16v.

¹³⁶ B 102r; cf. Ps 31:9, B 51v; Ps 119:147, B 218r-v.

are the adversaries (*menaggedim*).¹³⁷ It is only with their destruction that one will have the opportunity to pursue one's proper concerns. It is these of whom the psalmist speaks when he talks of 'the voice of him that taunts (Ps 44:17), the one who says there is no God in the world and *blasphemes* (ibid.).'¹³⁸ This is the one who says there is no Torah from heaven and brazenly transgresses His commandments and *the revengeful* (ibid.). This is the one who says God does not see and has abandoned the earth.'¹³⁹

It is thus the 'philosopher', that is, the 'Averroist', who is condemned as the most dangerous adversary: '*I hate those that are of a double mind (se^cafim)* (Ps 119:113). An allusion to the philosophers who fabricate their corrupt opinions from their own ingenuity, but they are all at variance and not one agrees with the other. The Torah on the other hand is *one*. The numerical equivalent of *se^cafim* (S^cPYM = 260) is *filosof* (PYLSF = 260).'¹⁴⁰ The philosopher is the enemy of all religions since 'it is declared and accepted in all religions that God brings all into being.'¹⁴¹ It is not improbable that Rimoch has Jerònim de Santa Fe in mind when he condemns 'the fool who says in his heart that there is no providence [as] dangerous, especially when he is the leading sceptic of his generation who misleads and corrupts others to believe his opinions',¹⁴² or the *adversary* (Ps 44:1) who is the apostate (*meshummad*) and Israel's greatest enemy.¹⁴³

These materialists, these 'Averroists', then, are now called gentiles and now the masses. Whereas David Kimhi, the classic twelfth-century Narbonneese Psalms commentator, explained *Consider how many are my enemies* (Ps 25:19) as referring to 'the Philistines, Edom, Moab and Aram', Rimoch sees the enemies as 'the bulk of the masses who hate the perfect man because he sets himself apart from them and does not do as they do.' *The cruel hatred with which they hate me* refers to 'their taunting and abusing me as if I had deprived them of their money and their honour.'¹⁴⁴ On Ps 110:17¹⁴⁵ he draws the distinction not between Jew and gentile but between the gentile who is

¹³⁷ On Ps 57:8, B 104v; Ps 97:11, B 169v; Ps 98:11, B 170r; cf. comm. on Ps 31:21, B 58r; Ps 74:4, B 133v; Ps 107:6, B 180v; Ps 118:21, B 204v-205r.

¹³⁸ On Ps 37:30, B 73r; Ps 38:23, B 76r; Ps 39:14, B 77v; Ps 104:5, B 180r; cf. comm. on Ps 9:19, B 116v.

¹³⁹ On Ps 44:17, B 85r.

¹⁴⁰ B 214r.

¹⁴¹ Ps 14:2, E 315r.

¹⁴² Ps 14:1, E 315r.

¹⁴³ On Ps 44:17, B 85r.

¹⁴⁴ B 47v; cf. comm. on Ps 22:17, B 40v.

¹⁴⁵ B 194v.

materialistic and the intellectual 'who contemplates the intelligibles and draws effluence from the supernal stream.'

The division in this world, then, is not between Jew and Philistine but between Jew and philistine: '*I shall tell Your name to my brethren* (Ps 22:23) ... is an allusion to the perfect ones who are my brethren for whom it is fitting to know the power of Your name.'¹⁴⁶ 'Israel' refers to 'one who raises his intellect to contemplate intellectual matters as it is said *He wrestled with an angel* (Os 12:5).'¹⁴⁷ The true Israel are the elect of the human species,¹⁴⁸ but this is only because of their intellectuality for they have a purer and clearer intellect than the rest of the nations.¹⁴⁹ The more one attains the quality of intellectuality, the more one is a Jew. '*Surely God is good to Israel, even to such as are pure in heart* (Ps 73:1). God is good to Israel alone and not to the other nations, and *good* refers to Torah and true beliefs ... [but] while the absolute good is for Israel, i.e., the entire nation, the perception of the divine is for the pure in heart.'¹⁵⁰

Yet notwithstanding their purity of heart, the harsh realities of the time all too often prevent this perception from being realized. The Jew feels abandoned and it is Rimoch's task to prove that, despite all, God remains as a support in situations of stress. Earlier in this study, we alluded to the possibility that Rimoch was 'abandoned' by his family and associates through voluntary or forced conversion. Perhaps we hear the echo of such an abandonment in his interpretation of '*For this let everyone that is guilty pray unto You at a time when You may be found; just when the great waters overflow, they will not reach unto him* (Ps 32:6). His prayer will benefit him [to the extent] that he alone will escape, and this [is the meaning of] the restrictive word *just* [*raq*]. By *unto him* he meant that if his prayer does not serve to save his children and the members of his household, his wealth, possessions, and crops, it will serve at least to save *his* body and soul.'¹⁵¹ Biblical references to 'waters', we must realize, were

¹⁴⁶ On Ps 22:23, B 41r.

¹⁴⁷ On Ps 144:7, E 10v; cf. comm. on Ps 144:11, E 10v-r.

¹⁴⁸ On Ps 33:13, B 62v.

¹⁴⁹ On Ps 148:14, E 5r.

¹⁵⁰ On Ps 73:1, B 130v. In certain passages, he seems to speak of gentiles, but his description is inner directed, e.g., on Ps 2:1, B 5r, he refers to materialists who deny the perfect saint. Gentiles are aliens (*benei nekhar*) but have characteristically Jewish heresies. On the similar application of the term 'Israel' to the philosophically educated elite in the thirteenth-century aggadic exegete Isaiah ben Yedaiah, see M. Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbis. A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah* (Cambridge, Mass. – London, 1980), pp. 78, 110 and p. 248 n. 124 referring to Solomon Turiel's application of the term to the kabbalistic elite. See also G. Scholem, ed., *Derush 'al ha-ge'ulah* ('A Homily on the Redemption by R. Solomon of the House of Turiel', *Sefunot* 1 [1951] 76).

¹⁵¹ B 60r.

understood repeatedly as specific allusions to baptism in this period¹⁵² and such a reference occurs elsewhere in Rimoch's commentary itself.¹⁵³ Indeed, such references generally allude to forced baptism or conversions by entrapment such as Rimoch refers to at the verse *Deliver me not over unto the will of my adversaries; for false witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out violence* (Ps 27:12). Rimoch notes that the verse might refer to David himself or to Israel, but if to the latter, it means that 'David saw through the holy spirit that the time would yet come when the wicked will rise against those select few (*yehidei segullah*) who cleave to their faith and that they will testify against them falsely to force them to abandon their religion and it grieved [King David] as if they had risen against him. And this is the testimony they shall utter: "So-and-so swore that he would abandon his religion" or "He has done as we have and can no longer be a Jew".'¹⁵⁴

It is now *the hand of the wicked* (Ps 36:12) that has the power to force one to abandon his faith,¹⁵⁵ for, by giving decisive answers to his antagonists, he endangers his life.¹⁵⁶ The safest approach is the avoidance of confrontation. David's purity was proven by the fact that he took 'refuge in the shadow of His wings' and he had 'no associations or connections with the beliefs of other nations',¹⁵⁷ and he prays '*Neither let the deep swallow us up* (Ps 69:16) in which I am drowning May they not force me to abandon my faith',¹⁵⁸ in the time of apostasy foreseen by Jeduthun which has now come.

For the leader, for Jeduthun (Ps 39:1). It is stated in the midrash that Jeduthun (*Yedutun*) composed this reference to the changes in religions (*ha-datot*) which he saw through the holy spirit would take place in the world.¹⁵⁹ This psalm follows *Make haste to help me* (Ps 38:23) for the psalmist saw that the righteous one in every generation will need the help of his God and His salvation in maintaining his religion and faith since the treacherous ones, the adversaries, and the vexatious ones have arisen.¹⁶⁰

The latter are numerous and many are the fallen. It is true that by way of encouragement to those who do want to repent, Rimoch makes it clear that the gates of repentance are not closed to those who have been forcibly stained by

¹⁵² See Talmage, *Kitvei pulmos*, p. 12.

¹⁵³ On Ps 60:16, B 123v; but cf.: '*I proved you at the waters of Meribah* (Ps 81:8) He alluded here to external sciences (*hokhmot hisoniyyot*) and to corrupt opinions, as we have found true beliefs likened to living waters and false beliefs like to foul waters' (B 148v).

¹⁵⁴ B 50v.

¹⁵⁵ B 70r; cf. comm. on Ps 35:14, B 66r.

¹⁵⁶ On Ps 119:107, B 213v.

¹⁵⁷ On Ps 11:1, B 19v.

¹⁵⁸ E 170v.

¹⁵⁹ See Lam. Rab. 7.39; S.S. Rab. 4.3; cf. Rashi on Ps 39:1, 77:1.

¹⁶⁰ E 76r-75v; cf. comm. on Ps 19:14, B 36r; Ps 38:23, B 76r-v; Ps 119:134, B 215v.

the waters of baptism. 'If you say that after we have sinned before the Lord, the filth, dirt, and stain will never be removed and because of it we should be degraded our entire lives in the eyes of God and man, [the psalmist states] *Happy is he whose transgression is forgiven* (Ps 32:1), since he is at a higher state than one who never sinned.' ¹⁶¹

Yet by and large for those who did not return Rimoch feels only contempt:

There are the workers of iniquity fallen (Ps 36:13), i.e., in the place of haughty men there fell the workers of iniquity who did not withstand their trial and were led to abandon their faith in the place of the wicked *and are not able to rise*. Should they want to repent, they will have neither the power nor the ability.¹⁶²

Worst of all are the deliberate apostates. Rimoch lists three reasons for apostasy: (a) poverty, which creates the desire to better one's situation, (b) wealth, which corrupts, and (c) suffering¹⁶³ – a list which is essentially a topos in the literature.¹⁶⁴

The second is illustrated by Ps 120:5:

Woe is me (Ps 120:5) I grieve and despair over the time I have lived among the nations because while I tarried among them I learned from their deeds ... *That I sojourn with Meshech, that I dwell beside the tents of Kedar*. Although Meshech and Kedar are the names of peoples, we can explain it thus: 'Woe is me that I have dwelled with a people who draws (*moshekhet*) people to its corrupt beliefs by friendly persuasion and gifts while Kedar refers to a people whose beliefs are ugly and confused and darken [the root *kdr* means 'dark'] the light of the intellect.' ¹⁶⁵

The third is illustrated by Ps 80:4 which expresses concern that the 'affliction of the exile will force us to be drawn after foreign beliefs and alien desires'.¹⁶⁶

With less extreme deviants from his conception of religion, he takes a gentler attitude. Since all Israel were elected by God, the masses are entitled to the designation 'My people' ¹⁶⁷ as well as 'Israel' who are the sages and perfect ones. Or the masses may be called Jacob (*yaʿaqov*) 'who are the commoners who behave with guile (*coqvah*) and craftiness of heart. Their lust prevents

¹⁶¹ On Ps 32:1, B 59r; E 271r.

¹⁶² B 70r.

¹⁶³ On Ps 26:2, B 48r.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the list of Joshua Lorki (Jerònim de Santa Fe) of reasons for conversion (lust for riches, study of philosophy which may lead to a lack of trust in the power of reason, despair over the exile, revelation, i.e., conversion experience). See Baer, *History* 2.143 f. On genuine doubt as a motivation for conversion, cf. *'My feet were almost gone* (Ps 73:2). What he perceives is not consistent with his intellectual insights, so he almost slipped.'

¹⁶⁵ B 219v.

¹⁶⁶ B 146r.

¹⁶⁷ On Ps 81:14, B 148v and Ps 81:14, B 148v.

them (*ya^caqvem*) from being absorbed in intellectual concerns' while 'Israel (*yisra'el*) are the worthy sages who are the princes of God (*sarei ha-'el*)' ¹⁶⁸ and his special elect (*segullah*).¹⁶⁹

All these deviants, however, extreme or mitigated, have succumbed to the fear that there is no God, that there is none who watches, that man is abandoned, and that Israel especially is abandoned. It was all those misconceptions that led to the failure of nerve and will at Tortosa, and Rimoch fights those 'Averroist' errors with all his might. He tells us: 'The wicked one has said in his heart that God has forgotten the lower world and hidden His providence from it. He has never concerned Himself with it as it is said, *The Lord has abandoned the earth* (Ezech 8:12, 9:9). The lower world is abandoned to chance; therefore no one will hold me guilty or punish me if I steal or kill.' ¹⁷⁰

On the verse *He has said in his heart God has forgotten; He hides his face, He will never see* (Ps 10:11), Rimoch expresses his strident militancy against the faithless: 'One may say that the meaning is that *God has forgotten* the deeds of men, that He has hidden His face so as not to be concerned with them except for the maintenance of them as a species as a whole as with the animals. *He will never see*, as with the inanimate and the vegetable kingdom. This is one of the opinions concerning providence against which the psalmist says, *Arise O Lord, O God, lift up Your hand* (Ps 10:12)'; and he calls upon God to 'strike down the enemy who denies him so that he will know that God *certainly has not abandoned this earth*',¹⁷¹ for both God's blessing and His curse are proof of His involvement with humankind.

VI

If providence extends to man in general, it most assuredly extends to Israel. To be sure, as was foreseen by the psalmists,¹⁷² Israel suffers greatly in this exile for the sanctification of God's name¹⁷³ and is likened to those that are appointed to death,¹⁷⁴ who are oppressed by taxation,¹⁷⁵ and who wait upon the gentiles.¹⁷⁶ Despite this God still preserves Israel in the exile.¹⁷⁷ The permanence

¹⁶⁸ On Ps 14:17, E 319r; cf. Ps 53:17, E 208v-r; Ps 78:71, B 144v; Ps 135:4, B 227v.

¹⁶⁹ On Ps 135:3, B 227v.

¹⁷⁰ On Ps 10:11, B 18v.

¹⁷¹ On Ps 10:11, B 18v; cf. comm. on Ps 10:12, B 18v; Ps 59:6, B 106r.

¹⁷² On Ps 77:17, B 139v; comm. on Ps 78:2, B 139r.

¹⁷³ On Ps 50:5, B 94v; cf. comm. on Ps 79:11, B 145v; Ps 89:47, B 160r.

¹⁷⁴ On Ps 102:21, E 93v.

¹⁷⁵ On Ps 25:17, B 46v reads 'yoke of taxes' (*Col ha-missim*) while E 293v reads 'yoke of oppressors' (*ha-homesim*).

¹⁷⁶ On Ps 89:51, B 160v.

¹⁷⁷ On Ps 65:17, E 176v; Ps 137:1, B 231v.

of the covenant is as sure as the permanence of the heavens,¹⁷⁸ for the planet Jupiter (*šedeq*) in the heavens is a certain testimony that dominion will return to Jerusalem which is called the city of righteousness (*šedeq*).¹⁷⁹ God's devotion to the Land is as true as that of Israel who abandon their possessions and families in every generation and go to prostrate themselves on the stones and dust of Mount Zion.¹⁸⁰ The fact that no foreign nation has been able to lay permanent claim to Jerusalem¹⁸¹ is one more indication of the promises of restoration which recur throughout the commentary,¹⁸² and Rimoch gives voice to the never ceasing apocalyptic expectations of the Jews and their clinging to legends about captive brethren being released to bring about the millennium.

The pious in the exile say to each other, 'How I rejoiced when they say *Let us go unto the house of the Lord* (Ps 122:1), when the rumours begin that the river Sambation has grown calm and Israel has gone out of their confinement or they say "The gates of mercy are open" and the like. I rejoiced as if our feet were standing in Your gates If we rejoice so from a mere rumour, how shall we rejoice when we see it.' ¹⁸³

It is only in the Land of Israel that the covenant can be truly fulfilled for the lands of the exile are impure and the turgidity of the air impedes the refinement of the intellect which permits the proper consideration of God's deeds.¹⁸⁴ As opposed to this the Land of Israel, located in the centre of the inhabited world,¹⁸⁵ subject only to God's direct control and not to sidereal forces¹⁸⁶ and endowed with the pure air suited to the purification of intellectual functions,¹⁸⁷ is thereby predisposed to sharpening of the intellect¹⁸⁸ and to the reception of prophetic inspiration.¹⁸⁹ Above all, it is the location of the Temple needed for the reestablishment of the priestly and sacrificial cult necessary for the proper atonement of Israel.¹⁹⁰

Confidence in the restoration of Israel depends of course on conviction of God's omnipotence. So it is that Rimoch tirelessly stresses that the fundamental beliefs in God's existence, creation, providence and the afterlife, alleged denial

¹⁷⁸ On Ps 89, passim, B 156v-160v.

¹⁷⁹ On Ps 89:38, B 159v.

¹⁸⁰ Ps 102:15, E 94r.

¹⁸¹ On Ps 130:4, B 226r; Ps 147:2, E 7r; cf. Ps 69:36, B 168r.

¹⁸² On Ps 24:9, B 35r; Ps 46:1, B 87v; Ps 46:12, B 89r.

¹⁸³ On Ps 122:9, B 220v.

¹⁸⁴ On Ps 102:2-3, B 172v; cf. comm. on Ps 89:45, B 160r.

¹⁸⁵ On Ps 48:3, B 90v; Ps 147:12, E 6v.

¹⁸⁶ On Ps 48:9, B 90v; Ps 48:11, B 90v-91r.

¹⁸⁷ On Ps 85:9, B 151v; cf. comm. on 149:2, E 4v.

¹⁸⁸ On Ps 47:90, B 89v-90r; Ps 48:1, B 90r; Ps 110:2, B 194r.

¹⁸⁹ On Ps 110:2, B 194r.

¹⁹⁰ On Ps 102:2-3, B 172v; cf. Ps 89:18, B 158v.

of which was attributed to the 'Averroists', are correct as is Maimonides' stock formulation that God is the First Existent¹⁹¹ moving all and exercising His providence over the lower world and the human species¹⁹² with no higher or other power.¹⁹³ Only the wicked deny reward, punishment and providence,¹⁹⁴ for even the philosophers agree that God's providence extends over the heavens, i.e., the intellects, and since man is by nature intellectual, providence must extend to him.¹⁹⁵ The belief in creation is itself salvific¹⁹⁶ since from this there follows the belief in God's providence.¹⁹⁷ The belief in the afterlife, which is, of course, the survival of the intellect after death,¹⁹⁸ gives one strength to oppose those who fight him and undermine his beliefs,¹⁹⁹ and one prays '*Ransom me* (Ps 69:19) that I not fall into Gehenna ... *because of my enemies* who say there is no survival of the soul.'²⁰⁰

Anything that puts God's omnipotence into question is anathema to Rimoch and, consequently, unlike the vast majority of his contemporaries and of the medievals in general, he follows Maimonides in taking an uncompromising stand against astrology.²⁰¹ Although the stars may have limited power as God's agents,²⁰² they are totally subordinate to God²⁰³ and have no dominion of their own.²⁰⁴ God alone is He who controls them²⁰⁵ and to believe otherwise is

¹⁹¹ M. T. Hil Yesodei ha-Torah 1:1; on Ps 19:10, B 35r-v; Ps 37:40, B 74r; cf. comm. on Ps 14:2, E 312r; Ps 16:2, B 24v; Ps 18:50, B 33v; Ps 30:10, B 55v.

¹⁹² On Ps 8:3, B 14r; Ps 9:2, B 15r; Ps 10:5, B 17r; Ps 10:6, B 17v; Ps 10:17, B 19r; Ps 16:1, E 212v-212r; Ps 19:1, B 34r; Ps 19:9, B 35v; Ps 27:1, B 49r-v; Ps 36:6-7, B 69r-v; Ps 37:40, B 74r.

¹⁹³ On Ps 20:7, B 37r; Ps 20:10, B 32v.

¹⁹⁴ On Ps 68:1, B 118v; Ps 144:8, E 10v.

¹⁹⁵ On Ps 11:3, E 318v.

¹⁹⁶ On Ps 124:8, B 221v.

¹⁹⁷ On Ps 42:4, B 81v.

¹⁹⁸ On Ps 15:8, E 312v; Ps 49:6, E 218r; Ps 49:15, E 281v-r; Ps 49:20, E 217v-r.

¹⁹⁹ On Ps 27:13-14, B 50v-51r.

²⁰⁰ On Ps 69:19, E 170v.

²⁰¹ See Maimonides' responsum to the sages of Marseilles in *Qoveš teshuvot ha-RaMBaM ve-iggetotav* (Leipzig, 1859), fols. 24-26; A. Marx, 'The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 3 (1926) 311-581; Isadore Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)* (Yale Judaica Series 22; New Haven-London, 1980), pp. 420, 481-82; *Encyclopaedia judaica* 3, s.v. 'astrology'.

²⁰² On Ps 5:13, B 10v; Ps 47:3, B 89r; Ps 47:9, B 89v; Ps 47:10, B 89v, E 19v.

²⁰³ On Ps 3:8-9, B 7v; Ps 5:4, B 9v; Ps 7:18, B 13v; Ps 22:1, B 59r; Ps 25:2, B 54v; Ps 31:16, B 57v; Ps 66:3, E 183r; Ps 66:5-7, B 112v; Ps 68:21, E 176r-175v; Ps 77:13-14, B 138r-v; Ps 89:31, B 159r; Ps 106:2, B 184r; Ps 114:1, E 57r-56v; Ps 147:4, E 7v; Ps 147, E 6v-5v.

²⁰⁴ On Ps 25:2, B 45r; Ps 29:1, B 52v; Ps 73:25, B 132v; Ps 77:14, B 147r; Ps 89:22, B 159r; Ps 144:18, E 8v.

²⁰⁵ On Ps 24:10, B 45r; Ps 88:1, B 155v; Ps 89:7, B 157r; Ps 89:8, B 157v; Ps 89:15, B 158r; Ps 89:18, B 158v; Ps 135:5, B 227v. The commentary on Ps 144 is a general polemic on the subject (E 10r-8r); see especially vv. 5 and 7, E 11v, 10r.

idolatry.²⁰⁶ Their power is confined only to the gentiles but God alone rules over Israel:

[The psalmist] mentioned these two species [the *boar out of the wood* and that *which moves in the field*] (Ps 80:14) which are the most inferior that exist: the boar and the worm which are an allusion to the inferior nations that rule over us. We know in fact that this is only by virtue of the ascendance of their constellation. Therefore he said *O God of hosts* (Ps 80:15), i.e., You are a righteous judge and rule over the hosts above and below. *Turn* from Your wrath or *turn* to bestow Your providence over us and *look from heaven* and see our disgrace and remember *the stock* that You have forgotten and against which You have been enraged so many years.²⁰⁷

The wicked gentiles themselves will see the error of their ways and will indeed convert when they see that God is stronger than their stars.²⁰⁸ Then they shall know that *they shall pay* (Ps 79:9). 'They themselves will say it is because of the blood of the Jews which we have shed that these sufferings have come upon us.'²⁰⁹

Just as the stars are to be ignored, the astrologers themselves are to be shunned. They harm others with their absurd beliefs, being 'arrogant in their ... thinking that all human affairs depend upon the aspect of the stars which governs at the time of conception or birth.'²¹⁰ They and their ilk are for 'the most part liars'.²¹¹ Talismans for prognostication are, as for some of his predecessors and contemporaries, anathema to Rimoch²¹² as are the medical astrological talismans used for healing so widely accepted by such eminent authorities as Solomon Ibn Adret, Nahmanides, and after due deliberation, by Rimoch's recently deceased contemporary Hasdai Crescas.²¹³ The use of talismans is likened to the worship of idols, both of which are called in Hebrew

²⁰⁶ On Ps 27:15, B 49v; Ps 44:21, B 85v.

²⁰⁷ On Ps 80:14, B 148v.

²⁰⁸ On Ps 22:25, B 42r; cf. comm. on Ps 89:6, B 157r.

²⁰⁹ B 145v.

²¹⁰ On Ps 75:5, B 135v.

²¹¹ On Ps 40:5, B 78r.

²¹² On Ps 31:7, B 56v. Cf. comm. on Ps 97:7, B 169r-v; Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Comm. on Ex* 20:3, *Dt* 4:16; Maimonides, *Guide* 1.63, 3.29, Hil. Tefillin 5:4; Nahmanides, *Comm. on Ex* 20:3. For fifteenth-century references, see A. Lazaroff, *The Theology of Abraham Bibago. A Defense of the Divine Will, Knowledge, and Providence in Fifteenth Century Spanish-Jewish Philosophy* (Judaic Studies 9; University, Ala., 1981), pp. 34, 94 n. 11.

²¹³ 'Or 'Adonai 4.5. Amulets are dealt with in a general way by J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition. A Study in Folk Religion* (New York, 1939) but the medical astrological talisman is not discussed. See most recently J. Shatzmiller, 'In Search of the "Book of Figures": Medicine and Astrology in Montpellier at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century', *AJSreview* 7-8 (1982-83) 383-407; see also M. Idel's paper to appear in the proceedings of the Symposium on Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century Jewry held at Harvard University in 1982.

‘šurot’. To use them is to worship the constellations, especially Leo, so central in astrological healing.²¹⁴

They have ears, but they hear not; neither is there any breath in their mouths (Ps 135:17). This is as our sages said: ‘Observe how the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, differ from those of mortals. A mortal forms an image (*šurah*) but cannot infuse it with spirit and soul, inwards and intestines. But the Holy One, blessed be He, forms an image within an image and gives it spirit and soul, innards and intestines. Say then that *Neither is there any rock (šur) like our God* (1 Sam 2:2) [is to be read] *Neither is there any artisan (šayyar) like our God*’ (B.T. Ber. 10a). This means that even though they worship idols and images (*šurot*) at certain hours²¹⁵ to cause the heavenly influence to descend, they will be of no help or avail. For if the heavenly configurations (*šurot*) really have the power to preserve the species and to exalt (to distinguish *E*) individuals at their most propitious moment, they cannot bestow spirit or soul nor debase a nation that is on the ascendant.²¹⁶

Rimoch’s theme, then, is that through intellectual training one learns that the tenets of ‘Averroism’ are false,²¹⁷ that only calling upon God and not upon astrology or talismans is efficacious. One learns, as we have seen, that afflictions are not a proof of God’s absence or nonexistence; they are evidence of His existence and involvement.

Now this holds true for the people of Israel. As long as they fear God and understand that trouble comes from Him and they shout and cry to Him with all their might, they are answered immediately as was their father Jacob. The psalmist said *Praise him* (Ps 22:24), i.e., exert yourselves in acquiring wisdom until you understand that He is praiseworthy and praiseworthy means distinguished in status over the three levels of the intellect, the intellect of the angels, the intellect of the spheres, and the human intellect. *Stand in awe of him, all you the seed of Israel* (ibid.), i.e., fear Him alone and not an angel or a seraph or any other power but shout unto Him and pray for you are the seed of Israel exalted above the angels.²¹⁸

VII

The religious history of Iberian Jewry has been written on the basis of records such as those that Rimoch has left us. But religious history of this sort is by definition intellectual history and intellectual history is the history of an elite,

²¹⁴ On Ps 144:8, E 10v. See Shatzmiller, *ibid.*, *passim*.

²¹⁵ On Ps 15:2, E 318v; Ps 115:4, B 199v; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, p. 145.

²¹⁶ On Ps 135:17, B 229r, E 229r; cf. *comm.* on Ps 15:2, E 318v.

²¹⁷ On Ps 19:18, B 35v.

²¹⁸ On Ps 22:24, B 41r-v; cf. *comm.* on Ps 22:20, B 41r; Ps 39:11, B 77v.

not of a people. Rimoch was proud of his elitism: *'I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart* (Ps 9:2) for He has separated me from those who err in their corrupt opinions and from those who follow their lusts and has given me the strength to know and understand the workings of nature ... and he said *with my whole heart* since this is a great perfection in man and a ladder upon which to ascend to the intelligibles.'²¹⁹ Rimoch's commentary abounds with references to the righteous one, the *ṣaddiq*, the saint, the *ḥasid*, or the perfect one, the *shalem*, through whom God performs His wonders and righteous deeds for Israel,²²⁰ who prays for them to save them from their anguish, who intercedes for his generation and the building of the Temple,²²¹ and who teaches the principles of wisdom.²²² The *shalem* is the elite whom God has set apart. He is the Lord's anointed²²³ and unique in his generation.²²⁴

There was a certain delectation in Rimoch's brand of elitism, to the extent that he thought that the rejoicing of the perfect one in intellectual contemplation would serve as an example to others. Yet if there was a nuance of joy and if he was proud of his elitism, he did, as we have seen, bewail it as well in larmoyant tones: *'I am solitary and afflicted* (Ps 25:16). I need your grace (*ḥinneḳha*) and your mercy for I am solitary in my generation for the majority of men pursue physical pleasures and the accumulation of possessions and I am alone among them, alienated from their ways, for my only object is intellectual contemplation and the survival of the soul.'²²⁵ The world of the *shalem*, of the perfect, was a lonely world and a frightening world. Although it is the task of most mortals to serve the perfect,²²⁶ his world is actually peopled by those who always wish to cause him to desert his faith,²²⁷ who curse him,²²⁸ who betray, oppose, oppress, and torment him.²²⁹ He is despised because he is wise,²³⁰ for 'it is the nature of the ignorant to hate the wise'²³¹ and 'the sages and elders are cut off from the rest of the people'.²³² He is despised because the wicked are envious of his tranquility and beatitude,²³³ because he faithfully observes the command-

²¹⁹ On Ps 9:2, B 15r.

²²⁰ On Ps 40:4, B 78r; Ps 44:6, B 84v.

²²¹ On Ps 84:10, B 151v; Ps 123:1, B 220v.

²²² On Ps 119:98, B 213r.

²²³ On Ps 2:2, B 5r.

²²⁴ On Ps 28:8, B 52r; Ps 39:1, B 76r-v.

²²⁵ On Ps 25:16, B 47v.

²²⁶ On Ps 2:8, B 6r.

²²⁷ On Ps 62:4, B 111v; cf. comm. on Ps 86:14, B 154r; Ps 140:6, B 233v.

²²⁸ On Ps 62:5, 6, B 111v-112r.

²²⁹ On Ps 39:1, B 76r.

²³⁰ On Ps 45:2, B 86r.

²³¹ On Ps 62:5, B 110v-111r.

²³² On Ps 107:32, E 69r.

²³³ On Ps 112:10, B 197v.

ments²³⁴ and truly comprehends them.²³⁵ He is not believed.²³⁶ He is afflicted, hated, and envied by others.²³⁷ His death is sought²³⁸ just as the pious one in every generation always lives on the verge of perishing.²³⁹ He is the universal object of derision. Where Kimhi takes the object of *All that see me shall laugh at me* (Ps 22:8) as Israel, Rimoch views it personally:

All that see me laugh at and scorn me among themselves even if they do not know me. They say to each other: You see so-and-so? How worthless he is! How despicable he is! How miserable he is!²⁴⁰

All one can do is to attempt to rise above it all, but no matter how high one might rise or the higher one would indeed rise, they would always be there, as he puts it, 'intending to topple the perfect one from his faith, his loftiness, and his stature'.²⁴¹

Rimoch's elitism, his distancing himself from the vast majority of his fellow Jews, was his way of coming to terms with the shock caused by the events of 1391 and of Tortosa, a traumatization which might now be more usefully described by Robert Jay Lifton's concept of 'psychic numbing', a reaction to catastrophe which 'is a form of desensitization ... an incapacity to feel or confront certain kinds of experience, due to the blocking or absence of inner forms or imagery that can connect with such experience.'²⁴² Although Lifton's concept emerged from his work with victims of Hiroshima, his illustrative quotation from Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* is strikingly relevant for our context:

No matter how much we may shrink with horror from certain situations – of a galley slave in antiquity, of a peasant during the Thirty Years' War, of a victim of the Holy Inquisition, of a Jew awaiting a pogrom – it is nevertheless impossible for us to feel our way into such people, to divine the changes which original obtuseness of mind, a gradual stupefying process, the cessation of expectations and cruder or more refined methods of narcotization have produced upon their receptivity to sensations of pleasure and unpleasure. Moreover, in the case of the

²³⁴ On Ps 27:12, B 57r.

²³⁵ On Ps 119:97, B 283r.

²³⁶ On Ps 62:4, B 110v.

²³⁷ On Ps 31:11, B 56v; cf. comm. on Ps 34:9, B 64r; Ps 62:6, B 111r.

²³⁸ Ps 34:20, B 65v; cf. comm. on Ps 35:1, B 66r; Ps 69:8, B 121v-122r.

²³⁹ Ps 12:1-2, E 317v.

²⁴⁰ On Ps 22:8, B 39v.

²⁴¹ On Ps 62:5-6, B 110v-111v.

²⁴² R. J. Lifton, 'The Sense of Immortality: On Death and the Continuity of Life' in R. J. Lifton and E. Colson, *Explorations in Psychohistory. The Wellfleet Papers* (New York, 1974), p. 273; see most recently R. J. Lifton and R. Falk, *Indefensible Weapons. The Political and Psychological Case against Nuclearism* (Toronto, 1982), chap. 10.

most extreme possibility of suffering, special mental protective devices are brought into operation.²⁴³

The withdrawal of Abraham Rimoch was and was to be symptomatic of not a small sector of Iberian Jewry – be it in his retreat and that of many of his contemporaries among the professing Jews after 1391 or in the form of crypto-Judaism. Cecil Roth finds that ‘the tradition of crypto-Judaism was so protracted, and so general, that one almost suspects some predisposition to it in the very atmosphere of the country.’²⁴⁴ Yet one can be more precise. Viewing this tradition in the context of the *histoire des mentalités*, it may be said that a series of apparently unrelated but functionally similar regimes of intolerance (the Visigothic, the Almohad, the Inquisition²⁴⁵) produced a collective mentality which could surface whenever reevoked despite the passage of centuries.²⁴⁶ As courageous (or foolhardy, the line is very thin) as the defiance of the crypto-Jews may have been, as courageous as Abraham Rimoch may have seen himself, the former did not have the power nor the latter the programme to promote the survival of Iberian Jewry.

Unlike some of his confreres at Tortosa, Rimoch remained loyal to Judaism but the price of his loyalty was religious ankylosis and atrophy. In his traumatization, he took refuge in a worn-out and hackneyed Maimonideanism which could at best reassure him and his circle alone. Rimoch looked askance at all those who did not share his lofty spirituality – those who were for him the masses – for it is the elite, is it not, which always has the privilege of defining who the masses are. Yet it was those very ‘masses’ – artisans, craftsmen, merchants, and those who played one of the most crucial roles of all, women,²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Lifton and Colson, *Explorations*, pp. 283-84.

²⁴⁴ C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 7.

²⁴⁵ Jacques Le Goff observes that mentalities or, more properly, *mentalités* (see his ‘Les mentalités: une histoire ambiguë’ in J. Le Goff and P. Nora, eds., *Faire de l’histoire*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1979], 3.88) survive in such a way that ‘ce qui semble dénué de racines, né de l’improvisation et du réflexe, gestes machinaux, paroles irréfléchies, vient de loin et témoigne du long retentissement des systèmes de pensée’ (ibid., p. 81). For ‘les hommes se servent des machines qu’ils inventent en gardant les mentalités d’avant ces machines. Les automobilistes ont un vocabulaire de cavaliers, les ouvriers d’usines du xix^e siècle la mentalité de paysans qu’étaient leurs pères et leurs grands-pères. La mentalité est ce qui change le plus lentement. Histoire des mentalités, histoire de la lenteur dans l’histoire’ (ibid., pp. 81-82).

²⁴⁶ It is not without interest that in 1938, despite its pretensions of liberality towards the Jews, Spain’s latest regime of repression, that of Franco, placed its small Jewish community in ‘legal limbo’ and once again forced them underground religiously by its abolition of the 1931 constitution. See H. Avni, *Spain, the Jews, and Franco*, trans. E. Shimoni (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 68.

²⁴⁷ Cf. the formulation of Baer, *History* 2.442 f. On the role of women as staunch preservers of Judaism, see the eloquent testimony of Joseph Jabez, cited in Baer, ibid. 2.509 n. 11. It is significant that women assumed the leadership roles in the post-expulsion *converso* movement. This phenomenon, which deserves extensive treatment, has only begun to be investigated.

as well as intellectuals of a rather different stamp, the practicing kabbalists and traditionalists, the Joseph Jabez, the Abraham Sabas, and the Isaac Abravanel²⁴⁸ – who did not ascend to an intellectual empyrean but with sack in hand went off to new lands in Africa, Europe and the Near East and thereby ensured and brought about a physical and spiritual renewal of Sephardic Jewry. Ultimately, it was because of them and not because of the Abraham Rimochs that the traditions and culture of medieval Sepharad remain alive today.

²⁴⁸ See Baer, *ibid.* 2.426 ff.

APPENDIX A

Abraham Rimoch's Introduction to His Commentary on the Psalms

The following text is based on B, fols. 2v-3r. Supplements to the introduction found in E and not in B are printed in angular brackets < >. Editorial additions appear in square brackets. The apparatus is presented in Hebrew for technical ease of printing.

2ב	<....> עֲלוּלוֹת	אֲשֶׁר עֲבָדוּ יִתְמָךְ
	<וְאֶשְׁאֵל> עֶזְרַת פְּעוּלוֹת	כָּלֵב שִׁפְלָה וְנִמְוֶה
	<לִהְיוֹת> לְגַם לְכָלוֹת	כִּיד יִמִּינִי יִסְמָךְ
	<....> אֶהְיֶה פְּרוֹשׁ תְּהִלּוֹת	לְאַבְרָהָם בֶּן רִמּוֹךְ
5	<אֶבְאֵר> בְּמִלּוֹת	לְאַנְשֵׁי סִגְלוֹת
	וְנִתְּנָה גְבוּלוֹת	וְרִבֵּי פְעֻלוֹת
	וְיִזְדָּרְךָ תַּחֲלוֹת	וּבְיָדוֹ לְמִלָּאוֹת
	וְכָל הַפְּעֻלוֹת	לְשִׁכְלֵי מַגְלוֹת
	<וּבְקוֹל הַמְּלֹאֲכָת>	וְאִם הֵם נְעוּלוֹת
10	וְאֵל הַנְּעֻלּוֹת	לְדוֹרֵכֵי מְסֻלוֹת
	וּמַצִּיב גְבוּלוֹת	אֶמְרוֹת מַעֲלוֹת
	יִקְבֵּל פְּעֻלוֹת	

אמר אברהם ב"ר חיים זללה בן רמוך:

יען ילדי הזמן הלאוני הכוני פצעוני עד השברים רדפוני מנוחה הדריכוני יחיד ובודד שמוני ממקום למקום הדיחוני ומארץ מולדתי גרשוני היא ברצלונה ההוללה אשר שם יולדי הורוני ומפחד הגזרות והשמדות משם הוציאוני ובמלכות אראגון במדינת ברבשתר הושיבוני, ואשב שם כשלשים וחמש שנה בנפש דוה ומתאוננה ברוח נכאה ומרה [כא] יש הוכה בשבט עברה ראה עני. ועם כל זה נתישבתי במעוני ושמתי [...] בקוני ותורתו היתה אומנותי שיחתי ומעני להסיר אנחתי [...] קץ הימים האלה בחשבי אתבודד בעיוני אשקטה ואביטה [...] מ]דושתי וכן גרני. והנה צרה צרורה דכאני כעפר לדרוש שמני [...] חדש נתחדשו גזרותיו אכלני הממני ומכל טוב הדיחני.

3א ויביאני למאסר ולבית הועז קראני עם שאר החכמים וראשי הקהלות להתוכח עם האפיפיור ועם חכמיו הביאני. ונהי שם ימים רבים עד אשר במצורף הבחינה בחנני. ובראותי כי רבים

1 עלולות] ב עלילות אשר עבדו יתמך] על-פי יש' מב א 3 ביד ימיני יסמך] על-פי תה' סו ט 6 וביד למלאת] ד"ה א כט ה 9 נעולות] ב נעלות 10 ובקול המלות] על-פי יר' יא טז, יח' א כד 11 ומציב גבולות] על-פי תה' עד יז.

מגדולינו המירו כבודם באמרם איש לרעהו 'אבדה תקוה אין רואני'. עמדתי משמים וכמעט כלני הצע[ר] ההוא ואברח לנפשי ובטחתי בחסדי יי' להושיעני ועזבתי את ביתי נטשתי את נחלתי הוני וממוני בני ובנותי וראשית אוני אוהבי וקרובי וכל קנייני. ובעת ההיא גזרו עלינו להסיר ממנו חמדת תורתנו וכל ספרי תפלתנו ויתנום בבית אלהיהם ויחמסו תורתי לעיני ונשארתי דך ומך דל [...]. ואחרי כן נתישבתי עם תלמידים מהשרידים אשר קרבוני האוהבים והמיחדים אשר אהבוני והתחלתי לקרוא ספר תהלות להודות לאלהי אשר הצילני ומכל צרה חלצני ולזמן הזה הגיעני ומצד חסרון הספרים לבי העירני לפרש זה הספר בהשגתי ועיוני ומהאל אשר מצרה פדאני אשאל לעזרני ובדרך אמת ינחני ועומק הדברים יבינני כענין שאמר המשורר 'הבינני ואצרה תורתך ואשמרנה בכל לב' (תהלים קיט עג).

APPENDIX B

Philological Data concerning MS. B

ms. B, the Spanish codex, contains a number of vernacular terms in Catalan and Aragonese which ms. E, the Italian ms., omitted or altered. The mixture of languages is not surprising since Rimoch came originally from Barcelona, and probably from a Catalan-speaking home, although he grew up in Barbastro (which appears in the introduction [fol. 2v] with the Catalan pronunciation Barbastre [BRBSTR]). Catalan, as language of the court, left its mark in a number of places, especially on semilearned words. The terms are given in their Catalan or Aragonese forms, asterisked if undocumented, followed by a transcription of the Hebrew consonants, an English translation, and a brief discussion of how they are used.

(1) *'aluia', 'LWY' (fol. 75r, Ps 38:9), 'howl'. The term, undocumented in this form, would seem to be a variant of Castilian 'aúllo'. It is used to translate Hebrew 'nahamah'.

(2) *'aluiar', 'LWY'R (fol. 100v, Ps 55:3), 'to howl'. Although undocumented it would seem to be a variant of Castilian 'aullar', 'emitir el lobo su voz natural', 'ladrar el perro a manera del lobo'. 'aiular' exists in Berceo, although in the sense of 'lamentarse', i.e., 'ululate', so that this may be a variant of such a form. See J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1954), s.v. 'aullar'. It is used to explain the Hebrew 'homeh'.

(3) 'Aragon', 'R'GWN (fol. 2v, introd.). The place-name Aragon. Aragonese form.

(4) 'Barbastre', BRBSTR (fol. 2v, introd.). The place-name Barbastre. Catalan form. Aragonese form would be Barbastro.

(5) 'Barcelona', BRŠLWNH (fol. 2v, introd.). The place-name Barcelona which could be Catalan or Aragonese.

(6) 'caracol', Q'R'QWL (fol. 105r, Ps 58:9), 'snail', Aragonese. It translates Hebrew 'shablul'.

(7) 'dubte', DWPTY (fol. 15v, Ps 88:16), 'doubt' in Catalan. The 'b' of the Latin spelling is etymological while the 'p' of the Hebrew alphabet spelling is phonetic, representing the unvoiced stop. The context is: 'Now the word *'afunah* means that I say perhaps (*pen*) this affliction will come upon me or perhaps (*pen*) this disease will come upon me. In the vernacular, DWPTY.'

(8) 'guardu', see below, no. 12 'miré guardu'.

(9) 'liri', LYRY (fol. 86r, Ps 45:1), 'lily'. There is a play on words here. The psalm is headed 'al shoshannim', 'shoshannim', lit. 'lilies', being the name of a musical mode or instrument. Rimoch seems to be playing on 'liri', the Catalan word for 'lily' (the word here has vocalic pointing so the pronunciation is not in doubt) and Catalan 'lira' or Aragonese 'lira', 'lyre', the name of an actual instrument.

(10) *'marmre', MRMR' (fol. 56r, Ps 114:8), 'marble'. This would seem to be an undocumented form of Catalan 'marbre'.

(11) 'miré guardu', MYRY GW'RDW (these words have vocalic pointing and their pronunciation is not in doubt) (fol. 156v, Ps 88:16), 'I looked; I am on guard'. Aragonese. Continuation of the passage in no. 9 above. 'It seems likely to me that *'afunah* means *I have borne Your terrors* to the point that I am constantly turning (*poneh*) this way and that lest enemies kill me or capture me – in the vernacular MYRY GW'RDW.'

(12) 'rematar', RYM'T'R (fol. 65v, Ps 34:22), 'to finish off (putting someone to death)'. Catalan or Aragonese. Used to explain Hebrew 'temotet'. 'It refers to one who is incurably ill or wounded so that they hasten to kill him prematurely ... RYM'T'R in the vernacular.'

(13) 'soberbios', SWBRBYWS (fol. 58v, Ps 31:24), 'proud'. Aragonese. Taken to refer to those who behave more proudly than is proper.

(14) 'sobre mis costas comen y gastan', SWBRY MYS KW'YST'S KWMYN Y G'ST'N (fol. 224r, Ps 129:3). 'On my shoulders [i.e., at my expense], they eat and spend'. Aragonese. Used as an illustrative parallel to the verse, *The ploughers ploughed upon my back*.

(15) 'tremuntana', TRYMWNTN' (fol. 189r, Ps 107:24), common medieval variant of Catalan 'tramuntana', used here in the sense of 'north star'. See A. M. Alcover and F. de B. Moll, *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Palma de Mallorca, 1962), s.v. 'tramuntana'. Cf. Rimoch: 'The meaning is that seafarers always look at the stars and especially at one star which is the north pole which they call *tremuntana*' with Ramon Llull, *Cont.* 117.13 cited in *DCVB*: 'Veem que los mariners com van per la mar que's guien per la tremuntana.'²⁴⁹

Other relevant philological data are:

(1) The explanation of terms for spices in Ps 45:9 (fol. 87v), 'mor', 'ahalot', 'qeš'iot' by the Arabic '*musk*', '*sandal*' and '*al-ʿanbar*'.

(2) The use of vernacular calques as was current in the Hebrew of the time.

- a. '*hen*' used in the sense of '*gracia*' (Ps 25:16, fol. 41v; Ps 56:3, fol. 96r; Ps 67:2, fol. 117v).
- b. '*adon*' in the sense of 'Lord', 'sennor' (Ps 25:20, fol. 41r; Ps 46:5, fol. 80r).
- c. *gan ʿedno* in the sense of *su paradiso* (Ps 25:14, fol. 47v).
- d. *yeshaʿ* in the Christian sense of salvation (Ps 50:33, fol. 49v).
- e. *gufanit* in the sense of *corporealiter* (Ps 1:3, fol. 4v).
- f. *she-ʿeino mishtammesh mi-ḥushav* instead of *be-ḥushav*, i.e., 'que no se sirve de ...' (Ps 78:69, fol. 144r).

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²⁴⁹ I should like to thank my colleague and mentor in Hispanic philology, Professor J. Gulsoy of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Toronto, for reviewing this list and for clarifying several obscurities.

A FABLIAU IN THE *PROLOGUE TO THE TALE OF BERYN*

Bradley Darjes and Thomas Rendall

THE anonymous *Tale of Beryn* (c. 1425) is a supplementary Canterbury tale linked to the original sequence by a prologue which attempts to continue the characterizations of the pilgrims. The *Tale* itself has few points of interest, but its *Prologue* constitutes part of what C. S. Lewis has called the small harvest of fifteenth-century poems which imitate Chaucer's comic and realistic style.¹

Prompted by Chaucer's incomplete account of the pilgrimage, the *Beryn* author begins by describing how the company, upon arriving at its goal, takes up lodgings at the Cheker of the Hope Inn, and, following breakfast, visits the Cathedral. The Knight and more serious characters go directly to the shrine and their devotions, but the Miller and his companions linger in the nave to speculate comically upon the significance of the figures in the stained glass. When they have kissed the relics and made their offerings, the pilgrims return to the street to buy Canterbury brooches, which the Miller, Pardoner, and Summoner attempt to shoplift. After lunch, the group disperses to various recreations: the Knight and Squire to inspect the fortifications of the city; the Monk, Parson, and Friar to visit a friend and sample his wine; and the Wife of Bath and Prioress to walk in the garden. After a supper that lasts well into the night, most of the pilgrims retire, but the churls continue to drink until their carousing angers the Host, and they also are all persuaded to go to bed. All, that is, except the Pardoner, who has earlier made an arrangement to meet Kitt, the tapster of the inn.

Although the *Beryn Prologue* is always mentioned in literary histories and frequently cited for the background it provides on medieval pilgrimage-going, it

¹ *The Allegory of Love. A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford, 1936; rpt. New York, 1958), p. 162. The *Prologue and Tale of Beryn* are found in a manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* (Alnwick [Northumberland], Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland Collection 455). Although the date of the poem's composition is uncertain, it is very likely to have been written within a generation of Chaucer's death. The only modern edition of *Beryn*, by F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone (EETS ES 105; London, 1909, rpt. New York, 1973), is marred by inaccuracies and unwarranted interpolations of words and phrases in an attempt to regularize the meter. Quotations in this article are based on the authors' own reediting of the text; line numbers correspond to those in Furnivall and Stone's edition.

has seldom received detailed analysis. In 1933 E. J. Bashe surveyed the extent to which its characterizations of the pilgrims show an understanding of Chaucer's intentions in the *Tales*, and more recently Stephan Kohl has used the *Prologue* as evidence for a purported change in world view between Chaucer's time and the fifteenth century.²

No one, however, has discussed the presence within the *Prologue* of a full-length, self-contained fabliau, the existence of which is in itself worthy of examination if we consider that so few attempts were made in this genre after Chaucer's death.³ Moreover, the fabliau in the *Beryn Prologue* is centered around a figure who has presented a greater puzzle to modern readers than any other Chaucerian character: the Pardoner. In the first and longer part of this article, we offer an analysis of the Cheker of the Hope adventure in terms of the fabliau tradition, with particular attention to the use which the author makes of his sources in the *Canterbury Tales*.⁴ In the second part we consider the implications that the *Prologue*'s presentation has for modern interpretations of the Pardoner's character.

I

Even a brief summary of the Pardoner's escapade reveals a plot entirely typical of the fabliau. On his arrival at the inn, he immediately becomes

² E. J. Bashe, 'The Prologue of *The Tale of Beryn*', *Philological Quarterly* 12 (1933) 1-16. Kohl's views are presented in a paper ('Chaucer's Pilgrims in Fifteenth Century Literature') read at the International Fifteenth Century Symposium, Regensburg, 11-15 August 1982.

³ Well over half the *Prologue* (437 out of 731 lines) is devoted to the Pardoner's adventure with the Tapster. This makes the *Beryn* fabliau longer than, for example, the *Reeve's* and *Friar's Tales* (403 and 407 lines). Of the seventeen later Middle English 'humorous tales' listed by Wells in his *Manual*, only a few fall within even a generously broad definition of the fabliau (John Edwin Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400*, 1 vol. with 9 supplements [New Haven, 1916-51], 1.180). Beside the Pardoner's adventure in the *Beryn Prologue*, the Scots *Freiris of Berwick* is the most spirited fabliau-like narrative of the fifteenth century, but its debt to Chaucer's work is doubtful (in the apocrypha section of *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. W. M. MacKenzie [London, 1932; rpt. 1960], pp. 182-95). Less successful are *The Miller of Abingdon*, which resembles the *Reeve's Tale* (in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 4 vols. [London, 1864-66], 3.100-18) and *The Prohemy of a Mariage Betwix an Olde Man and a Yonge Wife*, which is an explicit emulation of the *Merchant's Tale* (in *A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell [London, 1840], pp. 27-46; the authorship of the poem is unknown).

⁴ The *Beryn* author was an assiduous reader of Chaucer, and echoes of the master's lines in the *Prologue* fabliau range from the tag 'this goith wele' (l. 345; see *MillT* 3115, 3743) to a series of borrowings from the great love scene of *Troilus and Criseyde* in the Pardoner's second meeting with Kitt ('Nowe, sith yee be my prisoner, yeld yewe now!' [l. 317; cf. *TC* 3.1207-1208] and "How have yee fare?" ... "I have ifarid the wers for yewe" [ll. 333, 337; cf. *TC* 3.1563-64]). The reader of the *Prologue* will recognize many other such echoes; in the present study, only the most significant parallels with Chaucer's work are traced.

acquainted with barmaid Kitt. She leads him on by showing him her empty bed in the taproom, where she claims to have slept alone since the death of her lover. This causes the Pardoner to console her and eventually to profess his affection for her. He then rejoins the company for the visit to the Cathedral. In a second taproom scene, Kitt continues her seduction of the Pardoner. He returns and finds her 'liggyng liryng [stretched out?]' (l. 310) in bed and pretending to sleep. After further conversation, he makes an arrangement to meet with her that night, giving her money for wine and supper. But when the appointed time comes, he discovers that the door to the room is locked and that she is enjoying the meal with her paramour. When the Pardoner angrily curses her and vows revenge, the Paramour beats him and, together with the Hosteler of the inn, chases him. Both pursuers are injured in the ensuing melee in the dark, and the Pardoner escapes but then encounters a watchdog and is forced to spend the night in its litter. Here are the salient features of the fabliau: a fast-moving, realistically developed, comic short story whose characters are of the lower social ranks and whose plot involves sexual intrigue, deception, and revenge.

Since the *Beryn* author is obviously trying to emulate Chaucer, his fabliau should be evaluated not only in the broad context of the traditional form but also by the higher standard set by the *Canterbury Tales*. The traditional fabliaux are characterized by sparseness of particularizing detail, while Chaucer's tend to greater elaboration, both in descriptions of setting and of people. In this respect, the *Beryn* fabliau is, if anything, even more abbreviated than the French originals. As in these, only the details of setting are mentioned which have 'practical utility in the action'.⁵ The *Beryn* writer notes only Kitt's bed, the door to her room, the Pardoner's staff, the kitchen utensils with which he arms himself for his battle with the Paramour and the Hosteler, and the lair of the watchdog under the staircase. It is interesting that the author attempts to use the Pardoner's staff as a unifying plot motif equivalent to the 'shot wyndowe' in the *Miller's Tale* or the baby in its cradle in the *Reeve's Tale*. He has the Pardoner first bring the staff to the Tapster on his arrival (l. 22), ask for it back when locked out of her room (l. 520), and then be beaten with it by the Paramour in the concluding brawl (ll. 524-530). But compared to Chaucer's handling of such detail, the recurrence seems obvious and mechanical. There is also in the *Beryn* fabliau a complete absence of physical description of any of the characters, even in the rudimentary manner of the French stories. This is perhaps understandable in the case of the Pardoner, for Chaucer has already provided a sketch of his appearance. But the other characters, Kitt, the Paramour, and the Hosteler, would benefit from at least some individualizing traits.

⁵ Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition. A Study in Style and Meaning* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1957), p. 60.

The reluctance to deal with 'low' subject matter, which prevented most of the *Beryn* author's contemporaries from even attempting the fabliau, is shown in his gingerly treatment of the earthier aspects of the genre. There is none of the open sexual or scatological humor that enlivens many of the French fabliaux or such stories as the *Miller's* or *Summoner's Tales*. Despite the fundamentally sexual theme of the Pardoner's adventure, there is never anything more than the implied possibility of sex. It is true that Chaucer's fabliaux of this type do not detail sexual activity with pornographic explicitness, but such activity is described as definitely taking place. The Pardoner's rage at the Paramour and Kitt might seem funnier if the latter two had been engaged in lovemaking – as are Nicholas and Alisoun when Absolon arrives – rather than simply eating the Pardoner's supper. This kind of humor, because it has a capacity to shock, gives spice to the fabliaux, but this spice is lacking in *Beryn*.

The writer is more successful in fulfilling the fabliau precedent of realistically representing everyday speech. In a passage like the following, in which Kitt coaxes a proposition out of the Pardoner, there is a convincing naturalness of diction and rhythm:

Thought the Pardoner, 'this goith wele', and made hire better chere,
 And axid of hir sofftly, 'Lord, who shall ligg here
 This nyghte that is to comyng? I prey yew tell me.'
 'Iwis it is grete nede to tell yew', quod she.
 'Make it nat ovir queynt, thoughe yee be a clerk;
 Ye know wel inough iwis, by loke, by word, by work!'
 'Shal I com then, Cristian, and fese away the cat?'
 'Shul yee com, sir? Benedicite! What question is that?'
 (ll. 345-352)

The oaths ('Lord', '*benedicite*'), the probable pun on *queynt*, the repetition ('Shul I com then', 'Shul yee com, sir?'), the interjections ('I prey yew', 'iwis'), the common name in direct address ('Cristian'), and, above all, the slangy indirection of 'fese [*drive*] away the cat' (cf. *SumT* 1775)⁶ give this exchange a combination of colloquialism and wit approaching that of the best passages of Chaucer.

As Muscatine and others have pointed out, one of the most significant improvements of Chaucer's fabliaux over their continental models is their greater depth of characterization. And it is here that the achievement of the *Beryn* author is most impressive as well as his debt to Chaucer greatest and most revealing.

⁶ *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1957). All further references to the works of Chaucer will be to this edition.

In choosing the Pardoner from the cast of characters bequeathed by the *Canterbury Tales* as the central figure of his fabliau, the writer immediately had at hand a wealth of detail about his protagonist. The Pardoner is carefully described in the *General Prologue*, and he reveals more about his personality in his lengthy confessional prologue than does any other pilgrim except the Wife of Bath. At the same time, there are ambiguities in Chaucer's portrait which have inspired conflicting opinions on the Pardoner's nature and which raise questions concerning the appropriateness of the role the fifteenth-century author assigns to him. The key to understanding the *Beryn Prologue's* treatment of the Pardoner, and of the other major character of the story, Kitt, is to be found in an examination of the sources that the author drew on in Chaucer's fabliaux.

The plot of the *Beryn* fabliau, as has been noted, is typical of the genre. There are a number of analogues, but the one story to which it bears the closest resemblance is Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, and, more specifically, the subplot of the *Miller's Tale* involving Absolon.⁷ The basic situation of both the Pardoner

⁷ The *Beryn* writer was evidently aware of at least one of the analogues of the *Miller's Tale*; he possibly even had access to Chaucer's original source. This is revealed by study of a later Italian analogue, Masuccio's 'Viola and Her Lovers', written in 1476, which shares elements with the *Beryn Prologue* not found in the *Miller's Tale*.

In Masuccio's story, Viola makes arrangements with three different men to meet with her on the same night. The first of these is a Genoese merchant (*The Literary Context of Chaucer's Fabliaux. Texts and Translations*, ed. and trans. Larry D. Benson and Theodore M. Andersson [Indianapolis-New York, 1971], p. 29):

He asked her sweetly to await him that night with dinner and lodging, making her the most extravagant promises, as is the custom in such arrangements, so that Viola without further delay told him to rest content, but to come late enough at night so as not to be seen by anyone in the neighborhood. The Genoese replied joyfully, 'Farewell in God's name!' And leaving her he went off hurriedly to the Loggia ... and bought two extra-large capons - big, white, and fat - and together with fresh bread and several excellent wines had them sent secretly to the young woman's house.

This is strikingly similar to the Pardoner's agreement with Kitt. Just as Viola does, Kitt readily accedes to the Pardoner's request, at the same time warning him to come 'somewhat late' and to be careful to 'wake not hem on lofft' (ll. 354-356). The Pardoner reacts to these instructions in the same gleeful manner as the Genoese and like him arranges for a meal to be available at the rendezvous.

The Genoese suffers an ignominious fate as the reward for his generosity. He is interrupted in the middle of his meeting with Viola by her second lover, a friar, and is forced to wait outside in a window box while tormented by the wind and rain. While Viola and the friar make love, the Genoese sees 'everything through the cracks in the window' and is 'afflicted with chagrin, with the fear of being detected, and with the terrible cold'. He is too afraid to jump down in the dark and waits for the friar to go away. Viola's third lover, the smith, later arrives for his appointment, and the friar plays the trick of the misdirected kiss on him. The smith in turn repays him with the red-hot iron. The uproar caused by this compels the Genoese to attempt escape, but he falls on a rock and breaks his leg in several places.

In comparing this denouement with that of the *Miller's Tale* and the *Beryn Prologue*, we notice how each author has reworked similar material in his own way. The element common to

and Absolon can be described as follows: an ardent suitor is tricked by the object of his desire into the belief that his love will be returned. In a sudden reversal, however, he discovers she has another lover and he suffers complete humiliation. Thus stated, the similarity might be considered too general to indicate a significant relationship. Certain key elements of Absolon's role, such as the misdirected kiss and his use of the red-hot iron, are absent from the *Beryn* fabliau. But the debt the *Beryn* writer owes to the *Miller's Tale* lies not so much in the details of plot as in the characterization of his story's comic victim.

Both the Pardoner and Absolon are portrayed by Chaucer as markedly effeminate in appearance, and both are portrayed as interested, at least ostensibly, in the opposite sex. As the *General Prologue* describes the Pardoner, he has hair 'as yelow as wex' that hangs in thin clusters over his shoulders; he affects the latest fashion in dress; his eyes are glaring as a hare's; his voice is 'as smal as hath a goot'; and he is incapable of growing a beard (ll. 675-690). Similarly, Absolon has long blonde hair (*MillT* 3314-16), dresses in the newest style (ll. 3317-24) and has a high singing voice (l. 3332). Yet, in comic contrast to their obvious effeminacy, the Pardoner and Absolon both have pretensions to being great lovers. In his prologue, the Pardoner boasts of his desire to 'have a joly wenche in every toun' (l. 453). Absolon has the same ambition:

In all the toun nas brewhous ne taverne
That he ne visited with his solas,
Ther any gaylard tappestere was.
(*MillT* 3334-36)

The *Beryn* author develops this similarity between the two characters by having the Pardoner attempt to behave, as Absolon does, according to the conventions of *fin amour*. While Chaucer uses the courtly conception of love seriously in such works as *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale*, he also develops its comic possibilities to good effect, and nowhere better than in the figure of Absolon. This parish clerk imagines himself a knight in his pursuit of country-girl Alisoun, and the *Beryn Prologue* shows the Pardoner adopting the same course with Tapster Kitt. Both lovers protest their sufferings, Absolon saying that 'I may nat ete na moore than a mayde' (*MillT* 3707), and the Pardoner lamenting that 'I have no talent to ete in your absence' (l. 367).

all is the humiliation of the aspiring lover when he discovers the object of his ardor being enjoyed by another man. For the Pardoner and the Genoese, the humiliation is heightened by the fact that the meals they have paid for are also taken by their rivals. Masuccio typically reserves for the blacksmith the misdirected kiss and the use of the hot iron that Chaucer assigns to Absolon. The fate of the Genoese and the Pardoner are similar in that they suffer physical discomfort and abuse. The Genoese is forced to wait in the cold and rain and breaks a leg; the Pardoner catches cold, is bitten in the leg by a watchdog, and is compelled to spend the night in its bed.

Absolon casts 'many a lovely look' on Alisoun (l. 3342); the Pardoner behaves similarly towards Kitt – he 'unlasid his both eyen liddes, / And lokid hir in the visage paramour amyddis, / And sighid therewith a litil tyme' (ll. 67-69). Both ladies' favors are also begged in song: Absolon intones 'Now, deere lady, if thy wille be, / I praye yow that ye wole rewe on me' (ll. 3360-62), and the Pardoner offers 'now love, thou do me righte' (l. 70).

Despite their romance poses, both Absolon and the Pardoner also recognize a practical side to wooing. Absolon resorts to a multitude of gifts:

He sente hire pyment, meeth, and spiced ale,
And wafres, pipyng hoot out of the gleede;
And, for she was of town, he profred meede.
(ll. 3378-80)

The Pardoner similarly gives Kitt money for a late supper, along with 'cawdell imade with swete wyne, and with sugir also' (ll. 365-366). Such bribery contrasts comically, of course, with the exalted behavior expected of the romance lover. It also demonstrates the falseness of the image that Absolon and the Pardoner seek to present.

As the careful reader soon recognizes, both are in fact more in love with themselves than with the women they seem to covet. Absolon's fastidious attention to his personal appearance and to the correct practice of the art of seduction shows that he is more concerned with his own role as lover than with Alisoun. The Pardoner, consistent with Chaucer's conception of his nature, is revealed by the *Beryn* author to be motivated not only by vanity of Absolon's sort but also by vanity in his skill as a deceiver and by the further vice of avarice. After he has arranged his tryst with Kitt, he exults with characteristic cynicism and greed not so much that he will enjoy her love as that he will be better lodged than the rest of the pilgrims:

'I am iloggit', thought he, 'best, howesoevir it gone!
And thoughe it have costid me, yit wol I do my peyn
For to pike hir purs tonyghte and wyn my cost ageyn.'
(ll. 374-376)

The attempts of Absolon and the Pardoner to imitate the behavior of romance lovers are revealed as doubly ludicrous when we consider the women who are the objects of their attentions. Alisoun is not a lady of romance, but 'a small-town heroine', a 'delectable little animal who is not to be won by protracted artificial wooing'. She is a typical fabliau woman, 'quick witted, sensual, materialistic',⁸ susceptible only to the direct and aggressive approach

⁸ Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition*, pp. 229-30, 69.

practiced by Nicholas. Kitt can be described in similar terms.⁹ But while Alisoun and Kitt both conspire with their actual, down-to-earth lovers against their romance suitors, Kitt plays a more active role, and, of necessity, her character requires fuller development. Alisoun, primarily passive, the focus of desire who causes the men around her to make fools of themselves, has few lines (only twenty-three). It is enough that we know that she is physically attractive, and this Chaucer establishes in a brilliant introductory description (*MillT* 3233-70). In contrast, we learn nothing of Kitt's appearance, except for the fact that she, like Alisoun, wears a white apron (l. 33), yet she is given seventy-five lines of speech. Kitt's loquacity arises from the need to urge the Pardoner along, utilizing all her tricks to maneuver him into the clutches of her male cronies. While Alisoun's deceit is limited to the momentary inspiration of the misdirected kiss, Kitt is totally in command of the conspiracy against the Pardoner. She leads him on in two seduction scenes, and only at night informs her paramour of her plan. She instructs her lover to beat the Pardoner and warns him not to undress and to remain awake until all has been completed (ll. 466-471). The Paramour meekly follows her orders.

In placing Kitt in this active, commanding role, the *Beryn* writer takes as his model Chaucer's Wife of Bath. This is recognizable in the techniques of seduction employed by Kitt, which are mainly those described by the Wife in her prologue as she recounts the ensnarement of her fifth husband, the 'joly clerk, Jankyn' (l. 628). First, Kitt hauls the Pardoner into the tapstry to show him her empty bed and pretends grief over her deceased lover, weeping profusely and making 'rouful cher' (l. 39). The Wife pictures herself in the same way at her fourth husband's funeral: 'I weep algate, and made sory cheere' (*WB Prol* 588). But she admits that this was only a pose, for her mind was not on her past mate but on Jankyn, her prospective one:

As help me God! whan that I saugh hym go
After the beere, me thoughte he hadde a paire
Of legges and of feet so clene and faire
That al myn herte I yaf unto his hoold.

(ll. 596-599)

⁹ A preliminary idea of the Tapster's nature is given by the connotations of her name. *Kitt* is an abbreviated form of the name Catherine or, as in the case of the *Beryn Prologue*, Christian (l. 351). The OED goes on to point out that it is also a short form for the word *kittock*, which is 'a familiar or disrespectful term for a girl or young woman; esp. a woman of loose character, a wanton; a mistress' (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. James A. H. Murray et al., corr. edition [Oxford, 1933; rpt. New York, 1971], s.v. *kittock*). Later in the *Prologue*, the author says he does not want to offend the ladies of his audience by making a general criticism of women, but he will scold 'lewd kittis' and other such who deceive men (l. 443), and in the *Tale Beryn* curses the damsel who interrupts his gambling by telling him of his mother's death as a 'lewd kitt' (l. 1011).

Kitt's accusation that the Pardoner has conjured her with his 'nygromancy' (l. 339) is also part of the Wife's repertoire of tricks: 'I bar hym on honde he hadde enchanted me, - / My dame taughte me that soutiltee' (ll. 575-576).

Another method used by the Wife on Jankyn and borrowed by Kitt is the interpretation of a dream. The Wife describes her dream to Jankyn and interprets it herself:

And eek I seyde I mette of hym al nyght,
 He wolde han slayn me as I lay upright,
 And al my bed was ful of verray blood;
 But yet I hope that he shal do me good,
 For blood bitokeneth gold, as me was taught.
 And al was fals; I dremed of it right naught,
 But as I folwed ay my dames loore,
 As wel of this as of othere thynges moore.

(ll. 576-584)

Kitt, in turn, describes to the Pardoner how in her dream she was in a church, and that after mass, 'the preest and the clerk boystly bad me goon, / And put me out of the chirch with an egir [*angry*] mode' (ll. 104-105). Invited by Kitt to interpret this for her, the Pardoner predicts that she will have a husband, and that the 'preest that put yewe out of chirch shal lede yew in ageyn, / And help to yeur mariage with al his myghte and mayn' (ll. 113-114). In both instances, the dream reveals the true nature of the dreamer. The Wife's dream provides a warning of the future conflict between her and Jankyn, which ultimately leads to violence and her triumph over him. Kitt's dream indicates her immoral character, which cuts her off from the communion of the Church. But both dreams are interpreted contrary to their obvious meanings, and the two men both suffer because of their willful ignorance.

The parallel between the Wife's seduction of the clerk Jankyn and Kitt's seduction of the Pardoner is strengthened by Kitt's twice referring to the Pardoner as a clerk.¹⁰ Kitt says she mistrusts the Pardoner, 'Ffor evirmore yee clerkis con so much in book, / Yee woll wyn a vomman atte first look' (ll. 343-344). This obviously flatters the Pardoner and alludes to the notorious skill of clerks, such as Nicholas of the *Miller's Tale* or John and Aleyn of the *Reeve's Tale*, in sexual conquest. Calling the Pardoner a clerk may thus be Kitt's encouragement of him to act more directly, but he is emboldened only enough to ask who will sleep with her in the coming night, which elicits the reply, 'Make it not ovir queynt, thoughe yee be a clerk' (l. 349). The bantering tone of

¹⁰ The Pardoner could be described perhaps as a clerk, but only in the broadest medieval sense of one who can read and write.

this second use of the term hints at Kitt's real attitude. Her respect for the supposedly superior education of the Pardoner is only pretense. In fact she is confident of the superiority of feminine wiles over any amount of book learning. This attitude parallels the Wife of Bath's own disdain for scholarship and hints that the contest of wits between Kitt and the Pardoner will have the same disastrous outcome for the man as the final conflict between the Wife and her fifth husband.

The correspondence between the relationships of the Wife and Jankyn and Kitt and the Pardoner is confirmed by Kitt's assigning of the Wife's husband's name to the Pardoner. "'Jenken, I ween? I note [*know not*]. Is that your name, I yow prey?'" (ll. 62-63), she asks him at their first meeting. The Pardoner is not given a name by Chaucer, but, in the fabliau context, such a name becomes a necessity in order to allow the Tapster to address him on intimate terms.¹¹ As in Kitt's designating the Pardoner a clerk, her guess at his name has implications that are revealing of her attitude towards her would-be lover. Although the Pardoner is not a priest, his association with the Church may have inspired Kitt since priests were often called Sir John or Jankyn as a sign of contempt.¹² The *Beryn* author also uses the name elsewhere derisively for a layman.¹³ Such a connotation of ridicule is probably attached to the name here, but the name also has an additional significance. In a study of the suggestive use of names in Middle English poetry, Tauno Mustanoja notes that the name Jankyn was one of those that 'came to symbolize light-hearted and light-headed young people.'¹⁴ Such a fellow was Kitt's deceased lover Jenkyn Harpourt: 'from fete to the hede / Was nat a lustier persone to daunce ne to lepe' (ll. 30-31). In

¹¹ The possible validity of the reading found in several manuscripts at l. 318 of the *Pardoner's Prologue* – 'Thou beel amy, *John* Pardoner' – has been discussed by E. Talbot Donaldson (*Speaking of Chaucer* [London, 1970; rpt. New York, 1972], pp. 115-16). If this reading is accepted and the Host's use of *John* interpreted as evidence of his knowledge of the Pardoner's name and not simply an instance of derisive epithet (as discussed below), then perhaps Kitt has guessed correctly, for Jankyn is a diminutive or pet form of John. Lest there be any doubt about the Pardoner's name in the *Beryn Prologue*, it may be worth pointing out an error in the classroom anthology to which many readers owe their only knowledge of the poem. The translation 'Meanwhile the Miller filled his bosom with Canterbury brooches; *Hugh* the Pardoner and he privily put them afterward into their wallets' in Roger Sherman Loomis and Rudolph Willard's *Medieval English Verse and Prose in Modernized Versions* (New York, 1948), p. 376 (our emphasis) is due to a misreading of ll. 174-177: 'And in the meenwhile, the Miller had ipikid / His bosom ful of signys of Cauntirbury brochis, / *Huch* [*which*] the Pardoner and he pryvely in hir pouchis / They put hem afterward.'

¹² As when, for example, the Host addresses the Parson: 'O Jankin, be ye there?' (*MLT* 1172).

¹³ The hero is ridiculed by being addressed as 'Sir John' in the *Tale*, l. 2984.

¹⁴ 'The Suggestive Use of Christian Names in Middle English Poetry' in *Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies. Essays in Honor of Francis Lee Utley*, ed. Jerome Mendel and Bruce A. Rosenberg (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), p. 61.

addition to being the name of the handsome Oxford clerk whom the Wife eventually makes her fifth husband, the name occurs a second time in her prologue in a context which supports Mustanoja's contention that it was a common designation for an attractive young man. The Wife is demonstrating for the pilgrims how she would argue with a jealous husband:

And yet of oure apprentice Janekyn,
 For his criske heer, shynynge as gold so fyn,
 And for he squiereth me bothe up and down,
 Yet hastow caught a fals suspeciuun.
 I wol hym noght, though thou were deed tomorowe!
 (ll. 303-307)

The Pardoner's blond hair along with his fondness for display and courting the ladies superficially link him with these Jankyns of popular tradition. But whereas Jankyns in general are exactly what they appear to be, the Pardoner is merely attempting to pass himself off as such an amorous young swain. Kitt sees this. By guessing his name to be Jankyn, she seems to flatter him, but, on a deeper level, she is also challenging him to live up to the expectations that such a name carries with it. Despite the fact that the narrator himself later refers to the Pardoner as Jankyn (l. 357), perhaps catching some of Kitt's disrespect and irony, it is improbable that she could hit upon his actual name at first guess. That he readily agrees with her suggestion (ll. 63-64) indicates not that Jankyn is his real name, but that he is pleased to be recognized as a Jankyn and that he wishes to be thus identified in her mind with Jenkyn Harpourt, her late lover. Naturally, this is exactly how she intends him to think.

This ironic interplay between the Pardoner and Kitt is the *Beryn* author's most successful achievement in his fabliau. And, of course, the chief irony of the story as a whole is that of the ultimate deception of a man who, by his own confession in the *Tales*, is himself an arch-deceiver. From the first scene between the Pardoner and Kitt, the true nature of their relationship is made clear: 'For ethiris thought and tent was othir to begile' (l. 126). The decision to model the Pardoner's opponent in this contest of trickery on the Wife of Bath reveals what most readers of the *Tales* today would agree to be a fine insight. For who else of Chaucer's characters would be able to triumph over the Pardoner's deceit? Kitt, ostensibly a widow like the Wife, causes the Pardoner to present himself as a prospective husband in the hope of winning her favors. He attempts to fool her by a romance manner and feigned concern for her welfare; she responds with an equally false naiveté and esteem for his potential as a lover. But the Pardoner has met a younger version of the Wife of Bath, and through Kitt learns firsthand the Wife's 'praktike' about which he expresses such curiosity in the *Tales* (*WB Prolog* 187). The romantic cliché which he

addresses to Kitt early in the fabliau is revealed to possess an unexpected truth: 'Lo! howe the clowdis worchyn, eche man to mete his mach!' (l. 83).

It is evident from this discussion of the *Beryn* fabliau that its author was an attentive student of the *Canterbury Tales*, with a particularly strong interest in the same Chaucerian characters who have found favor with modern readers. His appreciation of the dramatic possibilities of these characters gives to his work a liveliness that is notably absent from other fifteenth-century English attempts to imitate Chaucer's comic style.¹⁵ Characterization is the *Beryn* author's strength.

Measured, however, against the standard of Chaucer's own work, even this aspect of his *Prologue* reveals an obvious failing. Chaucer could give borrowed characters greater complexity and interest in the way that characters resembling the students of *Le meunier et les .ii. clerks* are transformed into John and Aleyn of the *Reeve's Tale*. In contrast, the *Beryn* author fails to add anything to the characters he has borrowed from the *Canterbury Tales*; he only reworks them in a different pattern. The result is entertaining and at times perceptive, but is really only a pastiche. Our final judgment on the *Beryn* fabliau must be, then, that its author fails in his emulation of Chaucerian comedy, but that he fails at a much higher level than most of his contemporaries.

II

Beyond whatever intrinsic merit the *Beryn* fabliau may possess, it has a special importance for illuminating a subject that has caused great controversy among readers of the *Canterbury Tales*: the question of the Pardoner's sexuality.

Chaucer's own references to this aspect of the Pardoner's character are, to say the least, ambiguous. When first introduced in the *General Prologue*, the Pardoner is taking the treble part in the song 'Com hider love, to me!', while his riding companion, the Summoner, supplies 'a stif burdoun' (ll. 672-673). The implication of a homosexual relationship between the two is reinforced by the description of the Pardoner's effeminate traits which follows (ll. 675-690, quoted above). However, the narrator's summary comment on this description, 'I trowe he were a *geldyng* or a *mare*' (l. 691, our emphasis), introduces a second possibility: perhaps the Pardoner is a eunuch. The situation is further confused by implications concerning the Pardoner's nature later in the *Tales*. He praises the Wife of Bath's discussion of marriage and confesses 'I was about to wedde a wyf; allas!' (*WB Prol* 166), and in the prologue to his own tale he

¹⁵ Lydgate's picture of the pilgrims in *Canterbury*, the *Prologue to the Siege of Thebes*, is a prominent example of this lack.

boasts of his wenching (ll. 452-453, quoted above). Thus the Pardoner gives the appearance, at least, of being normally interested in women, even to the point of contemplating marriage. Yet at the conclusion of his performance, the Host's denial of the Pardoner's virility calls all into doubt once again:

I wolde I hadde thy coillons in myn hond
 In stide of relikes or of seintuarie.
 Lat kutte hem of, I wol thee helpe hem carie;
 They shul be shryned in an hogges toord!

(*PardT* 952-955)

In the face of this mixed evidence, critics have developed a variety of theories. Muriel Bowden does not believe that Chaucer's remark on the Pardoner's lack of virility is literally true, but 'is perhaps voiced as a scornful jest aimed against an unfortunately effeminate man who happens also to be a libertine and a thorough rogue'; Monica E. MacAlpine has recently given a detailed defense of the idea that the Pardoner is a homosexual; others have attempted to reconcile the homosexual and heterosexual implications of his portrayal by classifying him as a hermaphrodite.¹⁶ The classic and perhaps most influential effort to solve the problem is the early study of the Pardoner's character by Walter Clyde Curry.

After exhaustive comparison of the Pardoner's physical characteristics with those described in medieval medical sources, Curry concludes with a quotation from the physiognomist Polemon: 'The eyes of Favorinus are wide-open and shining or glittering like marble, his neck is long and thin, his voice is like that of a woman, and he takes great pride in his abundantly long hair' ¹⁷ From his study of such lore, Curry divines the 'Pardoner's secret': like Favorinus, he is a *eunuchus ex nativitate*, lecherous but impotent. Interestingly, Curry points to the *Beryn Prologue's* presentation of the Pardoner's character as an entirely accurate one. Kitt recognizes the Pardoner's weakness, knows he is harmless, and 'determines to make him her dupe.' ¹⁸

There seems, however, ample indication in the *Prologue* that the *Beryn* author is among those readers who see the Pardoner as neither physically deformed nor psychologically aberrant. When the Pardoner first meets Kitt, he

¹⁶ Muriel Bowden, *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, 2nd edition (New York, 1967), p. 276; Monica E. MacAlpine, 'The Pardoner's Homosexuality and How It Matters', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 95 (1980) 8-19; Beryl Rowland argues the Pardoner's hermaphroditism in 'Animal Imagery and the Pardoner's Abnormality', *Neophilologus* 48 (1964) 56-60 and in 'Chaucer's Idea of the Pardoner', *The Chaucer Review* 14 (1979-80) 140-54. Almost every Chaucerian has taken a position on the question of the Pardoner's sexuality. MacAlpine's article discusses the more important of these views in greater detail than is possible here.

¹⁷ *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*, 2nd edition (New York, 1960), p. 63.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 68.

is described as grabbing her by her waist 'as a man ilernyd of such kyndnes' (l. 24), and, that night, she warns her paramour that the Pardoner will be coming, 'his hete to aswage' (l. 469), obviously assuming that he is normally attracted to women and that he is capable of sexual consummation. The author apparently assumes the same thing, for, when the Pardoner finds himself barred from Kitt's room, his resulting anger is in part attributed to frustrated sexual desire:

Ffor who hath love longing and is of corage hote,
He hath ful many a myry thought tofore his delyte;
And right so had the Pardoner and was in evil pligte
Ffor fayling of his purpose he was nothing in ese.
(ll. 494-497)

The Pardoner's role in the *Beryn* fabliau is more satisfactorily explained by the parallel which we have drawn with Absolon's part in the *Miller's Tale* than by Curry's assumption that the Pardoner is a eunuch. In fact, medieval sources can also be used to support the connection between the Pardoner and Absolon. As Paul E. Beichner has pointed out, in 2 Kings, Absolom is noted for his exceptional comeliness and, in the Middle Ages, was taken by a number of commentators as a standard of feminine rather than of masculine beauty. Absolom's luxuriant hair (2 Kings 14:26) was also considered by some writers as significant. Adam Scotus, for example, is cited by Beichner as giving the opinion that 'the hair of Absolom signifies excess of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life'. Beichner notes that Chaucer's Absolon 'with his excess of hair and excessive combing of it, of course is very much under the influence of all three vicious inclinations.'¹⁹ Comparing these traits with those in the passage from Polemon which Curry thinks describe the Pardoner, we recognize several similarities: the effeminate appearance, the lustful eyes, and the pride in the 'abundantly long hair' over which the possessor takes great pains. Thus there is as much justification on the basis of these traits for comparing the Pardoner to Absolom/Absolon as for comparing him to a *eunuchus ex nativitate*. In fact, the Pardoner and Absolon are the same character type, and it was this similarity that inspired the *Beryn* author to place the Pardoner in a role that is similar to the one Absolon plays in the *Miller's Tale*. The situation of the *Beryn* fabliau is one of comic heterosexual intrigue, and a character in the tradition of Absolon, whose pretensions to being a rake are ludicrously undermined by his effeminacy, is better suited to such a situation than a eunuch, homosexual, or probably even a hermaphrodite.²⁰

¹⁹ 'Characterization in the *Miller's Tale*' in *Chaucer Criticism*, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor, vol. 1: *The Canterbury Tales. An Anthology* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1960), p. 120.

²⁰ Rowland regards the Pardoner's boasting about 'a joly wenche in every toun' and

The *Beryn* fabliau is evidence that Chaucer's contemporary audience would not necessarily have perceived the Pardoner's sexual nature as classifiably abnormal. Chaucer, after all, makes no judgment on the Pardoner's sexuality; he simply leaves the matter open. In the role of narrator, he does not claim omniscient psychological insight, but only describes each pilgrim's nature 'so as it seemed me' (*Gen Prol* 39). Through his eyes, the Pardoner is a bizarre figure, both repellent and fascinating. No more in the appearance than in the words of this professional trickster can we be sure exactly what to make of him, and the *Beryn* writer's portrayal reveals an awareness of this complexity.

The denouement of the *Beryn* fabliau, which bears some resemblance to the struggle of the two clerks with Symkyn and his wife in the conclusion of the *Reeve's Tale*,²¹ is written in a mock-heroic style well suited to the culminating exposure of the Pardoner's charade as courtly lover. The mock-heroic treatment of the battle is anticipated by Kitt's instructions concerning the Pardoner to her paramour: 'yf he com and make noyse, I pray yewe dub hym knyght' (l. 456). This sarcastic reference to the Pardoner's romance pose is given further bite by the Paramour's use of the Pardoner's own staff to carry out Kitt's order. Once the Pardoner is dubbed, or, rather, drubbed, he travesties the role of knight as warrior as he had earlier travestied the role of knight as lover. Arming himself for his joust with the Paramour and Hosteler, he places a pan on his head for a helmet and seizes 'a grete ladill' (l. 574) for a lance. Thus prepared, he charges forth, striking the Paramour on the nose with the spoon. As the Pardoner unheroically retreats from further conflict, the pan falls from his head. The Hosteler, hot in pursuit, trips and falls on the pan, receiving a gash on the shin. In a concluding reversal of the usual heroic tradition, the Pardoner encounters a

contemplation of matrimony in the *Tales* as showing 'the typical desires of the deviate to conform to the sex in which he has been reared' ('Idea of the Pardoner', 143-44). But as a 'testicular hermaphrodite of the feminine type', the Pardoner's external genitals would be incomplete, and he would be incapable of normal heterosexual relations (*ibid.*, 151-52 n. 28).

²¹ Echoes of specific lines indicate that this resemblance is not coincidental. In the *Reeve's Tale*, the Miller's wife is able to seize quickly a staff leaning against the bedroom wall because she 'knew the estres bet' than did the clerks (l. 4295). When the Hosteler urges the Paramour to look for an ember in the hall fire to light a torch, the latter refuses, protesting 'thow knowest better then I / Al the estris of this house. Go up thyselff and spy' (ll. 555-556). The result of the wife's search is that she sees something white shimmering in the moonlight and mistakenly hits her own husband 'on the pyled skulle' (l. 4306). In the *Beryn Prologue*, the Hosteler declines to go himself for a light out of fear of a similar fate: 'by the blysyng [*blazing*] of the cole, he myght se myne hede, / And lightly leve me such a stroke, ny hond to be dede' (ll. 561-562). As well, Jack, the Hosteler, seems to be conceived of by the *Beryn* author as the same kind of boastful ruffian as the Miller of the *Reeve's Tale*. After discovering that he has been injured chasing the Pardoner, he swears 'by Seynt Amyas that he shuld abbig / With strokis hard and sore, even oppon the rigg' (ll. 593-594). This is what Chaucer tells us Symkyn would have done in a similar situation: 'Ther dorste no wight hand upon hym legge, / That he ne swoor he sholde anon abegge' (ll. 3937-38).

monster which not only defeats this 'knight' but imprisons him in its den. The Pardoner had hoped, at the very least, to be better lodged than the other pilgrims. But by ironic reversals of his expectations in the fabliau's denouement, not only is he denied Kitt's favors and made to pay for a supper he never enjoys, he is also forced to spend a cramped, sleepless night under a staircase with the most undesirable and ill-tempered of bed companions,

a grete Walssh dogg,
That bare aboute his nek a grete huge clogg.
.....
The warrok was awakid and caught hym by the thy,
And bote hym wondir spetously, defendyng wele his couch,
That the Pardonere myght nat ne hym nethere touch,
But held hym asquare by that othir syde,
As holsom was at that tyme, for tereing of his hyde.
He coude noon othir help, but leyd adown his hede
In the doggis littir.

(ll. 633-634, 640-646)

This conclusion of the *Beryn* fabliau clearly shows that the fifteenth-century author's purpose is to continue the comic deflation of the Pardoner that begins in the *Tales* when the Host makes his rude reference to the Pardoner's *coillons*, and 'al the peple lough' (*PardT* 961). The aim of the comedy in the *Beryn Prologue* is hilariously accurate. For, despite his own diagnosis, the Pardoner's chief sin is not avarice but pride, and his greatest pride is in his ability to deceive and maneuver the 'lewed peple' (*PardT* 392) whom he finds in the congregations he preaches to and whom he thinks he finds, for one fatal moment, in the Canterbury pilgrims. In Chaucer's work, the Pardoner's pride in his own cleverness ultimately leads to his complete humiliation. In the Pardoner's adventure at the Cheker of the Hope, he is thoroughly beguiled despite his cunning and, in the concluding action, is once more thoroughly ridiculed. There is admittedly a very dark side to the Pardoner – one recent critic describes him as 'demonic'²² – yet even the devil, in addition to being the devil, is also an ass, and it is on this lighter side of the Pardoner's character that the *Beryn* author chooses to center.²³

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²² Donald R. Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 338.

²³ Work on this article was facilitated by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and from the Campion College Faculty Research Fund. An earlier version of the study was presented in Regensburg at the International Fifteenth Century Symposium, 11-15 August 1982.

BENEVENTANA-FRAGMENTE LITURGISCHER BÜCHER IM STADTARCHIV AUGSBURG

Raymund Kottje

VOR wenigen Jahren zeigte mir der Direktor des Stadtarchivs Augsburg, Dr. Wolfram Baer, eine in diesem Archiv gefundene, aber offenbar zu keinem Archivbestand gehörende Handschrift, auf die er bei Ordnungsarbeiten gestoßen war (ms. Schätze 202). Sie weckte meine besondere Aufmerksamkeit durch ein Vorsatzblatt und ein Doppelblatt am Ende, beide mit Texten in Scriptura Beneventana.¹ Die gesamte Handschrift ist bislang der Forschung unbekannt, also auch weder unter überlieferungsgeschichtlichen noch paläographischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht worden.² Es dürfte daher von Interesse sein, nach der Heimat der Handschrift und der Fragmente zu fragen.

Beim Corpus der Handschrift handelt es sich um ein Plenarmissale, geschrieben im 14. Jahrhundert, mit Noten zu Antiphonen und Praefationen. Seiten-, Blatt- oder Lagenzählung fehlen. Trotz seines Folioformats (22,5 × 31,4 cm, Schriftraum 17,2 × 28,5 cm) enthält es außer den Meßformularen für Sonn- und Festtage, Proprium Sanctorum und Commune auch Gebete und Rubriken für Krankenkommunion und -salbung sowie einen Ordo commendationis animae. Den Anfang der Handschrift bildet ein wohl gleichzeitig geschriebenes Kalendär, das sich für die Herkunftsfrage als aufschlußreich erwiesen hat.

In diesem Kalendär begegnen nämlich zwei durch rote Schrift hervorgehobene Festtage mit einer Ortsangabe: am 30. September die 'Dedicatio ecclesie sancte Marie maioris' mit dem Zusatz 'Polensis', am 27. Oktober das

¹ Über diese Schrift und ihre erhaltenen Zeugen vgl. E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2. Ed. by V. Brown, 2 Bde. (Sussidi eruditi 33/34; Roma, 1980); zur Bezeichnung der Schrift vgl. B. Bischoffs Nachruf auf E. A. Lowe in *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1970), S. 2, wo er darauf hinweist, daß es zu den Verdiensten von Lowe gehört, 'die Haltlosigkeit und Unbrauchbarkeit der Bezeichnung "langobardische Schrift" ... erwiesen zu haben'. Herrn Archivdirektor Dr. W. Baer möchte ich auch hier für Hilfe und Entgegenkommen herzlich danken.

² Die Beneventana-Fragmente sind nicht genannt in der jüngsten Zusammenstellung von Zeugen der Beneventana in der von V. Brown überarbeiteten 'Hand List of Beneventan mss' von Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, Bd. 2.

Fest 'Sancti Flori confessoris atque episcopi' mit dem Zusatz 'est corpus in Pola'. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um die Stadt Pola (Pula) auf der Halbinsel Istrien. Sie wurde spätestens in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts Sitz eines Bischofs, der Suffragan des Patriarchen von Aquileja bzw. Grado war.³ Hier wurde tatsächlich ein Flos oder Florius als confessor verehrt, der nach einer allerdings recht jungen Überlieferung (saec. xiv oder xv?) Bischof von Pola gewesen sein soll.⁴ Die Kathedrale von Pola war den Heiligen Maria und Thomas geweiht, die Kirchweihe 858 durch Bischof Ansegis von Pola erfolgt.⁵ Dem entspricht, daß im Kalendar nicht nur die 'Dedicatio (Kirchweihe) s. Mariae' am 30. September als Hochfest eingetragen ist, sondern außerdem die 'Dedicatio ecclesie sancti Thome' am 1. Oktober und die 'Festivitas sancti Thomae apostoli' am 21. Dezember durch einen Eintrag in roter Schrift als Festtag hervorgehoben sind.

Die genannten Feststellungen dürften hinreichend deutlich erkennen lassen, daß das Kalendar und damit wohl auch das gesamte Missale⁶ aus der Bischofskirche von Pola stammen. Ist sie aber auch die Heimat der Beneventana-Fragmente?

Die Texte des Vorsatzblattes stellen ein Fragment aus einem ca. saec. xi/xii geschriebenen Antiphonale dar (32 × 21,7 cm, Schriftraum 25 × 15,5 cm, vgl. Abb. 1). Es enthält die Meß-Antiphonen mit Neumen für die Sonntage xxi-xxiii, nämlich nach Pfingsten. Mit Ausnahme des Alleluja-Verses zum xxii. Sonntag stimmen sie einschließlich der beneventanischen Notation genau überein mit den Antiphonen, die ein Antiphonale von Benevent, ebenfalls s. xi/xii geschrieben, für den xxi., vii. und xxii. Sonntag bietet.⁷ Es handelt sich um folgende Antiphonen

³ Vgl. F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo vii (an. 604)* 2 (Studi e testi 35; Roma, 1927), S. 847 ff.; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum. Italia pontificia*, cong. P. Fr. Kehr, 7.2 (Berlin, 1925), S. 236 f.; ebda. 7.1 (Berlin, 1923), S. 13 f. sowie 7/2.202 u. 236 über den Wechsel der Zugehörigkeit zu den Metropolen Aquileja und Grado; 7/1.35, Nr. 79 eine Urkunde P. Innozenz II. von 1132 Juni 29, durch die Aquileja die Metropolitanrechte u.a. über Pola bestätigt worden sind.

⁴ Vgl. *Acta sanctorum*, Oct. 12.338-41; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge. Bio-bibliographie*, 2. Ed., 1 (Paris, 1905), S. 1524 und Lanzoni, ebda., S. 849.

⁵ Vgl. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* 7/2.237.

⁶ Im Missale fehlen zwar die 'Dedicatio ecclesiae s. Mariae' am 30. IX. und die 'Dedicatio ecclesiae s. Thomae' am 1. X., es enthält aber wie das Kalendar die 'Festivitas s. Thomae' am 21. XII.

⁷ Über dieses Antiphonale vgl. die Angaben von K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2. Ed., 1 (Spicilegii friburgensis subsidia 1; Freiburg/Schweiz, 1968), Nr. 475 und die Facs.-Ed. von J. Gajard, *Le codex VI 34 de la Bibliothèque Capulaire de Bénévent* (Paléographie musicale 15; Tournai, 1937), wo fol. 250v/251r und 264r-v die unserem Fragment entsprechenden Texte zu sehen sind; S. 163 f. wird über die Notation dieser Hs. gehandelt; über die Neumen der Hs. vgl. auch S. Corbin, *Die Neumen* (Köln, 1977), S. 149 f., dazu Taf. 33 mit einer Abb. von fol. 64v/65r der Hs. Zur Hs. vgl. Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script* 2.21 und jüngst

(a) auf der Recto-Seite:

< Dominica XXI >

Ps. < Offert. > In excelsa voce ... in eternum.

Co. Ego clamavi quoniam ... verba mea.

Dominica XXII

< Intr. > XCII Omnes gentes

G. Beata gens

Alleluja

V. Qui confidunt ... in Ierusalem.

Off. Sicut in holocausto arietum ...

(b) auf der Verso-Seite:

... in te domine.

Co. Inclina aurem tuam ... eruas nos.

Dominica XXIII

< Intr. > Dicit dominus ego cogito ... de cunctis locis.

V. Benedixisti domine ... Iacob.

G. Libera nos domine ... confunde.

V. In deo

Hier endet der Text mit dem Seitenende im Wort.

Die meisten der Antiphonen begegnen zwar auch in den karolingischen Antiphonalia von Rheinau,⁸ Mont-Blandin (Blandinusberg b. Gent),⁹ Senlis,¹⁰ und Corbie,¹¹ jedoch weder in derselben Zusammenstellung noch zu denselben Sonntagen.¹²

Diese auffallenden Unterschiede gegenüber den fränkischen Antiphonalia, andererseits die sehr weitgehende Übereinstimmung von Text und Notation mit dem wohl beinahe gleichaltrigen Antiphonale von Benevent lassen daher annehmen, daß unser Fragment aus einem Einflußraum beneventanischer Liturgie stammt. Die von Gamber und Loew-Brown präsentierten Zeugen dokumentieren jedoch, daß dieser Einflußraum nicht auf Süditalien beschränkt war, daß vielmehr anscheinend auch Dalmatien zu ihm gehört hat.¹³

Das Doppelblatt am Ende der Handschrift stammt aus einem Codex, der eindeutig von einer anderen Hand als das Antiphonale geschrieben worden ist

das *Corpus troporum*, 3: *Tropes du propre de la messe*, 2: *Cycle de Pâques*, edd. G. Björkvall, G. Iversen, R. Jonsson (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia latina stockholmiensia 25; Stockholm, 1982), S. 34.

⁸ Vgl. Gamber, ebda., Nr. 1325.

⁹ Vgl. ebda., Nr. 1320.

¹⁰ Vgl. ebda., Nr. 1321.

¹¹ Vgl. ebda., Nr. 1335.

¹² Vgl. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Bruxelles, 1935), S. 174/75, 180 u. 197, Nrr. 175, 179 u. 198.

¹³ Vgl. Gamber, *Codices liturgici*, Nrr. 434, 450 u. 451 und Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script* 1.63 ff. u. 2.111 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Liturg. 342).

(32 × 22,4 cm, Schriftraum 28,5 × 18 cm, 2 Kolumnen à 24 Zeilen, vgl. Abb. 2). Es ist das Fragment eines Lektionars mit den Lesungen für die Meßfeier in der Zeit vom Mittwoch nach der Osteroktav bis zum Freitag nach dem 2. Ostersonntag (Dominica I post octavam Pasche). Im einzelnen sind es folgende Lesungen:

- | | | |
|------------|---|---|
| fol. 1r | feria IV post octavam Pasche: | Hebr 13:17 (beginnend mit <i>pervigilant</i>)-21 |
| | | Marc 16:9-13 |
| fol. 1r-v | feria VI: | Matth ¹⁴ 28:8-15 |
| fol. 1v | Annunciatio s. Marie (25. III.): | Is 7:10 ¹⁵ < 10-15 > |
| | | Luc 1:26 ¹⁶ < 26-38 > |
| | In natali s. Leonis (11. IV.): | ≈ Eccli 44:16 ¹⁷ < 16-27; 45:3-20 > |
| | | Matth ¹⁸ 25:14 < 14-23 > |
| | In natali s. Tiburcii et Valeriani (14. IV.): | Prov 15:2 |
| | | Matth 5:1 ¹⁹ < 1-12 > |
| | Dominica I post octavam Pasche: | 1 Petr 2:21-25 |
| fol. 1v-2r | | Joh 10:11-16 |
| fol. 2r | feria IV: | 1 Petr 1:18-25 |
| fol. 2r-v | | Luc 24:1-12 |
| fol. 2v | feria VI: | Matth ²⁰ 9:14-17. |

In dem Lektionar sind also Temporale (die liturgischen Feiern im Ablauf des Jahres ohne festes Datum – Osterzeit, Weihnachtszeit usw.)²¹ und Sanctorale noch nicht getrennt. Das weist auf Abfassung des Buches in karolingischer Zeit oder jedenfalls nicht viel später.²² In denselben Zeitraum weist auch die genaue

¹⁴ In der Hs. ist unzutreffend angegeben 'Marc'.

¹⁵ Angegeben ist nur der Anfang 'In diebus illis: Locutus est dominus ad Achaz dicens'; es handelt sich aber um die alte Perikope Is 7:10-15, vgl. u.a. H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre* (Studi e testi 225; Città del Vaticano, 1962), S. 231.

¹⁶ Auch hier ist nur der Perikopenanfang 'Missus est angelus' genannt; der Umfang der Lesung – in spitzen Klammern angegeben – ergibt sich aus der Überlieferung von Perikopenlisten (Comites) und Lektionaren wie auch aus Homiliaren, vgl. Barré, ebda., S. 215 ('In Concept.').

¹⁷ Vgl. Anm. 16, 2. Teil.

¹⁸ Vgl. ebenfalls Anm. 16, 2. Teil; in der Hs. ist unzutreffend 'Joh.' angegeben.

¹⁹ Vgl. ebenfalls Anm. 16, 2. Teil.

²⁰ In der Hs. ist unzutreffend 'Luc' angegeben.

²¹ Vgl. jetzt H. Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit, 1: Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr* (Regensburg, 1983), S. 213 f. und 217 f.

²² Vgl. bei Gamber, *Codices liturgici*, die Bemerkungen zu den Nrr. 1010, 1015, 1027 und 1029 (über Trennung oder Vermischung von Temporale und Sanctorale in den dort genannten Comites des 9.-11. Jhdts).

Übereinstimmung der liturgischen Ordnung und der Lesungen – bis hin zu Einzelangaben – mit der Leseordnung, die Hrabanus Maurus als Erzbischof von Mainz (847-856) seinen 854/855 Kaiser Lothar I. übersandten Erklärungen biblischer Lesungen zugrundegelegt hat.²³ Die von Hraban befolgte Ordnung war die der Mainzer Kirche.²⁴ Sie unterschied sich in dem mit unserem Fragment zeitgleichen Teil von den Ordnungen, denen die übrigen aus dem Frankenreich nördlich der Alpen bekannten Homiliare des 9. Jahrhunderts folgten,²⁵ und auch von den Fest- und Leseordnungen, die durch zahlreiche karolingische Lektionare und Evangelienlisten römischer Provenienz bezeugt sind.²⁶

Die Übereinstimmung der liturgischen Ordnung und der Auswahl der Lesungen in unserem Lektionar-Fragment mit der Ordnung der Mainzer Kirche zur Zeit Hrabans ist vorerst nicht zu erklären. Jedenfalls läßt sie auf fränkischen Einfluß bei der Kompilation des Lektionars im Beneventana-Bereich schließen. Wann und wo aber ist diese Kompilation anzunehmen?

Auf Grund paläographischer Kriterien ist die Datierung des Fragments sehr schwierig. Die Schrift zeigt nämlich durchweg die für die Beneventana vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert charakteristischen Züge.²⁷ Am ehesten darf man in dem Fragment vielleicht einen Zeugen des Bari-Typs sehen. Es begegnen sowohl die gebrochene Form des *c* wie die typischen Ligaturen mit dem eingezogenen *i*, und es fehlt der auffällige Unterschied zwischen dünnen und breiten Federstrichen, was wohl zum Eindruck einer rundlicheren Schrift beiträgt.²⁸ Schriftbild und einzelne Kürzungen lassen zusammen wohl darauf schließen, daß das Lektionar im 12. Jahrhundert und zwar im dalmatinischen Bereich des Bari-Typs geschrieben worden ist.

²³ Vgl. Hrabanus Maurus, *Hom.* 19-26 (PL 110.180c-192b); über Hrabans Homiliar vgl. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, bes. S. 13-17, 215, 217 u. 231. Die z.T. wörtliche, zumindest sachliche Übereinstimmung in Einzelangaben findet sich in den 'require'-Hinweisen zu den Lesungen am Feste der 'Annunciatio' (so im Fragment) bzw. 'Conceptio' (so bei Hraban) s. Mariae' und am Fest der hll. Tiburtius und Valerian.

²⁴ Vgl. Hrabans Äusserung in seinem Widmungsbrief an Lothar: 'Idcirco iuxta ritum ecclesiae nostrae et morem officii, quem ibi celebramus, ... textum huius operis commutavi' (MGH Epp. 5.505, Z. 24/25; Berlin, 1899), vgl. Barré, ebda., S. 15.

²⁵ Vgl. Barré, ebda., S. 215 u. 231; über die karolingischen Homiliare ebda. S. 4 ff.

²⁶ Vgl. Th. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, 1: *Typen* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle und Forschungen 28; Münster i. W., 1935), bes. S. 25 f., 70 f., 112, 151 u. 176 f.; A. Wilmart, 'Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937) 136-97 (= Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides liturgicae' 2; Città del Vaticano, 1937), bes. S. 156.

²⁷ Vgl. Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script*, bes. 1.123 ff. u. 314-18.

²⁸ Vgl. über den Bari-Typ Loew-Brown, ebda., S. 150 u. 316; über dessen geschichtliche Hintergründe A. Petrucci, 'Note ed ipotesi sulla origine della scrittura barese', *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano* N. S. 4-5 (1958-59) 101-14; E. A. Lowe, 'A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts' in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda* 2 (Studi e testi 220; Città del Vaticano, 1962), S. 211-44, bes. 212 f.

Damit wäre eine Entstehung beider Fragmente, des Antiphonale wie des Lektionars, in Pola oder nicht fern der Stadt denkbar, also nördlicher als Ossero, der nördlichsten bisher bekannten Stätte an der dalmatinischen Küste, aus der ein Zeugnis dieser Schrift überliefert ist.²⁹ Da Pola, wie erwähnt,³⁰ zur Kirchenprovinz von Aquileja bzw. zeitweise zu Grado gehört hat, wäre hier auch fränkischer Einfluß gut vorstellbar. Von Belang könnten auch die alten Beziehungen zu Ravenna gewesen sein. Sie sind aus dem 6. Jahrhundert bezeugt durch die Person des Erzbischofs Maximian von Ravenna (546-556), der in Pola geboren ist und dort auch Diakon geworden war.³¹ Sie haben noch lange fortbestanden, da die Kirche von Ravenna ihren Besitz in Istrien von einem ihrer Diakone verwalten ließ, der in einer *domus rectoria* bei der Kirche S. Apollinare nahe Pola wohnte.³²

Es hindert also nichts, die Kompilation des beneventanisch geschriebenen Lektionars im nördlichen Bereich der dalmatinischen Küste anzunehmen und damit zumindest im Umkreis der Heimat des jüngeren Missale, dessen Herkunft aus Pola durch das Kalendar bezeugt wird.

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²⁹ Vgl. Loew-Brown, ebda., S. 63 ff. u. die Karte nach S. 48.

³⁰ S.o. S. 433.

³¹ Vgl. K. Baus, 'Maximianus' in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2. Ed., 7 (1962), Sp. 201; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* 7/2.237.

³² Vgl. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia*, S. 847.

A SOUTH ITALIAN ORDINATION ALLOCUTION

Roger E. Reynolds

OF the many extant manuscripts of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* and the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi*, the medieval ancestors of the modern Roman Pontifical, few are more important than several written in Beneventan script.¹ Not only does their Italian origin provide evidence for the evaluation of the liturgical rites practiced in or near Rome, but their relatively early dates signal their obvious importance in the history of the development of Roman pontificals. Among the Beneventan-script codices of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* two stand out: Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 451, written probably in the first or second quarter of the eleventh century and probably at Monte Cassino; and the closely related Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana D 5, written not much later in a center where Beneventan script was used.² Of the Beneventan-script codices of the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi* two likewise are prominent: Vatican Library Barb. lat. 631, written in the late eleventh century probably at Monte Cassino, and Vat. lat. 7818, written in the twelfth century in Chieti.³ In the Monte Cassino, Vallicelliana, and Barberini codices there is within the ordination rites for clerics a short allocution directed to the ordinands which lists their duties. In the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* this is entitled *De officiis vii graduum Ysidori capitula*⁴ and in the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi* it is *Incipit de officiis clericorum de singulis vii*

¹ Among the full manuscripts and fragments of pontificals in Beneventan script are the following: Dubrovnik, Franjevački Samostan 'Mala Brača' 5310/230/7, 8 (s. XII, Kotor); Leningrad, Sobrananie inostrannykh Rukopisei Otdela Rukopisnoi i Redkoi Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR F. No. 200 (s. XII, Kotor); Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale 378 (s. XII, Benevento); Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 451 (s. XI, Monte Cassino); Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 614 (s. XII/XIII, Benevento) and 724 (s. X, Benevento); Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana D 5 (s. XI); Vatican Library Barb. lat. 631 (s. XI, Monte Cassino), Vat. lat. 7701 (s. X, Chieti), and Vat. lat. 7818 (s. XII, Chieti).

² Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* 1 (Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense. Études et documents 11; Louvain, 1931), pp. 176-211.

³ Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain du moyen-âge*, vol. 1: *Le Pontifical romain du XII^e siècle* (Studi e Testi 86; Vatican City, 1938), pp. 52-71.

⁴ Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle* 1 (Studi e Testi 226; Vatican City, 1963), p. 12.

ordinibus.⁵ In ms. Vat. lat. 7818, however, this allocution is missing, but to compensate for its absence there has been entered earlier in the manuscript a short piece, which is the subject of this note.

Vat. lat. 7818 is a well-known manuscript and its parts have often been described, perhaps best by Andrieu in his edition of the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi*.⁶ Several references in the manuscript show that it was written for the cathedral of Chieti. In the *Libera nos* of the *Canon missae* there is the addition of 'Thoma, necnon et beato Justino confessore tuo, atque Felice, cum omnibus sanctis tuis'⁷ referring to the Apostle Thomas, to whom the cathedral of Chieti was dedicated, and to Justin, the city's first bishop. Moreover, on fols. 161v-164v, there is a homily on St. Thomas, who is called 'patronem (*sic*) nostrum'. And in yet another hand there is a prayer of adoration to Christ on the cross, which although fairly widespread in Italian manuscripts of the eleventh century and beyond,⁸ is also found in the tenth-century pontifical partially in Beneventan script, Vatican Library Vat. lat. 7701,⁹ whose benediction for the anniversary for the dedication of the basilica and the litany cites the Apostle Thomas,¹⁰ patron of Chieti, and whose ordination text is like that of the eighth- or ninth-century Chieti canon law manuscript also in the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 1997).¹¹

Like a number of codices from Chieti there are in Vat. lat. 7818 both Beneventan and Carolingian scripts, and the scribe who wrote the ordination allocution did so in the latter script. But the text and sources of the allocution tie it closely to several well-known codices written either in Beneventan script or with Beneventan-script symptoms, and hence it seems appropriate to place it within a south Italian tradition.

The form of the allocution, found on fol. 10r-v of the manuscript and printed below, is simple indeed. After citing Ps 132:1 and expanding on it minimally, the preacher says he will describe how Christ fulfilled each ecclesiastical grade in himself, and he then goes on to present selected words or deeds in Christ's life to justify the grades of lector, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, door-

⁵ Roger E. Reynolds, 'The *De officiis vii graduum*: Its Origin and Early Medieval Development', *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 148.

⁶ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain du XII^e siècle*, pp. 52-61.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 53, citing fol. 11r-v; and Virginia Brown, 'The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples' in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)* 1 (Miscellanea cassinese 44; Monte Cassino, 1981), nos. 67, 111 (pp. 292, 304).

⁹ fol. 83v.

¹⁰ fols. 54r, 57v.

¹¹ On this type see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art', *Gesta* 22 (1983) 37 nn. 69 f.

keeper, and bishop. This text, known as an Ordinal of Christ, is frequently found in early medieval Italian manuscripts. It is of a peculiar type called the Italo-Hibernian chronological form because with several Italian characteristics it lists the grades according to an Irish sequence that had earlier given the grades in the chronological order Christ was seen to have fulfilled them, not in a hierarchical order.¹² After the Ordinal of Christ the preacher in our allocution says he will explain the 'himologia' and the significance of the various grades. This strange title 'himologia' is perhaps related to the 'Thimologia sancti Ysidori' mentioned in the *Commemoratorium* of Theobald as a volume he had copied at San Liberatore near Chieti before becoming abbot at Monte Cassino (1022-35).¹³ The description of grades in the *himologia* consists of a brief etymology of the names of the officers and descriptions of the origins, duties, and requisite qualities of the ordinands. The sequence of the grades is quite unlike that of the Ordinal of Christ and descends from the presbyter down through deacon, subdeacon, lector, exorcist, doorkeeper, and acolyte.

If our allocution is compared with other ordination homilies of the late eleventh and early twelfth century and with the ordination ceremonies on fols. 41r-49r of the manuscript with which it presumably was to be used, some very unusual features appear. First, the sequences of grades in the Ordinal of Christ and the *himologia* do not correspond, and in fact there are grades that appear in one and not in the other. Moreover, the sequence of grades in neither section agrees with that later in the ordination ceremony where they follow the sequence traditional by the eleventh century of doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter. Second, the texts for each grade in the Ordinal of Christ and the *himologia* have not been integrated, and the ordaining bishop, if he were to use sections of the allocution during the ordination ceremony for each grade, would be forced to skip back and forth to integrate the texts. How, then, could the allocution have been used during an ordination ceremony, and how can its unusual sequences of grades be explained?

As to its use, the clue to the puzzle probably lies in the initial reference to and brief exposition of Ps 132:1. In the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*¹⁴ and the

¹² On this type, with its south Italian peculiarities, see Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7; Berlin-New York, 1978), pp. 91 f., to which may be added Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XII A 28, fol. 5r.

¹³ See E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd enlarged edition prepared by Virginia Brown, 2 vols. (Sussidi eruditi 33-34; Rome, 1980), 1.79 f., 341; and Enrico Carusi, 'Intorno al *Commemoratorium* dell'abate Teobaldo (a. 1019-22)', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 47 (1932) 186.

¹⁴ Vogel-Elze, *Le Pontificale Romano-Germanique* 1.6.

*Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi*¹⁵ this psalm was used during the ceremony of tonsuring a cleric. Hence the *Ecce quam bonum* would have been a suitable text on which to hang a prefatory allocution to the entire ordination ceremony, where a number of different orders might have been conferred.

The unusual form of the allocution can be explained if we examine the sources on which the author based his text. What he has done is to extract and modify slightly texts from one of the most popular canon law collections of southern and central Italy in the eleventh century, the *Collection in Five Books*, or its related collections. It might seem that the author used instead the canon law *Collection in Nine Books*, a collection compiled perhaps as early as the tenth century but now found only in the eleventh-century Beneventan-script codex, Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1349,¹⁶ because several variants are closer to that text than that of the *Collection in Five Books* edited by Fornasari.¹⁷ However, a close inspection of the manuscripts of the *Collection in Five Books* shows that Fornasari did not always give variants and that the *Collection in Nine Books* is closer to our text in only a single minor case. Moreover, in several instances the preacher seems to have been following the glosses to the text in the *Collection in Five Books*. Hence, it or a related collection is the most likely source.

Thus the allocution itself would seem to suggest that a copy of the *Collection in Five Books* may at one time have been in or near Chieti. There are now, however, only three complete or nearly complete codices of the collection: Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 125, written in Beneventan script probably in the first decades of the eleventh century; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 11, with its Beneventan-script symptoms,¹⁸ written at Sant'Eutizio presso Norcia by Ubertus (†c. 1087), perhaps before he became abbot; and Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1339, again with Beneventan-script symptoms, written in the second or third quarter of the eleventh century and coming from Narni. The variants in our allocution are generally closest to those in the Monte Cassino manuscript, and this suggests that a similar manuscript might have been available at Chieti. Such a suggestion takes on added plausibility in light of several points made about manuscripts of the *Collection in Five Books* in the past decade by Hubert Mordek and Theo Kölzer. Mordek, in dealing with the date and location of several Monte Cassino canon law manuscripts, pointed out

¹⁵ Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, vol. 3: *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Studi e Testi 88; Vatican City, 1940), p. 338.

¹⁶ For the date of this manuscript see Loew-Brown 2.145.

¹⁷ M. Fornasari, ed., *Collectio canonum in v libris (lib. i-iii)* (Corpus christianorum, cont. med. 6; Turnhout, 1970), pp. 26-30.

¹⁸ On which see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984) 454 n. 27.

that in the *Chronicon* of Monte Cassino¹⁹ the reference to Abbot Theobald's 'Concordium canonum, alium librum canonum, decreta pontificum' was perhaps based on an earlier reference in Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 28, where it is said that Theobald had made a 'Liber concordie kanonum et librum kanonum, Decretale pontificum'. Mordek – and later Hartmut Hoffmann²⁰ – speculated that the 'liber canonum' may have been the Monte Cassino manuscript of the *Collection in Five Books* because the first words in the manuscript are 'In Christi nomen (*sic*) incipit liber canonum'.²¹ Kölzer has more recently suggested that Theobald, who was at San Liberatore at Monte Maiella near Chieti before becoming abbot of Monte Cassino, might even have brought with him a manuscript of the *Collection in Five Books* to be copied for the poorly-stocked library at Monte Cassino.²² If such were indeed the case, the existence at or near Chieti of a model for our allocation is quite conceivable.

Why, however, would the compiler of our allocation use a collection of canon law as the basis for his work? The answer is twofold. First, it was not unusual for such allocations to have been based on canon law texts. This is true for some of the allocations in Anglo-Saxon pontificals,²³ for Ivo of Chartres,²⁴ and in such Beneventan-script pontificals as that of Kotor.²⁵ Moreover, even popes themselves borrowed directly from eleventh-century canon law collections, as Honorius III seems brazenly to have done for a sermon at the Lateran in the thirteenth century.²⁶ That the *Collection in Five Books* was used as a source for our allocation is not surprising either since not only was it a collection of synodical and episcopal decrees but also a vast florilegium of theological and sacramental extracts from the Fathers.

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¹⁹ Hubert Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1; Berlin-New York, 1975), p. 100.

²⁰ Hartmut Hoffmann, ed., *Die Chronik von Montecassino* (MGH SS 34; Hanover, 1980), p. 266 n. 19.

²¹ Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 100 n. 15.

²² Theo Kölzer, *Collectio canonum regesto farfensi inserta* (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B, Corpus collectionum 5; Vatican City, 1982), p. 54 n. 128.

²³ Reynolds, 'The *De officiis vii graduum*', 141 and *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 80.

²⁴ Roger E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula on the Ecclesiastical Officers', *Studia gratiana* 20 (1976) 319-21.

²⁵ Roger E. Reynolds, 'The "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 310 f.

²⁶ James M. Powell, 'Honorius III's *Sermo in dedicatione ecclesie lateranensis* and the Historical-Liturgical Traditions of the Lateran', *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 21 (1983) 195.

In this presentation of the text of the allocution the single paragraph format of the manuscript has been maintained, but abbreviations have been expanded and modern punctuation added. The *e* with cedilla has been preserved; editorial additions are enclosed in angled brackets.

- (f. 10r) <E> cce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum. Audite, karissimi, uerba Psalmistę dicentis, 'Bonum et iocundum est habitare in unum'. Hoc est, bona est habitatio unitatis quia Deus unus est et qui in uno habitant in Deo habitant. Vos, fratres dilectis <s> imi, qui ad gradus sancte
- 5 matris nostrę ęcclesię recipiendos uenistis, audite audita, intelligite intellecta, memorię diligenter commendate quomodo Dominus ac saluator noster Iesus Christus gradus ęcclesię in se impleuit. Primum quidem gradum lectoris sic quando aperuit librum Hysayę prophetę et dixit, 'Spiritus Domini super me eo quod unxit me, euangelizare pauperibus misit me'. Secundum autem gradum
- 10 exorcistę quando eiecit septem demonia de Maria Magdalena. Tercium enim gradum subdia <co> ni quando uinum fecit de aqua in Chana Galileę. Quartum gradum diaconi quando lauit pedes discipulorum suorum. Quintum presbiteri quando accepit panem, benedixit ac fregit, similiter et calicem. Istos quinque gradus ante passionem impleuit. Sextum uero gradum hostiari <i>
- 15 quando aperuit portas inferni. Septimum episcopi quando ascendens in celum leuauit manus suas super capita discipulorum et benedixit eis. Restat adhuc, fratres karissimi, ut et himologiam nominum uobis ostendamus et significationem graduum. Presbiter, hoc nomen grecum est quod in latino senior dicitur. Presbiteri merito et sapientia dicuntur non ętate. Presbiterorum ordo a
- 20 filii <s> Aaron sumpsit initium. Qui sacerdotes uocabantur in Veteri Testamento, modo presbiteri uocantur. Presbiter inreprehensibilis debet esse, uir unius uxoris sine macula, aut ex uirginitate sumptus, non litigiosus, non cupidus, non auarus, non iracundus, non superbus, non percussor, non nisi ex consensu episcopi in curia (*sic*) pauperum. Diaconus grece minister dicitur
- 25 latine eo quod altari et gradui sacerdotali ministret. Diaconorum ordo a tribu Leui sumpsit initium. Precepit enim Dominus Moysi ut post ordinationem Aaron sacerdotis et filiorum eius tribus Leui in ministerio ordinaretur. In Nouo enim Testamento primordium eorum in Actibus Apostolorum ita legitur,

1 Ps 132:1.

2-3 Ps 132:1.

7-16 5L 1.2 (Fornasari, p. 24); 9L, pref., fol. 4v.

18-19 5L 1.6a (Fornasari, p. 26); 9L 1.86, fol. 21v.

19-21 5L 1.7a (Fornasari, p. 26); 9L 1.87, fol. 21v.

21-24 5L 1.8 (Fornasari, p. 26); 9L 1.88, fol. 21v.

24-25 5L 1.9 (Fornasari, p. 27); 9L 1.89, fol. 21v.

25-28 5L 1.11a (Fornasari, p. 27); 9L 1.90, fol. 21v.

30 'Conuocantes duodecim apostoli multitudinem populorum dixerunt "Consi-
 derate ex uobis uiros boni testimonii septem plenos Spiritu Sancto et sapientia,
 quos constituamus in hac re; nos uero erimus orationi et testimonio sermonis
 instantes". Diacones firmos esse oportet, castos, non bilingues, non turpilucra
 sectantes, habentes ministerium fidei, in conscientia pura. Et hii primum
 35 probent et sic ministerent. Nullum crimen habentes, sint pudici, non uino
 dediti, nec de celesti misterio lucra sectantes. Subdiacones greca appellatione
 ypodiacones dicuntur eo quod diaconibus in officii <s> leuitarum obediunt.
 Isti oblationes in templo Domini a populis suscipiunt. Istis uasa corporis et
 sanguinis Christi diaconibus ad altare offerre constituitur. De quibus placuit
 sanctis patribus ut qui ad sacra ministeria sunt ordinati ab omni carnali
 40 im(f. 10v)munditia sint liberi, iuxta illud prophetę dicentis, 'Mundamini qui
 fertis uasa Domino'. Subdiaconi inueniuntur in Ešdra et appellantur ibi Natinei,
 id est mundi, in humilitate, Deo seruientes. Lectores sunt qui uerbum Dei
 predicant. Isti initium sumpserunt a prophetis et lege, qui in populo Dei
 recitabant diuinos libros. Oportet eos esse in doctrina et libris instructos ita ut
 45 distinctionem sententiarum intelligant, ut firmatur iunctura ubi adhuc pendet
 oratio, ut extrema sententia clauditur. Gradus exorcistarum ab Ešdra sumpsit
 initium qui in templo Salomonis iussit dispositores esse quos constructores
 templi memorat Ešdras. Nunc autem Dei ecclesia eos exorcistas nominat, id est
 orationibus deseruientes. Ostiarii sunt qui in Veteri Testamento ianitores
 50 uocabantur. Hii autem in Nouo Testamento inter sanctum et iniquum dis-
 cernunt. Habent potestatem bonos recipiendi et indignos reiciendi. Acolitus
 dicitur greca appellatione, latina uero ceroferarius, id est accensor luminarium.
 Ipsi acoliti deferunt luminaria quando Euangelium legitur ad missarum
 ordinem, non ad effugandas tenebras caliginis huius temporis sed ut sub tipo
 55 luminis corporalis illa lux insinuet, de qua in Euangelio legitur, 'Erat lux uera'
 et cetera.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

- 29-32 5L 1.11c (Fornasari, p. 27); 9L 1.90, fol. 21v.
 29-32 Ac 6:2-4.
 32-35 Cf. 5L 1.12 (Fornasari, pp. 27 f.); 9L 1.91, fol. 22r.
 35-36 Cf. 5L 1.13 (Fornasari, p. 28); 9L 1.92, fol. 22r.
 37-40 5L 1.14 (Fornasari, p. 28); 9L 1.93, fol. 22r.
 40-41 Is 52:11.
 41-42 5L 1.15a (Fornasari, p. 28); 9L 1.94, fol. 22r.
 42-44 5L 1.16 (Fornasari, p. 28); 9L 1.95, fol. 22r.
 44-46 5L 1.17a (Fornasari, p. 29); 9L 1.96, fol. 22r.
 46-49 5L 1.19a (Fornasari, p. 29); 9L 1.98, fol. 22r.
 49-50 5L 1.20a (Fornasari, p. 30); 9L 1.99, fol. 22v.
 50-51 5L 1.21a (Fornasari, p. 30); 9L 1.99, fol. 22v.
 51-56 5L 1.22 (Fornasari, p. 30); 9L 1.100, fol. 22v.
 55 Jo 1:9.

THE TESTAMENT OR LAST WILL
OF
ARCHBISHOP WALTER REYNOLDS OF CANTERBURY, 1327

J. Robert Wright

THE purpose of this article is to present a full and reliable transcription of the testament or last will of Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury (d. 1327), together with appropriate analysis and annotation. The editing of such a text is of importance not only for what it may indicate about the technical form of a will at this point in the fourteenth century but also for what it can reveal of the personal possessions, chapel ornaments, piety, household associates and personal interests of the man who was archbishop and primate of all England. All these topics will receive due comment in the annotation that accompanies the text. One appendix will present an annotated transcription from the Receipts of the King's Keepers of Temporalities following Reynolds' death, which reveals the values and destiny of many of his possessions and suggests that a number of the items he had bequeathed did not apparently go to their intended recipients.

I have already written much about Archbishop Walter Reynolds, to which reference will be made when appropriate.¹ Several texts and commentaries upon the wills of other Canterbury archbishops have previously been published, including an unreliable and incomplete transcription of the text of Reynolds' will that was printed (without analysis or annotation) nearly seventy years ago.²

¹ J. R. Wright, *The Church and the English Crown, 1305-1334. A Study Based on the Register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Studies and Texts 48; Toronto, 1980) and 'The Supposed Illiteracy of Archbishop Walter Reynolds' in *The Church and Academic Learning. Papers Read at the Sixth Summer Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 5; Leiden, 1969), pp. 58-68. See also the articles by J. H. Denton listed in Wright, *The Church and the English Crown*, p. 428 and Denton, 'The "Communitas Cleri" in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 51 (1978) 72-78.

² C. E. Woodruff, 'Sede Vacante Wills', *Kent Records* 3 (Canterbury, 1914); Reynolds' will is printed on pp. 67-72, and earlier it was calendared in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report with Appendix* (London, 1876), p. 460. For other Canterbury wills see, for example, C. R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), pp. 175-76; L. L. Duncan, 'The Will of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1396', *Archaeologia cantiana* 23 (1898) 55-67 and 'The Will of Cardinal Bourgchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1486', *ibid.* 24 (1900) 244-52; L. E. Whatmore, 'The Will of Cardinal Pole', *Kent Recusant History* 2 (1979). Some other Canterbury

In form and substance Reynolds' will is very similar to the copy of that of his predecessor Robert Winchelsey, which has been published in full and reliable transcription,³ and Reynolds made bequests to at least five religious institutions, noted below, that were also beneficiaries of Winchelsey.⁴ The next will of a Canterbury archbishop to survive, that of John Stratford (d. 1348), shows the appearance of two kinds of objects not present in the wills of either Reynolds or Winchelsey: relics and a rosary.⁵ Much is already known about the earlier evolution of wills in medieval England,⁶ to which the present text gives added evidence of their mixed nomenclature. First the text of Reynolds' will calls itself a *testamentum seu voluntas ultima*, once a *testamentum ac ultima voluntas*, and four times merely a *testamentum*. The title of the present study is named from the first of these terms to occur in the text, although following modern convention I will generally refer to the document as merely a 'will'. The will of Reynolds is dated 11 November 1327 and he died five days later, on 16 November. Most of the named executors were members of the archbishop's household in some sense, and much biographical information about them from his register and elsewhere, not generally available, is presented in the notes that comprise the second appendix.

To a modern reader perhaps the most striking point about the form of a medieval will of this sort is that it is primarily a religious instrument with theological implications, beginning in the name of the Trinity, considering earthly life as a temporary pilgrimage, bequeathing soul and body as well as earthly possessions, and naming God and the saints as first among the beneficiaries:

In the name of the Highest and Holy Trinity, Almighty God Father Son and Holy Spirit, I Walter by the sufferance of God humble minister of the church of Canterbury, primate of all England, sound in mind although in body a bit weak, considering the unstable state of the present world and for this reason wishing to anticipate the end of my pilgrimage by testamentary disposition, do ordain and

archiepiscopal wills are summarized in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eighth Report with Appendix* (London, 1881), pp. 336-40.

³ *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, cantuariensis archiepiscopi, A.D. 1294-1313*, ed. R. Graham, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York Series 51-52; London, 1952-56), 1.xxxii-xxxiv and 2.1340-45.

⁴ See below, pp. 450-52 nn. 11, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28.

⁵ Woodruff, 'Sede Vacante Wills', 73-74.

⁶ The fundamental work is M. M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Studies and Texts 6; Toronto, 1963). For the wills of cardinals from 1202 to 1341, see A. Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 25; Rome, 1980). Also see P. and F. Strong, 'The Last Will and Codicils of Henry v', *English Historical Review* 96 (1981) 79-102.

make my testament or last will in this manner. First I commend my soul to Almighty God who created it out of nothing and who suffered for it on the cross redeeming it from eternal damnation, and to Blessed Mary the Glorious Virgin and to St. Thomas the Martyr and all the saints, and my body for burial in my church of Christ at Canterbury over which He Who is the true patron of the said church has permitted me according to His pleasure to preside for the time being, namely, before the altars of Blessed Mary the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist near the tomb of my renowned predecessor Robert, deceased, apart on the pavement at his feet or head or otherwise before the said tomb as it shall seem easier for it to be placed there, protesting that I wish to finish the days of my life in the catholic faith and in no way to withdraw in life or in death from the articles of faith or from the Christian religion or profession which I professed in Baptism.

The document of which the following text is a transcription is located among the Dean and Chapter Archives of Canterbury Cathedral where it is designated as ms. Cartae antiquae A14. It is printed here with permission of the Dean and Chapter, which is gratefully acknowledged. It consists of a single, slightly irregular, square piece of parchment which, with folded *plica* of about one inch at the bottom, measures variously 50-55 mm. horizontally from side to side and 53-55 mm. vertically from top to bottom. The membrane is in a good state of preservation, although folds are evident, as well as slits for the thong. The writing is clear and of one hand. On the dorse appear various marks, evidence of seals now lost and notes in other hands.

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In preparing this transcription I have generally followed the recommendations of the British Records Association, *Notes for the Guidance of Editors of Record Publications* (London, 1946) and of R. F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication* (London, 1977). My primary aim has been to render the text in a form that can be read and used by the historian. This object has been pursued by expanding all abbreviations whenever possible, by rendering the handwriting of the medieval scribe in modern letters, and by identifying with footnotes as many as possible of the names, terms and items of interest. Capitalization has been modernized, and paragraphs and punctuation introduced for the sake of clarity. I have transcribed *i* and *u* as vowels, and *j* and *v* as consonants; and whenever a single *c* or *t* is followed by *i* plus another vowel, *c* has been read. Words or letters supplied have been enclosed within square brackets, and individual differences in medieval spelling have not been standardized.

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes to the text and thereafter:

- CCR *Calendar of the Close Rolls ... A.D. 1272-1337*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, A. B. Hinds, and W. H. B. Bird, 12 vols. (London, 1892-1900)
- CCW *Calendar of Chancery Warrants ... A.D. 1244-1326*, vol. 1: *Privy Seals*, ed. R. C. Fowler (London, 1927)
- CFR *Calendar of the Fine Rolls ... A.D. 1272-1337*, ed. A. E. Bland, 4 vols. (London, 1911-13)
- Churchill I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, Illustrated from Original Records*, 2 vols. (London, 1933)
- CPL *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1362*, ed. W. H. Bliss and C. Johnson, 3 vols. (London, 1894-97)
- CPR *Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... A.D. 1232-1338*, ed. J. G. Black et al., 16 vols. (London, 1891-1913)
- Du Boulay F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury. An Essay on Medieval Society* (London, 1956)
- Emden, Oxford A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59)
- Goulder L. Goulder, *Canterbury*, 2nd edition (Pilgrimage Pamphlets 1; n.p., 1962)
- I/E/ABC Immediate or exempt jurisdiction and patronage of the archbishopric of Canterbury (cf. Churchill 1.62-94, 109)
- Knowles and Hadcock D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edition (London, 1971)
- Le Neve J. Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1300-1541*, newly edited by J. M. Horn, B. Jones, and H. P. F. King, 12 vols. (London, 1962-67). Each volume is cited by its modern title or an abbreviation thereof.
- PRO Public Record Office, London
- R Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury
- RR Register of Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury, in London, Lambeth Palace Library s.n.
- Reg. Jean xxii *Jean xxii (1316-1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat, 16 vols. (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3rd Ser.; Paris, 1904-47)
- Reg. Reynolds Worcester *The Register of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308-1313*, ed. R. A. Wilson (Dugdale Society 9; London, 1928)
- Reg. Winchelsey *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, cantuariensis archiepiscopi, A.D. 1294-1313*, ed. R. Graham, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York Series 51-52; London, 1952-56)
- Sheehan M. M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England from the*

- Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Studies and Texts 6; Toronto, 1963)
- VCH Kent 2 *The Victoria History of the County of Kent* 2, ed. W. Page (London, 1926). Other volumes in this series are cited similarly.
- Wright J. R. Wright, *The Church and the English Crown, 1305-1334. A Study Based on the Register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Studies and Texts 48; Toronto, 1980).

[DORSE: TESTAMENTUM DOMINI WALTERI ARCHIEPISCOPI DEFUNCTI⁷]

In nomine Summe et Sancte Trinitatis Omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Ego Walterus Dei paciencia Cantuariensis ecclesie minister humilis, tocius Anglie primas, sanus mente licet corpore aliquantulum imbecillis, considerans presentis seculi statum instabilem et propter hoc volens mee peregrinationis extremum dispositione testamentaria prevenire testamentum meum seu voluntatem meam ultimam⁸ ordino et facio in hunc modum.

In primis commendo animam meam Omnipotenti Deo qui ipsam creavit ex nichilo et qui pro ea passus est in cruce ipsam ab eterna dampnacione redimendo, et Beate Marie Virgini gloriose ac Sancto Thome Martiri et omnibus sanctis, corpusque meum sepeliendum in mea Christi Cant' ecclesia cui ipse eiusdem ecclesie verus patronus ad tempus preesse sicut ei placuit me permisit, videlicet ante altaria Beate Marie Virginis et Sancti Johannis ewangeliste juxta timulum⁹ celebris memorie quondam R[oberti] predecessoris mei seorsum in plana terra ad ipsius pedes vel ad capud seu alias ante ipsum timulum prout ibi posse videbitur melius collocari.¹⁰

Protestans me in fide catholica velle dies meos natales finire nec ab articulis fidei nec a religione christiana seu professione quam in baptismo sum professus in vita vel in morte recedere quoquomodo.

Die autem sepulture mee lego conventui ecclesie mee ad pictanciam decem marcas.

⁷ These words are written on the dorse in a medieval hand contemporary with the hand of the will but different from it.

⁸ A *testamentum* was a deed legally effective at death, whereas an *ultima voluntas* was a legally binding request to one's executors. The former often included the latter, as here. Further see Sheehan, pp. 139, 178, 192 and E. F. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, 4 vols. (Canterbury and York Series 42, 45-47; Oxford, 1943-47), 2.xix-xxi.

⁹ MS. *timulum* for *tumulum* here and hereafter.

¹⁰ On the identity of R's tomb in the south choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral, where he was buried rather than at the foot of his predecessor Winchelsey in the southeast transept as his will directs, see F. Woodman, 'Two Tombs in the South Choir Aisle', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 69 (1975) 14-23 and *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1981), p. 253.

Item lego ipsi ecclesie mee¹¹ novum vestimentum meum rubeum broudatum desuper ymaginibus pretenditibus effigiem martirii Beati Thome Martiris gloriosi,¹² quod quidem vestimentum continet octo garniamenta sic broudata, videlicet tres capas chori, casulam cum tunica et dalmatica eiusdem secte pro me facta ac tunica et dalmatica pro diacono et subdiacono in missa ministrantibus, similiter et cum hiis duos pannos eiusdem secte sic broudatos eodem martirio pro altari cooperiendo subtus et supra; insuper duos alios pannos eiusdem eciam secte auro cubatos de martirio predicto ad modum curtinarum apendendos ante utrumque cornu altaris cum duobus tapetis laneis¹³ die festorum ipsius sancti in veneracionem et convenienciam martirii dicti Martiris gloriosi.

Item lego unum anulum magnum pontificalem cum uno lapide saphirino precioso qui quondam fuit Sancti Wulstani¹⁴ in eodem impresso ornatum in circumferencia cum amiraldis feretro gloriosi Martiris Thome,¹⁵ quem affigi volo in feretro gloriosi Martiris antedicti inter alia jocalia que optuli et contuli eidem feretro temporibus retroactis.

Item lego ad feretrum Sancti Edmundi Pontiniacen' quondam predecessoris mei¹⁶ unum anulum cum lapide de rubetto laqueo serico eidem appendente quem ipsemet ut asseritur in vita sua habuit, rogans dilectum clericum meum dominum Johannem de Camera¹⁷ quatinus mei contemplacione et obtentu ipsum anulum deferat ad feretrum Beati Edmundi supradicti seu saltim meo nomine faciat ibidem transmitti.

¹¹ Archbishop Winchelsey had also left a fine 'vestment' to the church of Canterbury (Reg. Winchelsey 2.1340).

¹² For the possibility of R's devotion to Becket, see Wright, p. 271.

¹³ MS. *cum ... laneis* interlineated.

¹⁴ MS. *precioso ... Wulstani* interlineated. Wulstan (Wulfstan) II was elected bishop of Worcester in 1062, and died in 1095. The pontifical ring of St. Wulstan was said to be incapable of removal from his finger at the time of his burial in 1095, but in 1198 his tomb was opened and the ring may have been removed then or subsequently. Whether this was the same ring, however, is uncertain. See J. W. Lamb, *Saint Wulstan, Prelate and Patriot. A Study of His Life and Times* (London, 1933), pp. 195, 203; below, p. 459 n. 101.

¹⁵ MS. *Item lego eidem feretro unum anulum aureum cum lapide saphirino insculpto ad modum cuiusdam leonis* following *Thome* but removed by *va-cat* interlineated between *Item* and *leonis*, thus making *quem* to follow *Thome*, as here. For bequest of the *anulum aureum cum lapide saphirino insculpto ad modum cuiusdam leonis*, see below, p. 454 and n. 44.

¹⁶ St. Edmund (Rich) of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury 1234-40, who was buried at Pontigny in self-imposed exile and was canonized in 1246. English interest in this (English) saint seems to have been rare by the time of R's death. On his shrine at Pontigny see W. Wallace, *Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury from Original Sources* (London, 1893), pp. 404-32, and B. Ward, *St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. His Life, as Told by Old English Writers* (London, 1903), pp. 167-233; also see generally C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon. A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 4-5, 322-25. None of these works mentions this ring.

¹⁷ See below, Appendix B, no. 1.

Item lego altari Beate Marie¹⁸ ecclesie cathedralis Wygorn' ubi missa eiusdem gloriose Virginis solito celebratur ibidem vestimentum meum album ymaginibus angelorum desuper broudatur quod quidem vestimentum continet sex garniamenta unius secte sic broudata, videlicet tres capas chori, unam casulam et duas tunicas pro diacono et subdiacono in missa ministrantibus.

Item volo et ordino quod die sepulture mee singulis pauperibus confluentibus singuli denarii distribuuntur, ita quod ad minus distribuuntur illo die pro anima mea centum marce sterlingorum¹⁹ prout executores mei duxerint ordinandum.

Lego eciam viginti marcas distribuendas inter pauperes die tricesima post obitum meum in civitate Cant'.

Volo eciam quod ordinetur quod illo die celebretur pro anima mea in qualibet ecclesia civitatis Cant' tam inter religiosos quam inter alios, et ad hoc faciendum lego decem marcas distribuendas juxta ordinacionem executorum meorum.

Item lego priori et ecclesie mee Christi Cant' bibliam meam in tribus voluminibus divisam.²⁰

Item lego successori meo proximo in ecclesia mea antedicta unum baculum pastorem et anulum pontificalem et librum pontificalem quos emi de meo proprio, et cirotecas meas auro et margaritis albis munitas.²¹

Item lego conventui fratrum predicatorum Cant' quinque marcas,²² similiter

¹⁸ The Lady chapel, completed in the mid-thirteenth century, was at the east end of the cathedral. The location of this 'altar of Blessed Mary', however, is uncertain, for there was more than one altar dedicated to her in the medieval cathedral. See B. Singleton, 'The Remodelling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the Earlier Part of the Thirteenth Century' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral*, ed. British Archaeological Association (? London, 1978), pp. 105-15 and especially p. 110; (anon.), *Worcester Cathedral*, 11th edition (Gloucester, 1966), especially pp. 20-21, 44, 49-50.

¹⁹ This arrangement would pay for 16,000 paupers; for comparisons, see J. C. Dickinson, *The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1979), pp. 350-51. On the custom of endowments of prayers and distributions of alms, see J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise. Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972), chaps. 2 and 6.

²⁰ This bible divided into three volumes, one of R's most valuable possessions, may not have reached its intended recipients after it was delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to R's successor Archbishop Simon Mepham; see below, p. 459 n. 97, 463 n. 160. R's bequest of this bible to Canterbury is noted by M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover ...* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. xlv, 497, but it does not survive today.

²¹ Archbishop Mepham received most of these from the king's keepers of temporalities; see below, p. 459 and p. 462 nn. 141, 153. The pontifical ring could be any one of several; below, pp. 460-65. Mepham also received from the keepers a pastoral staff 'of moderate or no value'; below, p. 464 n. 180.

²² The Dominicans, or Black Friars, at Canterbury, located on both sides of the river Stour, were founded c. 1236-38. On R's relations with the Dominicans, see Wright, pp. 234-35, 251. Archbishop Winchelsey in his will had left the Dominicans 40 shillings (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1341). Further on the Dominicans at Canterbury, see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 214-15; *VCH Kent* 2.177-80; Goulder, p. 116; C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Friar-Preachers, or Black Friars, of

et conventui fratrum minorum civitatis eiusdem xl solidos.²³

Item fratribus ordinis Sancti Augustini viginti solidos.²⁴

Item pauperibus presbiteris de Eastbregge in civitate Cant' unam marcam.²⁵

Item lego pauperibus hospitalis de Herbaldonne viginti solidos.²⁶

Item pauperibus hospitalis de Northgate viginti solidos.²⁷

Item lego monialibus de Sancto Sepulchro extra Cant' unam marcam.²⁸

Canterbury', *Archaeologia cantiana* 13 (1880) 81-96; A. R. Martin, 'The Dominican Priory at Canterbury', *The Archaeological Journal* 86 (1930) 152-77.

²³ The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, at Canterbury, located on Stour Street, were founded 1224/1268. R had licensed the warden and three brothers of the Canterbury Franciscans to preach and hear confessions in 1323, and in 1325 he consecrated their church at Canterbury (RR, fols. 186v, 249v; C. Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury, 1224 to 1538. A Contribution to the 700th Anniversary of Their Arrival in England* [British Society of Franciscan Studies, extra series 2; Manchester, 1924], pp. 26, 38, 77). Archbishop Winchelsey may have remembered the Franciscans in his will (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1341). Further on the Franciscans at Canterbury, see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 222, 224; *VCH Kent* 2.190-94; Goulder, pp. 111-12.

²⁴ The Austin, or Augustinian, Friars at Canterbury, located in St. George's Street, were founded in 1318 under license from Edward II to Archbishop Reynolds to alienate in mortmain. In 1317 R had been appointed by Pope John XXII as one of the three conservators of papal privileges to the Austin Friars in England. Later, in 1325, R ordered an enquiry after the Austin Friars founded an oratory on other property in Canterbury without his permission. Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 240-41; *VCH Kent* 2.199-201; Goulder, p. 120; F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961-66), 2, nos. 191, 199, 240, 251.

²⁵ Eastbridge Hospital, later of St. Thomas the Martyr, located in Canterbury on High Street where it crosses the Stour River, not far from the Westgate, was founded in the late twelfth century by Edward son of Odbold, for the care of poor and sick pilgrims. Archbishop Winchelsey in his will had left this hospital 40 shillings (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1341). In 1313 it was found before the justices in eyre at Canterbury that the master and brethren of this hospital were bound to maintain the east bridge, whence their name was derived, because they held rents specified as being for that purpose. Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 317, 350; *VCH Kent* 2.214; Goulder, pp. 113-14; W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), p. 172 and, for Canterbury almshouses generally, p. 199; S. G. Wilson, *With the Pilgrims to Canterbury and the History of the Hospital of Saint Thomas* (London, 1934).

²⁶ St. Nicholas' Hospital, Harbledown (Kent), on the road to London, was founded c. 1084 by Archbishop Lanfranc, for the care of lepers and pilgrims. Archbishop Winchelsey in his will had left this hospital 100 shillings (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1341). Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 322, 362; *VCH Kent* 2.219-20; Goulder, p. 116.

²⁷ The Hospital of St. John Baptist outside the old North Gate in Canterbury was founded in 1084 or at least before 1086 by Archbishop Lanfranc and endowed with revenues from the see of Canterbury, for care of the poor and sick, both men and women. Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 317, 350; *VCH Kent* 2.211-12; Goulder, p. 117. On this and the two preceding hospitals, see J. Duncombe and N. Battely, *The History and Antiquities of the Three Archiepiscopal Hospitals at and near Canterbury* (London, 1785); C. Cotton and E. L. Holland, *The Canterbury Chantries and Hospitals ... in 1546* (Kent Records 12, Supplement; Ashford, 1934); A. Hussey, *Kent Chantries* (Kent Records 12; Ashford, 1932).

²⁸ The Convent of St. Sepulchre, located in Canterbury on the south side of Oaten Hill road, was a Benedictine nunnery founded in the late eleventh century or c. 1100 by Archbishop Anselm. Archbishop Winchelsey in his will had left this convent 100 marks (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1342). Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 253, 257; *VCH Kent* 2.142-44; Goulder, p. 108; Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, p. 69.

Item lego sororibus de Sancto Jacobo extra Cant' unam marcam.²⁹

Item lego altari Beate Katerine de hospitali eiusdem iuxta turrim London'³⁰ duo frontalia cum duabus³¹ ridellis argento cubata de historia Natalis Domini³² et similiter unam albam, unam amictam et unam stolam cum manipulo.

Item lego altari Beate Katerine in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptiste de nova Wyndesore³³ duo frontalia de syndone de martirio Beate Katerine argento cubata,³⁴ et similiter unam albam, unam amictam et unam stolam cum manipulo.

Item lego altari Beate³⁵ Thome de Acon London' duo frontalia de panno de kamoca virid[i]s coloris broudada³⁶ de martirio Beati Thome cum duobus³⁷ ridellis eiusdem coloris.³⁸

Item lego ecclesie Sancti Martini³⁹ de Wymbildon' duo frontalia de kamoca palee et duo ridella de syndone palee.

Item lego ecclesie Beate Marie de Sabrichesworth' unam albam, unam amictam cum stola et manipulo et unum superpellicium.⁴⁰

Item lego ecclesie Beate Marie de Snyterle unam albam, unam amictam cum stola et manipulo et unum superpellicium.⁴¹

²⁹ The Hospital of St. Jacob or St. James for leprous women, located outside Canterbury at the far end of Wincheap in the suburb of Thanington, was founded in the later twelfth century, probably before 1164, by a physician named 'Master Feramin'. Further see Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 288, 335, 397; *VCH Kent* 2.209-10; Urry, *ibid.*, pp. 158, 167.

³⁰ The Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower, London, was founded 1148/1273. See Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 325, 373. It is possible that R had some particular devotion to St. Katherine, if this and the next entry in the will are indicative.

³¹ MS. *duabus*, but *duabus* below; see below, n. 37.

³² These frontals of the Lord's Nativity may not have reached their intended recipient after they were delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to Archbishop Mepham. See below, p. 461 n. 115.

³³ For R's connections with Windsor, see Wright, pp. 257-58 and n. 75. Further on the church, see *The Parish Church of St. John Baptist, Windsor, with an Account of All Saints* (Gloucester, 1948).

³⁴ These frontals of St. Katherine may not have reached their intended recipient after they were delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to Archbishop Mepham. See below, p. 461, n. 128.

³⁵ MS. *sic*.

³⁶ MS. *broudada* interlineated.

³⁷ MS. *duabus*, but *duabus* above; see above, n. 31.

³⁸ The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, London, founded before 1191, was named in honor of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury and the crusading fortress of Acre (Acon) (Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 325, 372). These frontals and riddel curtains of St. Thomas the Martyr may not have reached their intended recipient after they were delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to Archbishop Mepham. See below, p. 461 nn. 125, 126.

³⁹ MS. *sic*, but the medieval parish church at Wimbledon, of which R had been rector, was dedicated to St. Mary (*VCH Surrey* 4.123-25). For R's connections with Wimbledon (Surrey), see Wright, p. 361, no. 1. Also see below, p. 461 nn. 124, 129.

⁴⁰ For R's connections with Sawbridgeworth (Herts.), see Wright, p. 363, no. 7.

⁴¹ For R's connections with Snitterley (Blakeney, Norf.), see Wright, p. 364, no. 10.

Item lego dimidium c cere pro illis cereis sustinendis qui per me solebant sustineri in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptiste de nova Wyndesore.⁴²

Item lego domino meo domino Edwardo Dei gracia regi Anglorum⁴³ illustri unum anulum aureum cum lapide saphirino insculpto ad modum cuiusdam leonis.⁴⁴

Item lego domine mee domine Isabelli⁴⁵ regine Angl' unum firmaculum aureum preciosum cum amiraldis et purulis circumornatum.

Item lego domino Johanni fratri domini mei domini regis antedicti unum gladium de guerra cum apparatu de argento deaurato cum zona et coopertura de serico rubeo.⁴⁶

Item lego venerabili in Christo fratri meo domino Johanni Dei gracia Elien' episcopo unum anulum aureum cum pulchro lapide saphirino quadrato.⁴⁷

Item lego capelle gloriosissime Virginis Marie de Walsingham unam zonam de filio aureo cum apparatu de auro.⁴⁸

Item lego magistro Gilberto de Middelton⁴⁹ officiali curie mee de arcubus London' unum par cultellorum de cristallo cum virolis de argento deaurato et aumalato.

Item lego magistro Johanni de Reddeswelle⁵⁰ meum magnum portiforium.

Item magistro Roberto de Reddeswelle⁵¹ meum parvum portiforium.

Item magistro Ade de Penytone⁵² missale meum parvum coopertum cum panno de kamoca nigro et unum par cultellorum de jaspide.⁵³

Item lego magistro Galfrido de Eytone⁵⁴ decano meo⁵⁵ de arcubus London' unum par cultellorum de jaspide.⁵⁶

⁴² See above, n. 33.

⁴³ *ms. Anglor'*. Edward III, king of England 25 January 1327-21 June 1377; see below, p. 459.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 450 n. 15.

⁴⁵ *ms. sic.* Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France, queen of England, wife of Edward II, mother of Edward III, d. 1358; see below, p. 459.

⁴⁶ John of Eltham, son of Edward II and Isabella, born 1316, died 1336; see below, p. 459.

⁴⁷ John Hotham, O.S.B., bishop of Ely 1316-37. Possibly this ring did not reach its intended recipient after it was delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to Archbishop Mepham. See below, p. 456 n. 75 and p. 464 n. 184.

⁴⁸ Further see J. C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 35; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p. 460.

⁴⁹ See below, Appendix B, no. 2.

⁵⁰ See below, Appendix B, no. 3.

⁵¹ See below, Appendix B, no. 4.

⁵² See below, Appendix B, no. 5.

⁵³ Possibly the three pairs of jasper knives bequeathed by R (cf. nn. 56, 58 below) did not reach their intended recipients after they were delivered by the king's keepers of temporalities to Archbishop Mepham: below, p. 464 n. 179.

⁵⁴ See below, Appendix B, no. 6.

⁵⁵ *ms. nostro* struck out.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 53.

Item lego domino Radulpho de Wyndesore⁵⁷ consanguineo meo unum par cultellorum de jaspide.⁵⁸

Item lego domino Johanni de Camera⁵⁹ mea clerico meo parvum missale meum de capella mea.

Item lego hospitali Beati Thome de Suwerk⁶⁰ duos equos ad carectam.⁶¹

Post hec vero, volo et ordino et ex parte Dei precipio quatinus debita mea personis singulis quibus remaneo quomodolibet obligatus de bonis meis residuis ne anima mea eris alieni onere langueat pregravata vendicioni celeriter exponendis ante omnia persolvantur.

Volo autem, ordino et dispono quod singuli de familia mea juxta gradus, condiciones et merita eorundem attentis laboribus singulorum respiciantur competenter juxta discrecionem executorum meorum de meis bonis que remanserint ultra debita persoluta. Et quicquid ultra residuum fuerit distribuatur inter pauperes tenentes super maneria archiepiscopatus mei quos executores mei magis viderint indigentes.

Huius autem testamenti mei ac ultime voluntatis mee executores constituo infrascriptos, videlicet dominum Walterum de Norwyco militem⁶² de cuius fidelitate et amicia summe confido, ac eciam dilectissimos clericos meos magistros Johannem de Bruytone,⁶³ Johannem de Reddeswelle⁶⁴ senescallum terrarum mearum, Robertum de Reddeswelle⁶⁵ cancellarium meum, Radulphum de Wyndesore⁶⁶ consanguineum meum, dominum Johannem de

⁵⁷ See below, Appendix B, no. 7.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 53.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 450 at n. 17 and below, pp. 456 n. 69, 459, 460, 464, and Appendix B, no. 1.

⁶⁰ Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark, founded 1213-15 (Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 333, 393).

⁶¹ There follows a blank space of vertical dimension about one inch (about two or three lines of the hand of the ms.) running the entire length of the parchment.

⁶² Walter Norwich (of Norwich): baron of the exchequer and treasurer at various times 1311-21 (F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edition [London, 1961], pp. 100-101; and cf. under his name in indexes of J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Its Character and Policy. A Study in Administrative History* [Cambridge, 1918]; T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History, Based upon the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in 1913*, 2nd edition rev. by H. Johnstone [Publications of the University of Manchester 252, Historical Series 21; Manchester, 1936]; J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322. A Study in the Reign of Edward II* [Oxford, 1970]; and J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324. Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* [Oxford, 1972]). In February 1323 R dispensed one Richard de Ty, clerk of Walter Norwich, for non-residence for two years provided that he follow in the service of the said Walter (RR, fol. 289r).

⁶³ See below, Appendix B, no. 8.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 50, and below, Appendix B, no. 3.

⁶⁵ See above, n. 51, and below, Appendix B, no. 4.

⁶⁶ See above, n. 57, and below, Appendix B, no. 7.

Ringwode⁶⁷ thesaurarium meum Cant', magistrum Adam de Penytone,⁶⁸ dominum Johannem de Camera⁶⁹ mea clericum meum, dominum Thomam de Stowe,⁷⁰ dominum Ricardum de Kyngtone⁷¹ elemosinarium meum, Johannem de Breydistone⁷² senescallum meum libertatis ecclesie mee Christi Cant' et Willelmum Moraunt,⁷³ quos quidem executores⁷⁴ meos rogo in visceribus caritatis quod ipsi circa execucionem huius ultime mee disposicionis eo diligencius intendant quo ex fidelitate et industria eorum per me jamdudum electa in huius execucionis negocio premium a Deo reportabunt. Rogo eciam et instancia devota requiro venerabilem fratrem meum et ab omni tempore mihi amicissimum dominum Johannem Dei gracia Elien' episcopum⁷⁵ quod placeat sibi execucioni huius testamenti mei quatenus poterit superintendere, et eam ac .. executores meos prescriptos et eorum facta superintendere⁷⁶ cum sibi videbitur oportunum.

In cuius rei testimonium hoc presens testamentum meum sub sigillo meo magno includi feci in mea presencia et eciam ad maiorem securitatem idem sigillum eidem testamento appendi necnon ad maiorem cautelam clausum testamentum secreto meo sigillo rotundo feci consignari ipso parvo sigillo apud me remanente.⁷⁷

Actum et datum apud Mortelake in camera manerii mei ibidem, undecimo die mensis Novembris anno Domini MCCC vicesimo septimo.⁷⁸

[DORSE: Exhibitum fuit istud testamentum coram nobis Henrico permissione divina priore ecclesie Christi Cantuar' et fratribus per capitulum ad hoc deputatis in ecclesia Christi predicta .iiii. kalendas Decembris anno Domini MCCC vicesimo septimo⁷⁹ ac per testes legitimos in numero sufficienti probatum sede Cantuar' tunc vacante et propterea pro ipso per nos pronunciatum et⁸⁰ apertum.⁸¹]

⁶⁷ See below, Appendix B, no. 9.

⁶⁸ See above, n. 52, and below, Appendix B, no. 5.

⁶⁹ See above, nn. 17, 59, and below, Appendix B, no. 1.

⁷⁰ See below, Appendix B, no. 10.

⁷¹ See below, Appendix B, no. 11.

⁷² See below, Appendix B, no. 12.

⁷³ See below, Appendix B, no. 13.

⁷⁴ ms. *execut* with *ores* interlineated.

⁷⁵ See above, n. 47.

⁷⁶ ms. *superindere*.

⁷⁷ On R's seals, see Wright, frontispiece and pp. 259, 266, 271; also see below, n. 81.

⁷⁸ This is 11 November 1327. R died on 16 November 1327 (Wright, p. 414).

⁷⁹ This is 28 November 1327.

⁸⁰ ms. *et* interlineated.

⁸¹ ms. *Exhibitum ... apertum* on dorse, written in a different medieval hand contemporary with the hand of the will itself. Dorse also reads 'Probate Copy of Walter Lord Archbishop of

Reynolds died on 16 November 1327, five days after his will was made, and he was buried on 27 November. On 21 November the Canterbury chapter had already sent two of its monks to the king with a petition for license to elect a new archbishop, which they obtained from the king on 30 November.⁸² And on 28 November, the day following burial, Reynolds' will was exhibited and proved in the chapter of Canterbury, according to the note on its dorse; this was one of the customary functions of the prior and chapter as keeper of spiritualities when the see was vacant.⁸³

But the archbishop of Canterbury held his whole temporality 'in demesne as of fee' of the king,⁸⁴ the temporalities of a see were not always distinguishable from the spiritualities, there was a further problem of identifying personal and devisable property within the temporality,⁸⁵ and Reynolds had debts to the crown. Already on 19 November, just three days after the archbishop's death, Edward III had given order to his escheator beyond Trent to take the temporalities of the see into the king's hand,⁸⁶ and on 20 November he ordered the escheator to deliver the temporalities to John de Ifeld, William de Leycestre (Leicester) and John de Breidestone (steward or seneschal of the archbishop's liberty and a yeoman of the king), whom he had appointed as keepers of temporalities with mandate to answer at the exchequer.⁸⁷ On 23 November the king ordered the sheriffs of London, Middlesex, Kent and Surrey and Sussex to take Reynolds' goods and chattels into the king's hand, as Reynolds was 'held to the king', and to keep them in safety and send lists of them to the king,⁸⁸ and on the following day he informed his sheriffs, bailiffs and other ministers that he had appointed Breidestone, together with Leycestre, to survey and evaluate Reynolds' goods and chattels in the king's hand.⁸⁹ On 14 and 16 December the king associated master John de Reddeswelle (steward or seneschal of all the archbishop's lands as well as a king's clerk and baron of the exchequer) with

Canterbury's will/A 14/1327/Walter Reynolds Archbishop/C.175', all in later, post-medieval hand, with 'C.175' struck out; and it shows shaped outlines of the archbishop's great seal and of his small round seal, which are no longer present. For probate procedure, see R. M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 7; Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 113-18.

⁸² Canterbury Cathedral Reg. Q, fol. 123r; London, Lambeth Palace Library 243, fol. 5r; PRO C84/21/44; CPR 1327-30, p. 191.

⁸³ Churchill 1.563; above, n. 81.

⁸⁴ Du Boulay, pp. 194 ff.; Sheehan, p. 297.

⁸⁵ M. E. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (University of London Historical Studies 9; London, 1962), chap. 4 and especially p. 71.

⁸⁶ CFR 1327-37, p. 69.

⁸⁷ CFR 1327-37, p. 70; for Breidestone see above, n. 72. Leycestre, at least, received payment for services as a keeper beginning on 20 November 1327 (CCR 1327-30, p. 352).

⁸⁸ CFR 1327-37, p. 70.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

Leycestre and Breidestone for this purpose, as having fuller knowledge of the said goods owing to his greater familiarity with the archbishop's services.⁹⁰ And on 17 December the king appointed Reddeswelle, Ifeld, Leycestre and Breidestone as keepers of the archbishopric, to survey the possessions of the see now in the king's hand and to take order for custody of the same. Reddeswelle and Leycestre were also to audit accounts and recover arrears of Reynolds' bailiffs and other ministers, since he was indebted at the exchequer.⁹¹ Then on the next day, 18 December, the king ordered John de Ringwood, a clerk who had been Reynolds' treasurer and financial receiver at Canterbury, to deliver to Reddeswelle and Leycestre all the rolls and memoranda touching the accounts of Reynolds' bailiffs, ministers, reeves and receivers who were bound to render account of the time they were in Reynolds' service.⁹²

Such were the immediate provisions for the settlement of Reynolds' estate, of which history has left record, during the month or so after his death. The matter dragged on and some details were still being settled as late as March of 1332,⁹³ but on 19 September 1328 the temporalities were officially restored by royal mandate to Reynolds' successor, Archbishop Simon Mepham.⁹⁴ On 25 October 1328, and again subsequently, the king at Mepham's request ordered Leycestre and Breidestone to deliver to Mepham for administration and disposal all the remaining monies, jewels, goods and chattels of Reynolds upon promise of Mepham to satisfy the king at the exchequer so far as their value sufficed for all of Reynolds' debts that were still outstanding, provided that the king could purchase any of the jewels he might wish.⁹⁵ The king stated that he was ordering this delivery to Mepham upon Mepham's claim that the executors named in Reynolds' will had refused to assume administration of his goods or to meddle therewith for the execution of the will.

Mepham's assertion about Reynolds' executors' refusal cannot be established by independent evidence, but we do know that two of the twelve executors named in Reynolds' will, John de Breidestone and John de Reddeswelle, were also two of the four keepers of temporalities appointed by the crown. The accounts of the keepers are found at the Public Record Office in London, recorded under the names of Breidestone, Leycestre and Ifeld, and they show that Breidestone and Leycestre as keepers received many ornaments of Reynolds' chapel, books, jewels and other items from Reynolds' household

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

⁹¹ *CPR 1327-30*, p. 194; cf. *CFR 1327-37*, p. 73.

⁹² *CCR 1327-30*, p. 193.

⁹³ *CCR 1330-33*, pp. 451-52; cf. *CFR 1327-37*, p. 80.

⁹⁴ *CPR 1327-30*, p. 319.

⁹⁵ *CCR 1327-30*, pp. 338, 352, 425, 472; *CCR 1330-33*, pp. 104, 107.

clerk in charge of his chapel at the time of his death, John de Camera, who had also been named as an executor in the will.⁹⁶ All these items (with one exception noted below, a mitre not mentioned in the will that was sold to Bishop Henry Burghersh) were valued in two groups at £85. 7s. 8d. and £29. 14s. and were delivered on behalf of the king to Archbishop Mepham. Some items named in the will appear to be listed in the receipts of the keepers, while others do not, and many other items are listed in the receipts that were not named in the will. It seems, therefore, that some items bequeathed in the will did not reach their intended recipients but were delivered to Mepham instead, at the king's command and with the positive assistance of at least three of the executors.

We do know that the valuable bible in three volumes, left in the will to the prior and church of Canterbury, was delivered to Mepham,⁹⁷ although we know not whether he kept it or passed it on. The new archbishop may well have gotten the pastoral staff, ring, pontifical and gloves that were bequeathed by Reynolds to his successor,⁹⁸ as well as a number of other items bequeathed elsewhere in the will above and noted in the receipts below.⁹⁹ It seems at least possible that the church of Canterbury got the new red set of vestments left in the will to it¹⁰⁰ and that the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury got the large pontifical ring with a sapphire surrounded by emeralds,¹⁰¹ if these items were at Canterbury and not under the king's guard at the time the will was opened in chapter on 28 November. The ring left in the will to Edward III, the clasp to Queen Isabella and sword to John of Eltham may have gone to their intended royal recipients,¹⁰² if these were among the items seized by the crown in the month following Reynolds' death. John de Reddeswelle may have acquired the large breviary designated in the will for him¹⁰³ and John de Camera the small missal likewise,¹⁰⁴ since they were both executors and keepers. All this is only reasonable speculation, however, and, apart from the items delivered to Mepham and listed in the keepers' receipts below, there is no positive evidence that any bequest in Reynolds' will reached its intended recipient.

⁹⁶ See above, n. 17; below, pp. 460, 464, and Appendix B, no. 1.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 451 n. 20; below, p. 463 n. 160.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 451 n. 21; below, pp. 462 nn. 141, 153, 464 n. 180.

⁹⁹ See below, pp. 461, 464 nn. 115, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 179, 184.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 450.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 450 and n. 14.

¹⁰² See above, p. 454 nn. 43-46.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 454 n. 50, and below, Appendix B, no. 3.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 455 n. 59, and below, Appendix B, no. 1.

APPENDIX A

Receipts of the King's Keepers of Temporalities

The accounts of the king's keepers, which as discussed above show the receipt of Reynolds' remaining ornaments, books, jewels and other items and their delivery to Mephram, survive in three virtually identical documents in PRO SC6/1128/7, SC6/1128/8 and E372/173/44. The receipts from the accounts are printed in this appendix, with acknowledgement of crown copyright by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, from SC6/1128/7 after comparison with the other two documents. The principles of transcription are the same as those for the will itself (cf. above, p. 447). The values of various items, recorded in the notes, are taken from the accounts of delivery of the same items to Mephram, also in SC6/1128/7 but not transcribed because they are otherwise identical.

COMPOTUS ORNAMENTORUM CAPELLE¹⁰⁵ AC CETERORUM JOCALIUM QUE FUERUNT PREDICTI WALTERI ARCHIEPISCOPI IN CUSTODIA JOHANNIS DE LA CHAUMBRE CLERICI PREDICTI WALTERI ARCHIEPISCOPI EXISTENCIUM ET AB EO RECEPTORUM PER DUAS INDENTURAS INTER EOS INDE CONFECTAS

RECEPTA

Idem custodes¹⁰⁶ se onerant recepissee de prefato Johanne de la Chaumbre per quandam indenturam res subscriptas, videlicet unum¹⁰⁷ vestimentum album desuper

¹⁰⁵ There was also a collection of 'ornaments' forming a more permanent archiepiscopal 'chapel' that was owned by the Canterbury Cathedral priory and loaned to successive archbishops (at least, to Winchelsey, Reynolds, Mephram) for the durations of their archiepiscopates. Although its contents vary in each inventory of it that survives, none of Reynolds' own personal 'ornamenta capelle' that are listed here can be positively matched with any of the items listed in the Canterbury inventories that do survive. Further see J. W. Legg and W. H. S. Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury* (Westminster, 1902), pp. 1-8 (on the term 'ornamenta capelle' cf. p. 1); Du Boulay, p. 255 n.; RR, fol. 283v; Canterbury Cathedral Reg. Q, fol. 130r-v; Canterbury Cathedral Easry Correspondence I.20; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eighth Report with Appendix* (London, 1881), p. 353; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections 1* (London, 1901), p. 267. Earlier, when he was bishop of Worcester, Reynolds had also borrowed a collection of vestments and other items from that cathedral's priory; see *The Liber Albus of the Priory of Worcester*, ed. J. M. Wilson (London, 1919), p. 40, no. 604.

¹⁰⁶ Identified elsewhere in this account as William de Leycestre and John de Breidestone, who are recorded here as receiving all these items from John de Camera and delivering them all (except the mitre described in n. 139 below) on behalf of the king for £85. 7s. 5d. to the new archbishop, Simon Mephram. John de Ifeld is also mentioned as a keeper later in the same account.

¹⁰⁷ According to the parallel and virtually identical account in SC 6/1128/8, the items received by the keepers were placed in nine chests labelled 'A'-J' (omitting 'I'). The items beginning at the point of this note were placed in chest 'A', and the contents of the other eight chests begin at nn. 114, 138, 156, 171, 173, 174, 176, and 178 below.

broudatum cum octo garniamentis,¹⁰⁸ unum supellicium,¹⁰⁹ unum magnum amucium et unum parvum,¹¹⁰ unam albam et amitam cum stola et manipulo broudatis et duo towallia ad altare,¹¹¹ unum par caligarum broudatarum, unum par sotularum similiter broudatarum,¹¹² et unum vestimentum rubeum poudratum de gall' cum octo garniamentis,¹¹³ duos¹¹⁴ frontellos argento cubatos de Nativitate Christi pro altari,¹¹⁵ unum vestimentum Indium de vineis cum octo garniamentis,¹¹⁶ unam albam cum paruris broudatis cum amita, stola et manipulo,¹¹⁷ unam aliam albam cum paruris broudatis cum amita, stola et manipulo similiter broudatis,¹¹⁸ unum par caligarum rubearum de samita et quatuor paria sotularum broudatarum,¹¹⁹ tria offertoria serica pro pathena,¹²⁰ unum towallium de serico,¹²¹ unum pannum de Nak' pro lectrino,¹²² quinque pecias de rubeo sindone auro cubatas de Nativitate Christi,¹²³ duos ridellos palliatos de rubeo sindone et croceo,¹²⁴ duos frontellos pro altari de viridi camaka broudatos de istoria Sancti Thome Martiris,¹²⁵ duos ridellos de viridi camaka auro cubatos de martirio Sancti Thome,¹²⁶ quatuor pecias minutas de eadem secta, unum pannum pro lectrino similiter de eadem secta,¹²⁷ duos frontellos de rubeo sindone argento cubatos de passione Sancte Katerine,¹²⁸ duos frontellos palliatos de viridi camaka et panno de Nak',¹²⁹ duo corporalia cum coopertoriis desuper broudatis,¹³⁰ unum towallium de serico auro palliatum pro altari,¹³¹ unam albam et amitam cum stola et manipulo broudatis cum diversis armis cum zona de serico,¹³² unum frontellum

¹⁰⁸ In the record of delivery to Mephram that follows these receipts in the same document (above, p. 460; below, n. 181), values are given to each item, and I report them in the notes that follow. This first 'vestment' is valued at 40 marks, the highest price assigned to any item in the entire list.

¹⁰⁹ Valued at 6s. 8d.

¹¹⁰ The large almuze of *grys* (grey fur) and the small one of menever, both valued at 13s. 4d.

¹¹¹ All valued at 60s.

¹¹² Both pairs valued at 5s.

¹¹³ Valued at 20 marks.

¹¹⁴ Beginning here, the following items (down to n. 138) were placed in chest 'B', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹¹⁵ Valued at 4s.; see above, p. 453 n. 32.

¹¹⁶ Valued at 10 marks.

¹¹⁷ Valued at 13s. 4d.

¹¹⁸ Valued at 13s. 4d.

¹¹⁹ All valued at 13s. 4d.

¹²⁰ Valued at 3s.

¹²¹ Valued at 2s.

¹²² Valued at 3s.

¹²³ Valued at 6s. 8d.

¹²⁴ Valued at 3s.; possibly bequeathed to the church at Wimbledon (above, p. 453).

¹²⁵ Valued at 10 marks; see above, p. 453 n. 38.

¹²⁶ No value assigned; see above, p. 453 n. 38.

¹²⁷ Valued at 10s.

¹²⁸ Valued at 3s.; see above, p. 453 n. 34.

¹²⁹ Valued at 5s.; possibly bequeathed to the church at Wimbledon (above, p. 453).

¹³⁰ Valued at 3s.

¹³¹ Valued at 13s. 4d.

¹³² Valued at 20s.

de alba camaka broudatum in medio cum crucifixo,¹³³ duas pixides de argento pro eukaristia,¹³⁴ unum speculum cum pectine de ebore, unum par cissoriorum¹³⁵ et duo towallia benedicta pro altari,¹³⁶ duas paruras pro una alba,¹³⁷ unam¹³⁸ mitram bonam et levem rubeam cum lapidibus preciosis¹³⁹ et duas mitras albas unam de camaka et aliam de bocramo,¹⁴⁰ unum par cirotecarum cum apparatu¹⁴¹ et tria paria sine apparatu,¹⁴² unum coclear argenteum de jaspide,¹⁴³ unum vestimentum feriale cum casula duplicata de albo et nigro,¹⁴⁴ duo paria corporalium cum casu broudato,¹⁴⁵ duo towallia benedicta pro altari,¹⁴⁶ unam albam cum amita, stola et manipulo broudatis et unam zonam de rubeo serico,¹⁴⁷ unum lapidem jaspidis pro superaltari,¹⁴⁸ unum superaltare marmoreum circumornatum argento,¹⁴⁹ quatuor campanellas,¹⁵⁰ octo supellicia debilia,¹⁵¹ unum rotulum de confirmatione puerorum cum stola,¹⁵² unum librum pontificalem,¹⁵³ tria gradalia,¹⁵⁴ et unum pannum de serico,¹⁵⁵ unum¹⁵⁶ librum de

¹³³ Valued at 4s.

¹³⁴ Valued at 13s. 4d. for both.

¹³⁵ The mirror with comb and scissors all valued at 5s.

¹³⁶ Valued at 2s.

¹³⁷ Valued at 10s.; described as *inferiores* in the delivery to Mepham; omitted altogether in SC 6/1128/8.

¹³⁸ Beginning here, the following items (down to n. 156) were placed in chest 'C', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹³⁹ This mitre is placed first in the delivery list, where it is valued at 10 pounds (the second highest price in the entire lot) and is recorded as having been sold and delivered by royal writ to Bishop Henry Burghersh of Lincoln. Further on Reynolds' mitres, see RR, fols. 283v, 286r; Legg and Hope, *Inventories*, pp. 2, 107; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eighth Report*, p. 353; E. H. Pearce, *Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317-1327. Some Studies Drawn from His Register with an Account of His Life* (London, 1923), pp. 180-81; *The Liber Albus*, nos. 421, 860, 952, 953; *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317-1327*, ed. E. H. Pearce (London, 1930), p. 49; and idem, 'Worcester Priory and Its Bishop', *Church Quarterly Review* 94 (1922) 256-58.

¹⁴⁰ Both are valued at 12d.

¹⁴¹ Valued at 13s. 4d.; see above, p. 451 n. 21.

¹⁴² Valued at 5s.

¹⁴³ Valued at 12d.

¹⁴⁴ Valued at 30s.

¹⁴⁵ Valued at 18d.

¹⁴⁶ Valued at 18d.

¹⁴⁷ Valued at 4 marks.

¹⁴⁸ Valued at 6d.

¹⁴⁹ Valued at 6s. 8d.

¹⁵⁰ Valued at 4d.

¹⁵¹ Valued at 5s.

¹⁵² Valued at 18d.

¹⁵³ Valued at 20s.; see above, p. 451 n. 21.

¹⁵⁴ Valued at 20s.

¹⁵⁵ Valued at 3s.

¹⁵⁶ Beginning here, the following items (down to n. 171) were placed in chest 'D', according to SC 6/1128/8. For my earlier observations upon the list of books that follows, see Wright, pp. 254-57.

cronica Martini,¹⁵⁷ unum libellum de gestis Alexandri,¹⁵⁸ unum librum Ysidori minoris,¹⁵⁹ unam bibleam in tribus voluminibus,¹⁶⁰ unum libellum de Anticlaudio,¹⁶¹ unum librum de geometria,¹⁶² unum ordinale,¹⁶³ unum libellum de gestis Hibernie,¹⁶⁴ unum libellum de significatione misse,¹⁶⁵ unum libellum de vita Christiana ad sororem suam viduam,¹⁶⁶ unum quaternum de vita Beati Thome Martiris,¹⁶⁷ unum quaternum de gestis Trojanorum,¹⁶⁸ duos libellos de gestis Brutann',¹⁶⁹ unum rotulum de Genesi depictum, unum quaternum de descriptione candelabri,¹⁷⁰ unum¹⁷¹ hanaperium cum quinque ramis de corall',¹⁷² quosdam munimenta et rotulos, diversas¹⁷³ bullas et alia

¹⁵⁷ Valued at 2s. This is probably the chronicle of Martinus Oppaviensis (Polonus), O.P., archbishop of Gniezno, 1278 (M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 [Munich, 1931], pp. 408-11); many manuscripts of it survive in England today (T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi* 3 [Rome, 1980], pp. 114-28 and especially no. 2974).

¹⁵⁸ Valued at 2s.; for this, see G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956).

¹⁵⁹ Valued at 6s.

¹⁶⁰ Valued at 8 pounds, the third highest price in the entire list; see above, pp. 451 n. 20, 459 n. 97.

¹⁶¹ Valued at 2s. The 'Anticlaudianus' is a long allegorical poem composed probably in 1183 by Alan of Lille (died c. 1202-1203) on the effort of man to recover the original perfection of human nature; at least thirty-two manuscripts of it are known in England. Further see C. H. Talbot, 'A List of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain', *Traditio* 8 (1952) 403-404; R. H. Green, 'Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*: Ascensus mentis in Deum', *Annuaire medievale* 8 (1967) 3-16; *Alain de Lille. Anticlaudianus. Texte critique avec une introduction et des tables*, ed. R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955); *Alan of Lille. Anticlaudianus, or The Good and Perfect Man*, trans. J. J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973); P. G. Walsh, 'Alan of Lille as a Renaissance Figure' in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History. Papers Read at the Fifteenth Summer Meeting and the Sixteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History 14; Oxford, 1979), pp. 117-35; and M. Wilks, 'Alan of Lille and the New Man', *ibid.*, pp. 137-57.

¹⁶² Valued at 6s. 8d.

¹⁶³ Valued at 2s.

¹⁶⁴ Valued at 2s.; this may be by Giraldus Cambrensis.

¹⁶⁵ Valued at 6s. 8d.

¹⁶⁶ Valued at 2s. The 'De vita Christiana ad sororem suam viduam' was a spurious work of St. Augustine; further see PL 40.1031 (especially cap. 15), and also see the closely related works *De vita Christiana* and *De viduitate* by the British bishop Fastidius (c. 420-425), as recorded by the pro-Pelagian Gennadius of Marseilles (c. 490) and printed in PL 58.1091.

¹⁶⁷ Valued at 12d.

¹⁶⁸ Valued at 12d.

¹⁶⁹ Valued at 5s.; for the Brut legend, see J. Taylor, 'The French "Brut" and the Reign of Edward II', *English Historical Review* 72 (1957) 423-37.

¹⁷⁰ Both valued at 10s. A 'rotulus de Genesi depictus' would be quite unusual. For the 'descriptio candelabri' see P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205)* (Notre Dame, 1936), pp. 97-117, 188-96.

¹⁷¹ Beginning here, the following items (down to n. 173) were placed in chest 'E', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹⁷² The hamper and five branches of coral, which may indicate some mild interest in sorcery, were valued at 3s. 4d.

¹⁷³ These were placed by themselves in chest 'F', according to SC 6/1128/8.

munimenta, diversas cartas¹⁷⁴ de libertatibus archiepiscopatus Cantuar' et alios quaternos de diversis tractatibus auctorum,¹⁷⁵ duos¹⁷⁶ libellos unum rubeum et alium nigrum unum de gestis Britann' et alium de vita clericorum,¹⁷⁷ rotulos et alia munimenta diversa,¹⁷⁸ duo paria cultellorum de jaspide,¹⁷⁹ unum parvum cultellum et unum baculum pastorem¹⁸⁰ modici vel nullius valoris, et unum librum predicacionum et unum quaternum similiter de predicacionibus.¹⁸¹

RECEPTA [DE APPARATU AULE ET ALIIS JOCALIIS]¹⁸²

Item predicti custodes onerant se recepisse de prefato Johanne de la Chaumbre per aliam indenturam inter eos factam res subscriptas, videlicet unum dorsorium pro aula preciatum¹⁸³ x li., duo tapeta rubea poudrata cum leopardis preciata xxvi s. viii d., quatuor tapeta alba cum borduris de rubeo preciata iiiii marc., duo bankera alba pro capella preciata xiii s. iiiii d., unam cupam deauratam preciatam xl s., unam zonam preciatam xl s., unam aliam zonam de plat' et filo serico preciatam vi s. viii d., unum anulum pontificalem cum lapide saphirino¹⁸⁴ preciatum xl s., quinque anulos cum perichot' preciatos xxxiii s. iiiii d., unum anulum cum lapide qui vocatur crepandyn preciatum ii s., unum camau positum in auro cum circumferencia de gernetz preciatum iiiii s., unum lapidem de camau situm in auro cum circumferencia admiraldorum preciatum xiii s. iiiii d., unum magnum camau oblongum preciatum xx s., unum magnum anulum de veteri opere cum uno albo camau preciatum xx s., unum magnum

¹⁷⁴ The following items (down to n. 176) were placed in chest 'G', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹⁷⁵ 'Quosdam quaternos de diversis tractatibus auctorum' were valued at 5s. 7d.

¹⁷⁶ These two books were placed by themselves in chest 'H', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹⁷⁷ The preceding two books were both valued at 18d. The 'gesta Britann'' may be one of the manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Britons*, now in London, Lambeth Palace Library (J. E. Sayers, 'The Medieval Care and Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Archives', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 39 [1966] 101).

¹⁷⁸ Beginning with 'munimenta diversa', all the rest of the items through and including the two books on preaching were placed in chest 'J', according to SC 6/1128/8.

¹⁷⁹ The two pairs of jasper knives were valued at 13s. 4d. for both; see above, pp. 454-55, nn. 53, 56, 58. Archbishop Hubert Walter had also possessed two knives of jasper and of horn (Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 176) which he left to his cathedral church of Canterbury (Legg and Hope, *Inventories*, p. 50).

¹⁸⁰ See above, p. 451 n. 21.

¹⁸¹ These two books are valued at 7s. The record of delivery to Mephram also lists 'unum artavum preciatum ii s.' as well as 'bullas, cartas et alia munimenta et memoranda diversa que non currunt in valore'. In the accounts after the list of receipt there follows the record of delivery to Mephram, with individual values from which the above notes are taken, the total value of all the above being added correctly at £85. 7s. 5d. (without the value of the mitre that was sold to Bishop Burghersh). After the record of delivery, another indenture of receipt is recorded, this time 'de apparatu aule et aliis jocaliis' of R, which are also reported as being delivered to Archbishop Mephram, their total being £29. 14s.; for this, see below.

¹⁸² These words within the brackets, which I have placed here to describe this section of the account, are taken from the financial summary written later on the same membrane.

¹⁸³ Throughout this paragraph, the abbreviation I have transcribed as *preciatus*, -a, -um is written *p'c'* in the manuscript.

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 454 n. 47.

anulum cum uno camau situm in auro de diversis coloribus preciatum x s., unam petram de jaspide pendentem in argento preciatam xl d., unam parvam crucem cum lapidibus¹⁸⁵ de gernetz preciatam xii d., unum parvum saphirum perforatum preciatum xii d., unum parvum tropazion preciatum xii d., unum magnum anulum cum saphiro aquatico preciatum xiii s. iiii d., unum parvum anulum cum camau preciatum iiii s., sex denarios grossos deauratos preciatos ii s., argentum in lamer' preciatum iiii s. vii d., unum gladium preciatum xl s., unam mugam preciatam xii d., unum adamans preciatum i d.¹⁸⁶

APPENDIX B

Notes on Reynolds' Associates Named in His Testament

These notes on Reynolds' associates are listed here in the order in which their names occur in his testament. The abbreviation I/E/ABC designates a church in the immediate or exempt jurisdiction and patronage of the archbishop of Canterbury (cf. Churchill 1.62-94, 109).

1. *John de Camera (de la Chaumbre)*: clerk of R (as here), messenger for R in 1324 (RR, fol. 290r), had been valet in household of Edward prince of Wales where he had known R in 1305 (*Letters of Edward, Prince of Wales, 1304-1305*, ed. H. Johnstone [Cambridge, 1931], pp. xvi, 83), had charge of the ornaments of R's chapel and his other precious objects at the time of R's death (above, pp. 459, 460, 464), rector of Hadleigh (Essex; I/E/ABC) by 1325, exchanged Hadleigh for church of Burwell (Cambs.) in May or July of 1325 (RR, fols. 136r, 137r, 256r), unsuccessful attempt by R to secure presentation for him to church of St. Dunstan (London) by prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury in 1322 (Cambridge, University Library Ee.5.31, fols. 226v-227v; *Litterae cantuarienses. The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J. B. Sheppard, 3 vols. [RS 85; London, 1887-89], nos. 80-82). He is probably the same as John de la Chaumbre, king's clerk who died either June 1349 or c. 1360, favorite of Queen Isabella, clerk at Salisbury by 1334, and first warden of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle 1348-49, for whom see extensive biographical notes in A. K. B. Roberts, *St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor, 1948), pp. 115-18 and H. M. Chew, ed., *Hemingby's Register* (Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch 18; Devizes, 1963), pp. 189-90, to which latter may be added: prebendary of Inkbarrow in Hereford Cathedral (Le Neve, *Hereford*, p. 30) and subdean of York (Le Neve, *Northern Province*, p. 15). Also see above, pp. 455-56 nn. 59, 69.

¹⁸⁵ SC 6/1128/8 *lapidibus*; E 372/173/44 *lapide*; SC 6/1128/7 *lapid*'.

¹⁸⁶ The sum of the above is then totalled (correctly) at £29. 14s., and these items also are recorded as being delivered to Archbishop Mepham.

2. *Magister Gilbert de Middelton*: clerk of R, member of R's council, official of R's court of Canterbury, special commissary of R (RR, fols. 3v, 6r, 9v, 17v, 60v, 61v, 72r-v, 89r, 91r, 110v, 111r, 112v, 121r, 122v, 287v; Churchill 2.331 [index]; Wright, pp. 61, 324, 330, 362), holder of many important benefices and significant pensions, dean of the arches c. 1309-c. 1313, king's clerk, king's councillor, appointed envoy of the king to the council of Vienne in 1311. In addition to the above, the following facts and references should be added to the biographical notes in Emden, *Oxford* 2.1274-75: formerly clerk of Archbishop Winchelsey (Reg. Winchelsey, pp. 1230, 1244-45), 'consanguineus' of one Margaret of St. Albans who was possibly a nun of Elstow (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1230), brother of John de Middelton who was a clerk of Archbishop Winchelsey in 1308 (Reg. Winchelsey, pp. 1050-51; R. M. Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* [London, 1965], pp. 245, 308), non-resident as canon of Lincoln in 1304-1306 (K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages. A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century*, 2nd edition [Manchester, 1967], pp. 335, 337), presented to church of South Creak (Norf.) by Archbishop Winchelsey c. 1309 (Canterbury Cathedral Reg. G, fol. 17r) as was R some three years earlier (Wright, p. 363, no. 6; both were unsuccessful), followed R as prebendary of Weldland in St. Paul's London 1309-18 (Wright, p. 362, no. 2), granted pension of 5 marks from Bishop Stapledon of Exeter in 1310 (M. Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II. Walter Stapledon, Treasurer of England* [Cambridge, 1983], p. 68), prebendary of St. Crantock in 1311 (*ibid.*), commissioned by R (still bishop of Worcester) in October 1313 to act for him as papal judge-delegate in settlement of dispute between Oxford University and the Black Friars (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 73), collated by R to church of Pagham (Sussex; I/E/ABC) 1 March 1314 (RR, fol. 9r; not 4 March as in Emden, *Oxford* 2.1275), exempted by R from jurisdiction of dean of the deanery of Pagham 27 May 1314 (RR, fol. 108v), provided by R (under faculty from Pope Clement v; Wright, p. 61) and admitted to canonry and prebend of Salisbury 12 May 1314 (RR, fol. 48v), assistant to R in his first visitation of Christ Church Canterbury February 1314 (Canterbury Cathedral Reg. Q, fol. 92r), in service of Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln in 1315 (RR, fols. 53r, 121r, 122v), collector of revenues for R in Lincoln diocese c. 1315 (RR, fol. 122v), cited by R for pluralism in 1317 (RR, fol. 91r), king's clerk in 1317 (*CCW*, p. 468), prebendary of Wenlocksborn in St. Paul's London 1318 until death (Le Neve, *St. Paul's London*, p. 68), founder in 1324 of chantry in church of Wappenham (Northants.) of which he as archdeacon of Nottingham was patron (*CPL* 2.242; Reg. Jean xxii, no. 21270), proctor of R for convocation of clergy at Leicester 4 November 1327 (RR, fol. 207v; cf. below, no. 8), dispute with abbot of Peterborough over appropriation of church of Warmington (Northants.) settled in Roman curia c. 1330 (London, British Library ms. Cotton Vesp. E.xxi, fol. 67v; Wright, p. 330, no. 64), dead by 26 December 1330 (Le Neve, *Chichester*, p. 43). Also see above, p. 454.

3. *Magister John de Reddeswelle (Radeswell, Rodeswell, Ridgewell)*: evidence for designation as 'magister' (Tout, *Edward II*, p. 307; *CCW*, p. 581; *CPR* 1327-30, p. 194; *CFR* 1327-37, pp. 72-73; London, Lambeth Palace Library Cartae miscellanae V/52), clerk of R, appointed steward or seneschal of all the archbishop's lands by R on 23

February 1315 (RR, fol. 14v), acting as such 1315-27, often present with R and witness to several of his documents (RR, fols. 112r, 195v, 196v, 199r, 252r, 266r, 266v, 267r, 279r, 284v, 285v; Lambeth Cartae miscellanae V/52; Lambeth 1212, pp. 126-127; Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae C819, C820; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fols. 243v-244r, 258r; Du Boulay, p. 394), received on 20 March 1317 license to alienate in mortmain to R certain properties adjoining the archiepiscopal park in Otford (Kent) (CPR 1313-17, p. 628), collated by R on 1 February 1318 as master of the Hospital of St. Mary at Strood (Kent) (RR, fol. 22v; *VCH Kent* 2.229; *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, diocesis roffensis, A.D. 1319-1352*, 2 vols., ed. C. Johnson [Canterbury and York Series 48-49; London, 1948], 1.9 reads 30 January 1318 for date of this appointment), king's clerk at least by June 1326 (CCW, p. 581) and still in December 1327 (CPR 1327-30, p. 194), appointed one of the barons of the exchequer 1 September 1326 and admitted on same day (CPR 1324-27, p. 313; Tout, *Edward II*, p. 307), expecting prebends in Chichester and Exeter 1332 (Le Neve, *Chichester*, p. 57; Le Neve, *Exeter*, p. 28), brother of M. Robert de Reddeswelle (RR, fol. 252r; below, no. 4), executor of R's will (above, p. 455 n. 64) and one of the king's keepers of temporalities after R's death (above, pp. 457-59). Also see above, pp. 454-55, 457-58.

4. *Magister Robert de Reddeswelle* (Radeswell, Rodeswell, Ridgewell), D.C.L. The following should be added to the biographical notes in Emden, *Oxford* 3.2209: ordained acolyte by R on 17 December 1317 in Lambeth chapel with letters dimissory from abbot of St. Albans (RR, fol. 178r), 'juris civilis professor' as early as 1317 (*Reg. Hamonis Hethe* 1.xi) or 1326 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 245r) or 1327 (RR, fol. 159r) whereas earliest date in Emden for this is 1330 (*Oxford* 3.2209), examiner-general of R's court of Canterbury as early as 5 May 1315 (RR, fols. 112r, 127r, 128r, 129r; earliest date 1321 in Emden, *Oxford* 3.2209 and Churchill 2.240), vacated office of examiner-general by 11 July 1324 (RR, fol. 133r), chancellor of R 1324-27 (RR, fols. 159r, 159v, 257v, 265v, 266r, 266v, 267r, 290r) in which capacity he carried R's great and small seals of office (RR, fol. 265v), auditor of causes in court of Canterbury in 1326 (RR, fol. 195v; proceedings before him as auditor 1325-28 are in Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae A36[I]), further evidence for him as rector of churches of Kelvedon (Essex) and Charing (Kent; I/E/ABC) (RR, fols. 265v, 266v, and cf. 252v), collated to church of Bishopsbourne (Kent) by R on 23 January 1326 with commend of same 'salvo jure domini pape' (Wright, p. 54; RR, fol. 257v), collated again to same (with dependent chapel of Barham) by prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury on 14 February 1326 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 245r), possibly prebendary of Islington in St. Paul's London at some time (Le Neve, *St. Paul's London*, p. 44), present with R on several dates 1324-27 (RR, fols. 195v, 196v, 199r, 207r, 252r, 257v, 266r, 266v, 267r; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fols. 243v-244r, 258r, 259r; Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae C819, C820; Lambeth 1212, pp. 126-127), brother of M. John de Reddeswelle (RR, fol. 252r; above, no. 3), to be distinguished from M. Richard de Reddeswelle (RR, fols. 134r, 186r). Also see above, p. 455 n. 65.

5. *Magister Adam de Penytone* (*Penitone*, *Penyton*): regularly called 'magister' in contemporary documents but not listed by Emden, 'clericus' and 'familiaris' of R (RR, fols. 27r, 28r, 32v, 137v, 196v, 254r) and called 'medicus' of R in 1321 (RR, fols. 27v,

28r; not listed in C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners of Medieval England. A Biographical Register* [London, 1965]; for R's other physicians, see Wright, pp. 62, 254), priest by 1321 (RR, fol. 28r), collated by R to church of Woodchurch (Kent; I/E/ABC) 28 May 1321 (RR, fol. 27v) but resigned it under force of papal constitution *Execrabilis* on 16 March 1323 (RR, fol. 32v; Wright, p. 89 n. 87, no. 4), held church of Merstham (Surrey; I/E/ABC) at some time in 1321 (RR, fol. 28r), collated by R to church of Chartham (Kent) 12 February 1323 on which date R collated church of Woodchurch (presumably vacant under force of *Execrabilis*) to Richard de Kyngtone (RR, fol. 32v; Wright, p. 89 n. 87, no. 4; above, p. 456 n. 71), collated by R to church of Hayes (Kent; I/E/ABC) 24 August 1324 on which date he resigned church of Chartham (RR, fol. 254r), collated by R to church of Wittersham (Kent; I/E/ABC) 3 February 1327 by which date he had resigned church of Hayes (RR, fol. 264v; Wright, p. 89 n. 87, no. 8). Also see above, p. 456 n. 68.

6. *Magister Geoffrey de Eytone* (Eyton, Etone, Heton): regularly called 'magister' in contemporary documents but not listed by Emden, clerk of R (RR, fols. 134r, 272v), had been in service of R as bishop of Worcester 1309 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 12), advocate in the court of Canterbury 1309 (*The Register of Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1307-1326*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph [London, 1892], p. 178), dean of Gloucester in diocese of Worcester 1309 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 12), granted annual pensions from Bishop Stapledon of Exeter (as his advocate in the court of Canterbury) of 40 shillings on 8 February 1309 and of 5 marks on 24 April 1319 (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, pp. 178, 147), witness to collations and institutions in Exeter diocese 1311 and 1312 (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, pp. 192, 220), witness to document in court of Canterbury in 1312 (*Magnum Registrum Album*, ed. H. E. Savage [Lichfield, 1926], no. 480), provided by R (under faculty from Pope Clement v) to canonry and prebend in collegiate church of Wherwell (Hants.) 11 June 1314 (Wright, pp. 62, 64; RR, fol. 48v) and supported by R in dispute over prebend of Middleton in same 14 January 1325 (RR, fol. 272v), collated by R to church of Cheam (Surrey; I/E/ABC) 8 December 1316 (RR, fol. 18v), collated by R to church of Newington near Oxford (Oxon.; I/E/ABC) 16 December 1316 on which day he resigned Cheam (RR, fol. 18v), provided by Pope John xxii on 9 August 1318 to church of Beddington (Surrey) which was vacant under force of *Execrabilis* (CPL 2.182; Reg. Jean xxii, no. 8001; CCW, p. 507; CPR 1317-21, p. 434; *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester (A.D. 1316-1323)* ..., ed. F. J. Baigent [Hampshire Record Society 8; London, 1897], pp. 77, 95, 98, 153-54; Wright, p. 80), granted annual pension of 4 marks from prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury in January 1319 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 169r), king's clerk in 1320 (CCW, p. 507), granted prebend of St. Botolph in Lincoln cathedral by king on 23 March 1320 (Le Neve, *Lincoln*, p. 38; CCW, p. 507), canon of Lichfield and prebendary of Dasset Parva 1320 (Le Neve, *Coventry and Lichfield*, p. 29), exchanged same on 17 December 1320 for prebend of Weeford in same which he held until death (Le Neve, *Coventry and Lichfield*, p. 64), proctor for Bishop Martival of Salisbury in Canterbury provincial convocation 9 June 1322 (*The Registers of Roger Martival, Bishop of Salisbury 1315-1330*, 4 vols., ed. K. Edwards, C. R. Elrington, and S. Reynolds [Canterbury and York

Series 56-59; London, 1959-74], 2.398), canon of St. Paul's London and prebendary of Ealdstreet by exchange 1325 (Le Neve, *St. Paul's London*, p. 35), collated 1325 to prebend of Oxgate in same (Le Neve, *ibid.*, p. 52), prebendary of Brownswood in same by exchange and royal grant 1325-28 (Le Neve, *ibid.*, p. 21), dean of the court of arches by 1327 (as here, and presumed in Churchill 2.239), commissioned by prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury as commissary general in the court of Canterbury *sede Cant. vacante* 3 December 1327 after death of R (RR, fol. 159v), canon and prebendary of Chichester before 1328 (Le Neve, *Chichester*, p. 56), dead by 1 January 1328 (Le Neve, *Coventry and Lichfield*, p. 64). Also see above, pp. 454, 464.

7. *Ralph of Windsor (Windesore, Wyndeshore)*: 'consanguineus' of R (Wright, pp. 257-58 n. 75), on 12 November 1310 was about age 15 (*Regestum Clementis papae* v, 8 vols., ed. Benedictines of Monte Cassino [Rome, 1885-92], no. 10160; *CPL* 2.121; Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 151), received letters dimissory from R as bishop of Worcester August 1311 for ordination as acolyte and subdeacon and again in October 1312 for all holy orders (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, pp. 96, 99), clerk and 'table-fellow' of R at Worcester 1313 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 66), ordained subdeacon by R in parish church of Windsor (Berks.) on 1 June 1314 (RR, fol. 11v), granted annual pension of 5 marks from abbot and convent of Peterborough 16 March 1315 (London Cotton Vesp. E.xxii, fol. 115v), instituted at age 15 by R to church of Tredington (Warwickshire) *in commendam* upon presentation of R as bishop of Worcester 12 November 1310 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 151; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, p. 96 n. 1), still holding same 1311-13 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, pp. 66, 96, 99) and still in 1314 with papal dispensation (RR, fol. 11v; *CPL* 2.121; *Regestum Clementis papae* v, no. 10160), provost of Holyhead (Anglesey, Wales) (in royal patronage) by 1310 as well as canon and prebendary of Wells and canon and prebendary of Llanddewibrefi, papal dispensation 13 January 1315 to retain all these in plurality at request of his kinsman R bishop of Worcester (*CPL* 2.121-22; *Regestum Clementis papae* v, no. 10160; G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, 2nd edition [Cardiff, 1976], p. 63), let provostship of Holyhead to farm by 13 November 1314 (RR, fol. 281r), provided and collated by R (under faculty from Pope Clement v) to canonry of Shaftesbury collegiate church (Dorset.) and prebend of Gillingham 12 May 1314 and 10 March 1315 and admitted (Wright, pp. 62, 64; RR, fols. 15r, 48v, 61v), collated by R to canonry and prebend of South Malling collegiate church (Sussex) 3 June 1322 and 18 April 1323 (RR, fols. 30r, 250r; Wright, p. 57), still holding same 29 May 1327 when R dispensed him for non-residence of one year (RR, fol. 200v), probably not same as M. Ralph de Wyndesore in Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 660. Also see above, p. 455 n. 66.

8. *Magister John de Bruytone (Bruton, Bruyton, Bruetone)*: regularly called 'magister' in contemporary documents but not listed by Emden, possibly native of Bruton (Somerset.) (W. A. S. Robertson, 'The Rectors of Clyffe at Hoo', *Archaeologia cantiana* 15 [1883] 224), clerk of R, chancellor of R (in succession to M. John de Ros) possibly by 18 November 1315 (RR, fol. 16r) and certainly by 12 May 1316 (RR, fol. 284v), continued as chancellor at least until 18 April 1323 (RR, fol. 250r; Churchill 1.17,

2.244), present as chancellor with R on numerous dates within this period, as chancellor had custody of R's great and small seals of office which he carried with him and at times used by virtue of special commission from R (RR, fols. 16r, 22r, 26v), mandate from R to visit city and diocese of Ely 29 May and 1 June 1315 (RR, fols. 64r, 64v, 65r, 112v; Wright, pp. 363-64), auditor of causes of R 19 March 1316 (London, Lambeth Palace Library Cartae miscellanae VI/66 and XIX/29) and 4 November 1317 (RR, fol. 297bis, recto), proposed by R to monks of Rochester for election to see of Rochester in 1317 (*Registrum Hamonis Hethe* 1.xi), intermediary between R and prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury 1322 (RR, fol. 99v; *Litterae cantuarienses*, nos. 102, 104), king's clerk at least by 1323 (RR, fols. 130v, 307v) and possibly still in 1332 (CCR 1330-33, p. 592), appointed proctor for R to convocation of clergy at Leicester 4 November 1327 (RR, fol. 207v; cf. no. 2 above), ordained deacon by Archbishop Winchelsey under letters dimissory 15 December 1302 (Reg. Winchelsey, pp. 956-57), possibly on mission to Roman curia in 1307 (Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, p. 40), proctor of Archbishops Winchelsey and Greenfield to council of Vienne 1311 (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1246; F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 2 in 2 parts: 1205-1313 [Oxford, 1964], p. 1351 and n. 7), proctor in parliament for Bishop Stapledon of Exeter 6 November 1308 (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 311), bearer of letters from Stapledon as bishop-elect of Exeter to Roman curia and to Cardinal Thomas Jorz c. 1307-1308 (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, pp. 8, 12), made gift of £20 for rebuilding of Exeter Cathedral c. 1310 (Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, p. 51); rector of church of Christian Malford (Wilts.) by 15 December 1302 (Reg. Winchelsey, pp. 956-57) and still in 1307-1308 (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, pp. 8-9), threatened to resign all benefices at Roman curia if unsuccessful in litigation for Christian Malford (Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, p. 44), possibly collated to church of Treneglos (Cornwall) by Bishop Stapledon 2 October 1310 but unsuccessful (*Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 266), canon and prebendary of Exeter possibly 1305-39 (RR, fols. 22r, 207r; Le Neve, *Exeter*, p. 23; *Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 266), possibly chancellor of Exeter 1307-1308 (Le Neve, *Exeter*, p. 8; *Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 414), claimed deanery of Exeter 1309 without success (Le Neve, *Exeter*, p. 4; *Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 150; Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, pp. 55-56), canon of Wells and prebendary of Haselbere 1312-39 (Le Neve, *Bath and Wells*, p. 48; RR, fols. 112v, 158r, 207r, 207v), treasurer of Wells by exchange 1319-20 but unsuccessful (Le Neve, *Bath and Wells*, p. 10), collated by R to church of Cliffe-at-Hoo (Kent; I/E/ABC) 29 December 1317 (RR, fol. 22v), resigned same 19 October 1318 (RR, fol. 24r) for exchange on 19 October 1318 with church of Lyminge (Kent; I/E/ABC), then resigned Lyminge by 20 October 1318 (RR, fol. 24r) for exchange with church of Sawbridgeworth (Herts.) which had been held earlier in 1309 by R (Wright, p. 363, no. 7), collated by R to canonry and prebend of Wingham (Kent) 2 October 1320 (RR, fol. 26v), possibly provost of Wingham by 1321 (*VCH Kent* 2.235), collated by R to church of Saltwood (Kent; I/E/ABC) 2 October 1320 and again on 2 March 1321 (RR, fol. 26v), apparently vacated Saltwood by 7 January 1322 (RR, fol. 29v; cf. below, no. 9), collated by R to church of Godmersham (Kent; I/E/ABC)

11 December 1321 and again on 15 December 1321 when he was instituted as rector (RR, fol. 29v); resigned Godmersham 15 May 1323 under force of constitution *Execrabilis* and R collated it to Bruytone's 'consanguineus' John de Bruytone jr. (RR, fol. 250r; Wright, p. 90), collated by R and appointed by king as archdeacon of Canterbury in 1323 but unsuccessful (Wright, p. 55), claimed prebend of South Malling collegiate church (Sussex) 1323 but without success (RR, fol. 250r); dead by midsummer of 1339 (Le Neve, *Exeter*, p. 23). Also see above, p. 455.

9. *John de Ringwode (Ringwood)*: ordained priest by R 21 December 1308 under letters dimissory from Bishop Gandavo of Salisbury (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 102; *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, diocesis sarisbiriensis, A.D. 1297-1315*, 2 vols., ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes [Canterbury and York Series 40-41; London, 1934], p. 885), may have accompanied R on mission to Avignon in 1309 (Wright, p. 116 n., no. 5), clerk and financial receiver of R as bishop of Worcester 1311-13 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, pp. 25, 33, 35, 44-46, 51-53, 64, 73), clerk and 'familiaris' of R at Canterbury (RR, fols. 4r, 28r, 120v), treasurer and financial receiver of R at Canterbury 1314 (probably)-1327 (RR, fols. 4r, 10r, 12r, 121r, 128v, 148r; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 259r; Lambeth Cartae miscellanae V/52; Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae C819, C820; Churchill 1.548-49), said to have been a knight (Du Boulay, pp. 397, 260), commissioned 10 March 1325 by R (with two others) to hear accounts of executors of the testament of Archbishop Winchelsey in chapel of R's palace at Canterbury (RR, fol. 135r), dispensed by R 7 September 1327 from rendering any account for the total time when he was R's receiver of monies nor were R's heirs or executors or anyone else in R's name to demand such an account in the future (RR, fol. 167v), notwithstanding this was ordered after R's death by the king 18 December 1327 to deliver all rolls and memoranda in his custody touching the accounts of the bailiffs, ministers, reeves and receivers formerly in service of R as R was said to be indebted to the king at the exchequer (*CCR 1327-30*, p. 193; above, p. 458), witness to several documents in R's presence at various dates 1321-27 (RR, fol. 29v; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fols. 243v-244r, 259r; Lambeth 1212, pp. 126-127 and Cartae miscellanae V/52; Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae C819, C820); favored by Edward prince of Wales for a benefice and pension in 1305 (*Letters of Edward, Prince of Wales*, p. 138), rector of church of East Hagbourne (Berks.; value 20 marks) by 21 December 1308 (Reg. Reynolds Worcester, p. 102), papal confirmation 28 June 1313 of episcopal dispensation to hold church of East Hagbourne as well as church of Cliffe (Northants.) (*CPL* 2.114), resigned church of Grove (Bucks.; value 20 pounds) for pluralism by 29 April 1322 (*CPL* 2.221), provided by R (under faculty from Pope Clement v) to canonry and prebend of Wilton collegiate church (Wilts.) and admitted 12 May 1314 (RR, fol. 48v; Wright, p. 62), received from R on 28 May 1321 commend of the church of East Lavant (Sussex; I/E/ABC) which he renounced on 22 November 1321 on which day he was then collated by R to same, collated *de novo* by R to East Lavant on 15 December 1321, inducted to same by proctor 18 December 1321 but resigned by 7 January 1322 (RR, fols. 28r, 29r, 29v; Churchill 1.114 n.), collated by R to church of Saltwood (Kent; I/E/ABC) with its chapels on 7 January 1322 in succession to M. John de Bruytone (above, no. 8) and

inducted to same by proctor 10 January 1322 (RR, fol. 29v), still parson of Saltwood 18 December 1327 (CCR 1327-30, p. 193). Also see above, pp. 455-56.

10. *Thomas de Stowe* (*Stouwe*; *Thomas de Parva Fransham*, 'dictus' de Stowe): clerk of R probably as early as 1314 (Canterbury Cathedral Eastry Correspondence V.48), held several important commissions from R 1321-26 (RR, fols. 102r, 126r, 134r, 138r, 142v, 144v, 147r, 226v, 275v, 277r; *Annales paulini* in vol. 1 of *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* ..., ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. [RS 76; London, 1882], pp. 302, 310, 315), financial receiver for R in 1321 (RR, fol. 286v), subcollector of papal tenth for the king 24 September 1319 (RR, fol. 226v; W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* [Cambridge, Mass., 1939], pp. 407-408), keeper of spirituality as well as corrector-general and sequestrator in Norwich diocese *sede vacante* 1325 (RR, fols. 138r, 142v, 275v, 277r; Churchill 1.194, 2.70 and 251), proctor in convocation at Lincoln for Christ Church Canterbury 15 September 1327 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 263v), went to Roman curia for Christ Church Canterbury 1327 on business for canonization of Archbishop Winchelsey (Canterbury Cathedral Misc. Accounts II, fol. 168r), 'beloved clerk' of Archbishop Mepham 21 October 1328 by which date he is called 'magister' (London Cotton Vesp. E.xxi, fol. 62v; not listed in Emden); ordained deacon by Archbishop Winchelsey under letters dimissory 19 December 1304 (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 972), ordained priest by Archbishop Winchelsey 13 March 1305 (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 975), collated by Archbishop Winchelsey to church of St. Peter, Lynn (Norf.) before 19 December 1304 (Canterbury Cathedral Reg. G, fol. 17r; Reg. Winchelsey, p. 972), collated by Archbishop Winchelsey to church of Latchingdon (Essex; I/E/ABC) 13 November 1311 (Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1208), resigned same by 28 February 1317 (RR, fol. 19r), collated by R to church of Meopham (Kent; I/E/ABC) 29 March 1314 (RR, fol. 9r), vacated same 2 June 1318 by exchange for church of Wetheringsett (Suffolk) (RR, fol. 23v) which he was still holding 9 April 1325 (RR, fol. 275v), received from R on 2 July 1323 commend of the church of Ickham (Kent; I/E/ABC) under constitution *Nemo deinceps* (RR, fol. 250v; *Corpus iuris canonici*, Sext 1.6.15, ed. E. A. Friedberg, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1879-81], 2.954), expecting canonry and prebend of Chichester 11 April 1331 (Le Neve, *Chichester*, p. 56); apparently kin to Edward de Fransham, 'dictus' de Stowe, who succeeded Thomas in church of Latchingdon and for whom Thomas served as proctor (RR, fols. 19r, 250r; Reg. Winchelsey, p. 1208). Also see above, p. 456.

11. *Richard de Kyngtone* (*Kynton*): almoner of R (as here), priest, clerk, and 'familiaris' of R, collated by R to parish church of Woodchurch (Kent; I/E/ABC), which was said to be vacant, on 12 February 1323 (RR, fol. 32v). Previous holder of Woodchurch, M. Adam de Penytone, did not however resign it until 16 March 1323; cf. no. 5 above. Also see above, p. 456.

12. *John de Breidestone* (*Breydeston*, *Braydston*): valet and letter-bearer of R in 1316 (RR, fol. 68v; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 162v), scutifer and money bearer of R in 1316 (RR, fol. 284v), bearer of R's jewels at some time 1315-16 (London, Lambeth Palace Library 242, fol. 308r), 'domicellus' of R c. 1320 (Canterbury Cathedral Christ Church Letters II.29), appointed steward or seneschal of the liberty of the archbishop of

Canterbury by R 24 November 1318 (RR, fol. 285v), acting as same in 1319 (Canterbury Cathedral Estry Correspondence V.32) and in 1320-21 (Lambeth 242, fol. 344v) and still in 1326 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 259r), collated to same with life fee of 40 marks and two suitable robes 15 March 1327 (RR, fol. 196v; Du Boulay, p. 395), ratification of this by prior and chapter of Christ Church Canterbury 21 March 1327 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 258r; royal *inspeximus* of same (CPR 1327-30, p. 199), possibly resigned same into hands of Archbishop Mepham 8 March 1329 (Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 258r), present with R and witness to his documents 1326-27 (RR, fol. 196v; Cambridge Ee.5.31, fol. 259r; Canterbury Cathedral Cartae antiquae C819, C820), handled transfer of archiepiscopal manor of Caldecote (Calcott, Kent) in 1326 from R to Christ Church Canterbury (Lambeth 242, fols. 352r, 361v, 369r; Wright, pp. 268, 271), described as steward or seneschal of R's franchise in Kent 27 February 1327 (RR, fol. 153v), executor of R's will (as here) and one of the king's keepers of temporalities after R's death (above, pp. 457-58, 460 n. 106), appears in Lambeth Estate Document no. 545 (Reeve's account roll for Lambeth 1321-22; cf. J. E. Sayers, *Estate Documents at Lambeth Palace Library. A Short Catalogue* [Leicester, 1965], p. 25). Also see above, p. 456.

13. *William Moraunt*: appointed bailiff of Otford by R on 2 May 1317 (RR, fol. 89r), mentioned in London, Lambeth Palace Library Cartae miscellanae V/157 (quitclaim dated 30 November 1326). Also see above, p. 456.

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THE EUCHARISTIC ALLUSIONS OF *PEARL*

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ALMOST seventy years ago R. M. Garrett wrote of the late fourteenth-century Middle English poem *Pearl*:

I have an idea that the whole poem arose from gazing at the Elevated Host in the hands of the Priest ... 'round, white, like a pearl, the meeting place of heaven and earth – a pearl, Margaret' – something like this would, I think, be the train of thought which would bring the germ of the poem to him. I believe that the poet conceives the poem as taking place within the church where the Pearl might be buried, quite regardless of the convention of the arbor and the grass.¹

On this hunch Garrett based his argument that 'this poem has as its central idea the fundamental teachings of the Eucharist'.² Garrett's thesis, lacking convincing evidence to support it, was quickly rejected,³ and has never been taken seriously: 'the text does not in the least lend support to his view', Oakden declares.⁴ The main weakness of Garrett's argument was that its simple one-to-one correspondence of pearl and eucharist overlooked both the more obvious meaning of the poem and the subtle complexity of its symbolism.

Disregarding Garrett, subsequent scholarship has revealed that a close relationship exists between *Pearl* and the liturgy of the medieval church. The poem contains an abundance of hidden liturgical allusions. Oakden has shown that most of the scriptural references of *Pearl* derive from various parts of the liturgy,⁵ Hart has argued for the influence on the poem of the liturgy for the

¹ R. M. Garrett, 'The Pearl: An Interpretation', *University of Washington Publications in English* 4 (1918) 1-45, at 36.

² *ibid.*, 10.

³ C. Brown, review article in *Modern Language Notes* 34 (1919) 42-45; M. Madeleva, 'Pearl': *A Study in Spiritual Dryness* (London, 1925), pp. 17-21.

⁴ J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, vol. 2: *A Survey of the Traditions* (Manchester, 1935), p. 70.

⁵ For example, the parable of the vineyard, the basis of the poem's central theological discourse, is drawn from the gospel for Septuagesima, and allusions to the wider liturgical material surrounding that gospel are plentiful (J. P. Oakden, 'The Liturgical Influence in *Pearl*' in *Chaucer und seine Zeit. Symposium für Walter F. Schirmer*, ed. A. Esch [Tübingen, 1968], pp. 337-53).

feast of the Holy Innocents,⁶ Bishop has elaborated this and other liturgical associations,⁷ while Ackerman points to the fourteenth-century eucharistic connotations of the penny in the poem's central scriptural passage, the parable of the vineyard.⁸ Not only in details, but as a whole, there are strong liturgical correspondences. For as Gatta has demonstrated, the structure and changing emotional pattern of *Pearl* closely resembles that of the eucharist. In the mass the Liturgy of the Word, centred on the reading of scripture, is followed by the Liturgy of the Eucharist. So in *Pearl* the maiden's lengthy exposition of scripture in the parable of the vineyard opens the way for the powerful vision of the New Jerusalem and Lamb in which the poem culminates. The change occurring in the dreamer (his movement towards an act of self-sacrifice and thanksgiving) clearly mirrors the transformation occurring in the action of the liturgy and in the awareness of the devout Christian participating in it.⁹

A straight examination of the text indicates, however, that the eucharist is even more simply and directly present in *Pearl* than recent scholars have recognized. And while this article does not attempt to revive Garrett's rather restricted line of argument, it does attempt to show that there is still much to be said for his original intuition of the immediacy of the eucharist in *Pearl*.

It is generally recognized that much of the imagery of *Pearl* works by a process of association. The poet's technique has been compared with that of the Decorated art and architecture of the fourteenth century, where 'richly detailed variables play like flames over a rigid framework'.¹⁰ Across a tightly structured background space (twenty stanza groups of five stanzas, each of twelve four-beat lines, and the whole linked by the device of *concatenatio*) runs an intricate play of echoes: of words and images, repeated, interchanged and varied. The comparison with late medieval art is apt, for the process occurring in *Pearl* is a highly spatialized one, depending as it does upon a clear sense of the poem in its entirety as a homogeneous expanse across which the various motifs are juxtaposed at certain key points. From this technique results much of the elusive, shifting, dream-like quality of *Pearl*, the accumulation of innuendo and association, the build-up of meaning on an unspoken level. So pervasive is this procedure that the poet's use of it has been described as almost 'compulsive'.¹¹

⁶ E. Hart, 'The Heaven of Virgins', *Modern Language Notes* 42 (1927) 115-16.

⁷ I. Bishop, *'Pearl' in Its Setting* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 104 ff.

⁸ R. W. Ackerman, 'The Pearl-Maiden and the Penny', *Romance Philology* 17 (1964) 620 ff.

⁹ J. Gatta, Jr., 'Transformation Symbolism and the Liturgy of the Mass in *Pearl*', *Modern Philology* 71 (1974) 243-56.

¹⁰ A. C. Spearing, *The Gawain-Poet. A Critical Study* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 98. See also E. Salter, 'The Alliterative Revival. II', *Modern Philology* 64 (1966-67) 233-37 at 236.

¹¹ Ackerman, 'The Pearl-Maiden and the Penny', 622.

The most striking and apparent of these repeated images are those of flower, jewel, garden, seed, wheat and harvest (all closely linked with the poem's theme of death and resurrection). Much has been written about these echoed motifs.¹² The way in which they work is easily seen. Simply stated, to choose some of the most obvious examples, the flower motif, occurring repeatedly in many subtle and interchangeable forms throughout the poem, echoes the garden imagery of stanza group 1, the mention of bread in the closing stanza recalls the wheat and harvest imagery of the poem's opening, the garden mound on which the dreamer falls asleep is silently assumed into the hill of the final vision, the crystal cliffs of the earthly paradise into the glassy walls of the heavenly city.

One of the best known and most arresting of *Pearl's* sequences of associative images is that of the hawk (184) and quail (1085). The hawk image occurs in the passage where the awestruck dreamer first catches sight of the maiden:

More þen me lyste my drede aros.
I stod ful styлле and dorste not calle;
Wyth yȝen open and mouth ful clos
I stod as hende as hawk in halle.
(181-184)

The quail is found at the point where he finally stands overwhelmed by the brilliance of the heavenly city:

An-vnder mone so great merwayle
No fleschly hert ne myȝt endeure,
As quen I blusched vpon þat bayle,
So ferly þerof watȝ þe fasure.
I stod as styлле as dased quayle
For ferly of þat frelich fygure.
(1081-86)

The unexpected appearance of the bird at l. 1085 evokes in the attentive reader the memory of the bird at l. 184, recalling with it the sense of awe of that first occasion, thereby intensifying the strange numinous quality of the narrator's impression of the heavenly city.

The eucharistic allusions of *Pearl*, less obvious but just as present, work in much the same way as the hawk-quail image. Carefully woven into the poem's intricate network of echo and resonance, they form a fragile pattern so transparent as to be almost invisible.

There are three occurrences of the word 'mass' ('mas', 'mes' or 'messe') in *Pearl*. The first, at l. 497, 'As Mathew meleȝ in your messe', has received

¹² See, for example, P. M. Kean, *The Pearl. An Interpretation* (London, 1967), pp. 53-85.

considerable attention.¹³ The other two have escaped close consideration. At the poem's conclusion the dreamer sees the heavenly company surrounding the Lamb moving across the glassy streets of the celestial city:

Bot mylde as maydenȝ seme at mas,
So droȝ þay forth wyth gret delyt.
(1115-16)

Just as the image of the quail recalls that of the hawk, so 'mas' in l. 1115 recalls its variant, 'mes', at l. 862, in the maiden's discourse, in a passage where she had described to the dreamer the joy of the heavenly company around the Lamb:

Þe Lombe vus gladeȝ, oure care is kest;
He myrþeȝ vus alle at vch a mes.
(861-862)

The echo serves ever so gently to suggest that what is taking place in the poem's conclusion is in some sense a eucharistic celebration.

In the Middle Ages the ritual of the mass unfolded as an archetypal gesture which not merely repeated, but which sacramentally reactualized the death and resurrection of Christ, coinciding with it in the same primordial cosmic time. It was thus not simply the re-enactment of an event which occurred once in history, but the revelation of something existing in eternity.¹⁴ Every celebration of the eucharist participated in the great eternal celebration of the heavenly Jerusalem. So in *Pearl* the mirth of 'vch a mes' merges with that of the heavenly celebration, while at the same time the rather abstract heavenly celebration cannot be thought of without the very concrete earthly one.

For medieval people spiritual realities tended to have little or no existence apart from the very concrete things which manifested them. The medieval sense of the holy was very much tied, by a lived participation, to particular places and things.¹⁵ Thus in popular mentality Christ and the consecrated host were evidently so identified that the eucharist tended almost to be regarded as a relic.¹⁶ Even among the educated the distinction between the two as we would

¹³ Oakden, 'The Liturgical Influence in *Pearl*', 343.

¹⁴ C. G. Jung, 'Transformation Symbolism in the Mass' in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, ed. J. Campbell, vol. 2: *The Mysteries* (Bollingen Series 30.2; New York, 1955), pp. 274-336, at p. 277. On the medieval mass as a living social ritual see J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700', *Past & Present* 100 (1983) 29-61.

¹⁵ The classic description of the experience of participation is that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. See, for example, *La mentalité primitive* (Paris, 1923). The most lucid and compelling explanation of this notion and its manifestation in the Middle Ages is that of O. Barfield, *Saving the Appearances. A Study in Idolatry* (London, [1965?]), pp. 71 ff.

¹⁶ P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 28-29, 39-40.

make it was not clearly drawn.¹⁷ So, generally, when the medieval person thought of Christ he thought, by implication, of the eucharist, whose adoration was, by the fourteenth century, the centre and focus of popular piety ('in quo maxime dependet devocio modernorum', as one chronicler put it).¹⁸

The sight of the consecrated host seems to have held a peculiar fascination for the people of the later Middle Ages.¹⁹ Its elevation was the high point of the mass, and the practice of holding it up for a long time for the people to see and adore seems to have been widespread.²⁰ Numerous manuscript illuminations of this period depict the faithful gazing at the elevated host with a kind of exaggerated curiosity.²¹ They were, according to William of Pagula (c. 1330), encouraged to do so 'libenter et frequenter', in expectation of the rewards of the 'meeds' of the mass.²² The white round thing, as John Wyclif called it some fifty years later, was an intriguing sight, easily preserved in the memory.²³ It could be seen from a long distance as, raised over the priest's head, it shone through the church like a 'fascinating little circle of white light'.²⁴

What impression that sight (that 'Ðe preste vus scheweþ vch a daye' [1210]) made on the *Pearl* poet, a devout man of great sensitivity to the visual, cannot be known for certain. What can, however, be said with some assurance is that

¹⁷ See, for example, John Mirk's *Festial*, ed. T. Erbe (EETS ES 96; London, 1905), p. 174, or John Lydgate's *Merita missae*, ll. 41-44 in the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. T. F. Simmons (EETS OS 71; London, 1879), Appendix v, p. 149:

Than loke to the hy autere,
And pray to hym that hangythe there,
Where in londe that thoue wende,
That he be at thi laste Ende.

Or the anecdote recounted by Nicholas Trevet, of the devout King Henry III, who not only was accustomed daily to hear three sung masses, but, wishing to hear more, assisted at privately celebrated ones as well. When St. Louis, king of France, suggested that he should not spend all his time at mass but should listen to sermons more frequently, Henry replied that he preferred more often to see his Friend than to hear Him spoken of, though spoken well of (*F. Nicholai Triveti ... Annales sex regum Angliae ...*, ed. T. Hog [London, 1845], p. 280).

¹⁸ *Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, ed. F. Baethgen (MGH *Scriptores rerum germanicarum* N.S. 3; Berlin, 1924), p. 64.

¹⁹ 'Le désir de voir l'Hostie fut, sans aucun doute, une grande dévotion médiévale: son apogée coïncide avec l'époque qu'on est convenu d'appeler la fin du moyen âge' (É. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint-sacrement* [Paris, 1926], p. 34).

²⁰ The Dominicans, for example, elevated the host for popular adoration from the Agnus Dei to the communion: cf. *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri ...*, ed. E. Martène, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736-38), 1.420. See also Dumoutet, *ibid.*, p. 62.

²¹ Dumoutet, *ibid.*, p. 66.

²² *Oculus sacerdotis. Dextera pars* (c. 1326) (Oxford, New College ms. 292, fol. 36va).

²³ 'hoc album et rotundum': *De eucharistia tractatus maior*, ed. J. Loserth (London, 1892), pp. 53, 347; *Tractatus de apostasia*, ed. M. H. Dziewicki (London, 1889), p. 57; *Opera minora*, ed. J. Loserth (London, 1913), pp. 211-12, 249.

²⁴ Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine. A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London, 1912), p. 89.

when the poet speaks of Christ or the nature of Christ ('kynde of Kryst' [55]) what he has in mind is, inescapably, something very tangible and immediate.²⁵ Failure to grasp this dimension of medieval experience, now lost to us, alien to the modern mentality and difficult to recover, means that a whole dimension of *Pearl* has never been fully appreciated.

In view of this the poem's closing lines deserve closer consideration:

Ouer þis hyul þis lote I laȝte,
 For pyty of my perle enclyin,
 And syþen to God I hit bytaȝte
 In Krysteȝ dere blessyng and myn,
 Ðat in þe forme of bred and wyn
 Þe preste vus scheweȝ vch a daye.
 He gef vus to be his homly hyne
 Ande precious perleȝ vnto his pay.

(1205-12)

In explaining this passage scholars appear to have avoided its most straightforward meaning. While 'hit' in l. 1207 refers to the pearl which the narrator now willingly commits to God, Gordon argues, 'Ðat' in l. 1209 may refer to 'Krysteȝ' in the preceding line, or it may be the introductory word in a four-line prayer which concludes the poem: 'May He, in the form of bread and wine which the priest shows to us each day, grant us to be His own servants and precious pearls for His pleasure'.²⁶ Hillmann and Ackerman favour Gordon's first suggestion: that 'Ðat' refers to 'Krysteȝ', while Osgoode, Gollancz and Carleton Brown incline towards the second: that 'Ðat' introduces a prayer.²⁷ The simplest explanation of these lines, however, may well be that 'Ðat' is not the introductory word in a concluding prayer, nor does it refer primarily to 'Krysteȝ', but less awkwardly, to 'hit' (the pearl) in l. 1207, as follows:

hit (the pearl) ...
 Ðat in þe forme of bred and wyn
 Þe preste vus scheweȝ vch a daye.

²⁵ This may simply be shown from a passage in *Cleanness*, ll. 7-11, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1977), p. 12:

As renkeȝ of relygioun þat reden and syngen
 And aprochen to hys presens, and presteȝ arn called.
 Thay teen vnto his temple and temen to hymselfen;
 Reken with reuerence þay rychen his auter;
 Þay hondel þer his aune body, and vsen hit boþe.

²⁶ E. V. Gordon, ed., *Pearl* (Oxford, 1953), p. 86. (All quotations from *Pearl* in this article are taken from Gordon's edition.)

²⁷ M. V. Hillmann, ed., *The Pearl* (Notre Dame, 1961), pp. 108-109; Ackerman, 'The Pearl-Maiden and the Penny', 622.

Syntactically this reading is much smoother than either of the alternatives. Certainly the reader would expect to find Christ in the form of bread and wine. Middle English syntax was much less formalized than that of modern English, and the genitive 'Krysteȝ' could be the antecedent of 'Ȓat'. But this is by no means clear. The poet's use of 'Krysteȝ' casts doubt on its status as the antecedent of 'Ȓat', puzzling the poem's commentators and forming a stronger link between 'Ȓat' and 'hit'. By this ambiguity a delicate exchange of meaning occurs between Christ-pearl-bread and wine, and pearl and eucharist (bread and wine) are clearly identified.

The presence of 'homly hyne' and 'pay' in the final lines, as Ackerman points out, harks back to the parable of the vineyard, to l. 632 in particular: 'Ȓe gentyle Lorde þenne payeȝ hys hyne'. The penny of the parable, identified in the fourteenth century with the consecrated host, is thus drawn into the poem's closing statement,²⁸ and the association of pearl-consecrated bread is quietly reinforced by the faint yet unmistakable echo of penny-consecrated host.

There are sixteen occurrences of the word 'pay' in *Pearl*. As it happens, they are clustered together in two groups. The first group is located at the centre of the poem (in stanza groups 9, 10 and 11), the second at its conclusion (in stanza group 20). In the first 'pay' is used as the verb 'remunerate', with reference to the penny of the parable. In the second 'pay' appears as both verb and substantive, in the repeated refrain of the first and last line of each stanza, as for example in ll. 1164-65, 'Hit watȝ not at my Prynceȝ paye. / Hit payed hym not þat I so flonc', and is commonly rendered, 'pleasure', 'to please'.

It has recently been shown (in the work of Gatta) that the structure of *Pearl*, the rise and fall of its mood, closely resembles the structure and changing mood of the mass. Perhaps then it is not altogether surprising to discover that in the *Lay Folks Mass Book* of the late fourteenth century, a little handbook used by lay people during the liturgy as a guide to their thoughts and prayers, there are two occurrences of the word 'pay', one at the offertory, more or less in the middle of the mass, the other at its very end in the concluding prayer of thanksgiving.

To the people of the Middle Ages the mass was a communal act not only of 'mirþe', but of sacrifice, a reparatory or satisfactory ritual which re-enacted the 'paying' of God by the death and atonement of Christ, the appeasement of his anger and the return of the universe to a state of peace.²⁹ At the offertory the congregation was invited to take part directly in the sacrifice by making its own

²⁸ Ackerman, *ibid.*, 620-23. Penny and consecrated host are associated in the didactic treatise *Le Somme des Vices et des Vertues* (c. 1279), translated into English under the title *Aȝenbite of Inwyt* (c. 1340) and as *The Book of Vices and Virtues* some sixty years later.

²⁹ Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution', 33-34.

contribution, to 'paye' God with the mass penny.³⁰ At its conclusion the faithful Christian was encouraged, before leaving church, to pray that God be 'payde':

I thonk god of his godnesse,
And nomely now of þis messe,
and of alle þo prayers þat here are prayde,
pray I to god þat he be payde.³¹

From the medieval usage of the Latin *pacare*, 'to pacify', 'to satisfy', 'to appease', the Middle English word 'pay' derived the signification 'satisfaction' or 'contentment', a concept whose profound theological implications underlie the eucharistic sacrifice.³² This dimension of the word 'pay' appears to have gone unnoticed by the poem's commentators. Yet the coincidence is more than a little curious: that within the structure of *Pearl* and within that of the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, the word 'pay' occurs at precisely corresponding points: in the middle, in association with the offertory penny of the one and the penny of the parable in the other, and at the conclusion, in an act of reflection and thanksgiving.

The final word 'pay', then, by which the poem's end is linked to its beginning, carries this weight of eucharistic resonance into its first line. These two passages, if only by virtue of their position at beginning and end, must be taken as an index to the poem's meaning and the poet's intent. It is hardly coincidental that the closing lines describe the bread and wine that 'Þe preste vus *scheweȝ*', identifying it with the pearl, and that the opening lines,

Perle, plesaunte to prynces paye
To clanly clos in golde so clere,

(1-2)

contain an image that, as Richardson saw, resembles the appearance of the eucharist in a monstrance,³³ an image which is later transformed into the essence of the beloved person, her white face framed in the gold of her hair (212-213). So elusive are these eucharistic images that they might almost be described as subliminal.

The deliberate equation of pearl-eucharist in the poem's conclusion, and the wealth of eucharistic allusion surrounding it, permit the reader to recognize fleeting indications of this presence at many other points. If some of the eucharistic images of *Pearl* are subliminal, the same may be said of the poem's

³⁰ *Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, p. 22:246.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 58:614-617.

³² For a discussion of this sense of the word see *ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

³³ F. E. Richardson, 'The Pearl: A Poem and Its Audience', *Neophilologus* 46 (1962) 308-16, at 313.

eucharistic sounds. 'mas', 'mirþe' and 'songe' are closely linked in *Pearl*. A sequence can be traced from the adoring song of the mirthful heavenly company around the Lamb at l. 1124 (where the nearby word 'mas' [1115] by association with 'mes' [862] hints at the presence of a eucharistic celebration) to the song of the mirthful birds in the gleaming woodlands (94) to the 'sange' of stanza group 1, the strange sweet sounds which drift towards the hill where the narrator, crushed by the burden of his grief, muses on his lost pearl:

Ȝet þoȝt me neuer so swete a sange
As styлле stounde let to me stele.

(19-20)

While the visual settings of the pearl increase progressively in size, luminosity and beauty – from the dark mound surrounded by flowers, to the resplendent landscape of the earthly paradise, to the overwhelming brilliance of the jewelled city – each new setting the dream-like transformation of a single *locus*, a progression which reflects the deepening understanding of the dreamer,³⁴ so with the sounds of *Pearl*, from the 'sange' of stanza group 1 to the joyous song of the unearthly vision at the poem's conclusion.

The 'sange' of l. 19 was long ago suggested by Garrett to be the chanting of the choir on a 'hyȝ seysoun'.³⁵ It may well be that this idea should not be completely discounted. First, in view of the precise way in which the 'sange' is heard by the narrator: it seems to waft towards him, apparently from a distance. Taking into consideration his location in the poem's opening scene on the dark mound where he grieves, and remembering the poet's gift for reproducing with uncanny exactitude the precise sounds and sights of his surroundings,³⁶ these two lines may not inconceivably suggest the presence of a church near a graveyard. Second, and more importantly, the association of 'style stounde' and 'sely stounde', the poem's only other occurrence of 'stounde', at l. 659, cannot be overlooked.

'sely stounde' occurs in a passage which has long been taken to refer to the sacrament of baptism, but which, it may more plausibly be argued, is a reference to the eucharist. Here in stanza group 11 (625) the maiden's discourse turns to the subject of innocence, which is at once associated with baptism.

³⁴ Cf. E. Vasta, 'Pearl: Immortal Flowers and the Pearl's Decay', *Journal of English and German Philology* 66 (1967) 519-31, at 526.

³⁵ Garrett, 'The Pearl: An Interpretation', 36.

³⁶ See E. Salter, 'Medieval Poetry and the Figural View of Reality', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 54 (1968) 73-92, at 75. M. Borroff draws attention to a visual vividness in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* which 'depends as much on the exact appropriateness of what is seen, by whom, and from where, as on the color, texture, or other intrinsic sensory or aesthetic qualities of the object' (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. A Stylistic and Metrical Study* [London, 1962], p. 128).

Man was made for bliss, but condemned by Adam's sin to hell. Yet for that came a remedy: on the rood there flowed blood and water. The water, it is explained, is baptism. No explanation is given for the blood, which, in the wounded bleeding Lamb, is to be the subject of the poem's final vision. The eucharist is implied.³⁷ Then come four lines which have caused disagreement among the poem's editors:

Now is þer noȝt in þe worlde rounde
 Bytwene vus and blysse bot þat he wythdroȝ,
 And þat is restored in sely stounde;
 And þe grace of God is gret innogh.

(657-660)

Of the various translations the least inelegant is that of Gordon: 'Now there is nothing in the round world between us and bliss but what He has withdrawn, and that (the bliss) is restored in a blessed hour'.³⁸ This, I suggest, should be amended to: 'Now there is nothing in the round world between us and bliss but what he withdrew (i.e., his body) and that is restored in a blessed hour' (i.e., the 'sely stounde' of the eucharistic celebration). Theologically there is much to be said for this simple reading of the text.

This passage, with its veiled allusion to the eucharist, contains one of the poem's three occurrences of the word 'rounde'. The other two, as it happens, are also found in or near references to the eucharist. One occurs at ll. 737-740 in the maiden's reference to the pearl of great price. The identification of pearl and eucharist in this passage could scarcely be more explicit:

For hit is wemleȝ, clene, and clere,
 And endeȝ rounde, and blype of mode,
 And commune to alle þat ryȝtwys were.
 Lo, euen inmydȝ my breste hit stode.

The very concrete eucharistic sense of 'commune' would, to the fourteenth-century audience of *Pearl*, have been far more immediate than to us. The other:

So rounde, so reken in vche araye,
 So smal, so smoȝe her sydeȝ were,

(5-6)

occurs in the poem's opening stanza, which is linked by the device of *concatenatio* with the poem's final stanza and the explicit reference to the eucharist there. That concluding passage in turn, with its mention of bread,

³⁷ For support of this argument, that the eucharist is here implied, see Gatta, 'Transformation Symbolism', 254.

³⁸ Gordon, ed., *Pearl*, p. 69. For a summary of the disputed interpretations see Hillmann, ed., *The Pearl*, pp. 96-97.

echoes both the wheat and harvest imagery of the poem's opening stanza group and a further eucharistic allusion: 'brede vpon a bostwys bem' at l. 814 (in the Middle Ages the symbolic identification of the altar with the cross of Christ's crucifixion was a liturgical commonplace³⁹).

The reference to the eucharist in the final stanza of *Pearl* is thus not merely, as some have regarded it, a gratuitous adjunct to the action of the narrative, a source of spiritual consolation for the narrator in his grief, nor even a 'crowning summation' of the poem's central message in the parable of the vineyard.⁴⁰ It is something rather more immediate: the simple statement of the very concrete reality which has been quietly and almost invisibly present behind the narrative from its beginning.

Over the past hundred years countless suggestions have been made as to the pearl symbol's meaning. Of all of them (e.g., innocence, the soul, the kingdom of heaven), the eucharist has generally been considered the most improbable, the most 'esoteric',⁴¹ and 'obviously mistaken'.⁴² Clearly, these judgements must be reconsidered. For of all the possible symbolic or secondary meanings of the pearl this is the only one literally confirmed by the text itself. While Garrett's notion of an exclusive one-to-one correspondence between pearl and eucharistic host overlooks both the pearl's most direct meaning and the richness and complexity of its symbolism, his intuition of the origins of the poem's imagery, that *Pearl* is a eucharistic vision, must be looked at again with more openness. For it would certainly appear that in some sense or other, *Pearl* may well be, like the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, a series of reflections, of private meditations, on the mass. Seen in the light of the delicate network of eucharistic allusions by which the poem is enmeshed, the very concrete source of some of its imagery must at least be suspected – from the small white round thing of ll. 5-6, to the seemingly otherworldly image of the full moon rising at l. 1093.

Recent scholarship has revealed not only that *Pearl* contains an abundance of material derived from various parts of the liturgy but the curious fact that the structure of the poem bears a strong resemblance to the structure of the mass. The unfolding of the narrative, the changing of its mood, follows closely the changing rhythms of the action of the mass. In the light of this, the discovery now, that the eucharist is present in *Pearl* in a very localized, precisely visualized way, is far from surprising. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that it has not been noticed before.

³⁹ J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* 1 (Munich, 1924), p. 752.

⁴⁰ Ackerman, 'The Pearl-Maiden and the Penny', 623.

⁴¹ Richardson, 'The Pearl: A Poem and Its Audience', 309.

⁴² Spearing, *The Gawain-Poet*, p. 135.

Yet *Pearl* is not a eucharistic allegory. Nor is it in essence an allegory at all. For the pearl is first and foremost a literal gem,⁴³ second, the pearl maiden, a human being loved by the narrator of the poem. As has been pointed out, the whole force and poignancy of *Pearl* derive from its structure as a human encounter, and it is through the synthesis of symbol with human drama, not through concealed layers of allegory, that the poet conveys his meaning.⁴⁴ While it cannot therefore be said simply that the pearl is the eucharist, it can certainly be maintained that among the ever shifting meanings of this extraordinarily rich and allusive symbol there does exist a pattern of allusions associating the pearl with the eucharistic host, a pattern which sheds light on at least two enigmatic passages in the text itself, and which illumines in a new way the thoroughly medieval nature of the poet's spirituality.

If *Pearl* conveys something of the very texture and feel of late medieval eucharistic devotion, firmly rooted in the physical and the tangible, it may well be that it communicates more than a little too of the mood of fourteenth-century eucharistic speculation. For the poet, whoever he was, had a sure grasp of the finer points of eucharistic theology. As Clark and Wasserman have shown, many of the theological problems discussed in *Pearl* arise from the narrator's failure to cast off his literal-minded preoccupation with the spatial location of persons and things. Over the greater part of the poem the maiden attempts to explain to the dreamer the timeless, non-spatial and multi-dimensional nature of the heavenly kingdom. How, he wonders, can she and so many others be queen of heaven without displacing Mary? How can they all share the apparently exclusive title of bride of the Lamb? How can she be both in clot, or 'pat spot', and in 'Paradys erde' at the same time? In the poem's closing stanza the paradox of simultaneity is finally acknowledged as the narrator comes to accept that his pearl can be both in heaven and in the bread and wine of the eucharist.⁴⁵

When the poem finally comes full circle, its end linked to its beginning, the refrain in stanza group 1, 'perle wythouten spot' (spot in the sense of precise location), may be seen as a clear allusion to the eucharistic presence of Christ, the accepted scholastic doctrine being that Christ was present sacramentally in the consecrated host, but locally or dimensionally (in 'pat spot') only in heaven.⁴⁶ The paradox is quietly stressed by the repeated use of the word 'priuy' in ll. 12

⁴³ On the importance of the literal meaning for the psychological impact of the poem as a whole, see E. Wilson, 'Word Play and the Interpretation of *Pearl*', *Medium aevum* 40 (1971) 116-34.

⁴⁴ Spearing, *The Gawain-Poet*, p. 137.

⁴⁵ S. L. Clark and J. N. Wasserman, 'The Spatial Argument of *Pearl*: Perspectives on a Venerable Bead', *Interpretations* 11 (1979) 1-12.

⁴⁶ See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3.76.5 ad 1.

and 24 ('My priuy perle wythouten spotte') with its implication of an intensely personal presence, yet one located nowhere in space. The problem of simultaneity is thus not only focused on and resolved in the eucharist, but resolved in such a way as to suggest the poet's intimate familiarity with contemporary scholastic discussions of this sacrament, largely concerned as they were with problems of quantification and spatial location.⁴⁷

As unobtrusive as it is concrete, the presence of the eucharist is far more simply and directly indicated by the text of *Pearl* than has hitherto been allowed.

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⁴⁷ See, for example, John Wyclif's discussion in the eighth chapter of his *De eucharistia* (ed. Loserth) of the various scholastic opinions as to whether the body of Christ can be locally in different places at the same time. L. Eldredge, 'Imagery of Roundness in William Woodford's *De sacramento altaris* and Its Possible Relevance to the Middle English *Pearl*', *Notes and Queries* 223 (1978) 3-5, has shown the remarkable similarity between clusters of images of roundness in Woodford's work and in *Pearl*, suggesting that there was probably more extensive contact between lay and university men in the late fourteenth century than has been recognized.

AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT OF WILLIAM OF CONCHES'
GLOSAE SVPER PLATONEM

Paul Edward Dutton and James Hankins

WHEN Édouard Jeuneau published in 1965 his critical edition of William of Conches' *Glosae super Platonem*, students of medieval Platonism were able for the first time to appreciate not only the special characteristics of William's Platonism, but also the comparatively wide influence this text enjoyed in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹ Jeuneau in his edition listed eight manuscripts containing all or part of the text, and another four glossed manuscripts of the *Timaeus* in Calcidius' translation which showed the influence of William's *Glosae*.² Since 1965, two more manuscripts have come to light in Czechoslovakia;³ now a third pair of fragments has emerged in

¹ *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae super Platonem*, ed. Édouard Jeuneau (Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 13; Paris, 1965).

² The eight mss. used for Jeuneau's text, with their sigla, are as follows:

- A = Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 226, fols. 116r-131v, s. xiii
- B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 821, fol. 71v, s. xv med.
- F = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. E.8.1398, fols. 1v-25v, s. xiii in.
- M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 540B, fols. 39v-43v, s. xiii in.
- O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College 243, fol. 173ra, s. xv
- P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14065, fols. 53r-60v, s. xiii
- U = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 1389, fols. 1r-97v, s. xv 1/2
- V = Venice, Biblioteca Marciana Zan. lat. 225 (1870), fols. 1r-96v, s. xv.

The four mss. of the *Timaeus* which show the influence of William's *Glosae* are:

- London, British Library Arundel 339, fols. 110v-119v, c. 1200
- London, British Library Add. ms. 22815, fols. 4r-35v, s. xiii 1/4
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 217, fols. 98v-110v, s. xiii 2/2
- Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.A.13 (398), fols. 74r-78v, s. xiv 2/2.

On the second of these mss., see Édouard Jeuneau, 'Extraits des *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches dans un manuscrit de Londres', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 212-22, and Paul Edward Dutton, 'The Uncovering of the *Glosae super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984) 200 and n. 44 [192-221]. For the Prague ms., see also the article of Jeuneau cited in the following note, p. 190.

³ Both communicated by Édouard Jeuneau in 'Plato apud Bohemos', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 189-96 [161-214]:

Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria ms. 2322, which not only provides further evidence of the text's diffusion, but also constitutes the earliest witness to the text.

ms. Sal. 2322 (hereafter S) is a parchment codex comprising three sections bound together in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. It was formerly among the books of the Colegio viejo de San Bartolomé, a college of the University of Salamanca founded in 1418 by Don Diego de Anaya y Maldonado, archbishop of Seville (d. 1437).⁴ Although only the first text in the volume, the comparatively rare *Compendium philosophie* attributed to Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg, is listed in the earliest inventory of college books (a. 1433), it is likely that the entire ms. had been confected before that date, and perhaps represents one of the books donated by the archbishop to the college at its foundation.⁵ The ms. has been described by Beaujouan, who assigned it to the fourteenth century.⁶ In fact, only the first section, comprising fols. 1r-71v, which carries the date of 1308,⁷ is of the fourteenth century; the other two sections, fols. 72r-157v and fols. 158r-191r, date respectively from the thirteenth century and the second half of the twelfth.

It is with this last section that we are here concerned. It contains between fols. 158r and 190r a complete,⁸ anonymous commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* in the partial translation of Calcidius, written in double columns by two late twelfth-century hands. Fol. 190v, written in double columns by a third late twelfth-century hand, contains the *accessus* of William of Conches' *Glosae super Platonem* (= chaps. II-VI in the edition of Jeaneau) and a fragment of the first gloss to the prologue of Calcidius (= ed. Jeaneau, chap. VII). Fol. 191r, written by the same hand, contains the last 17 lines of the text (ed.

Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR IV.B.24 (626)

Prague, Kapitula O.71 (1655).

⁴ See Guy Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques médiévaux de l'Université de Salamanca et de ses 'colegios mayores'* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques 32; Bordeaux, 1962), pp. 17 f.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 21. The attribution of the *Compendium philosophie* to Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg is discussed by Beaujouan with the relevant literature on pp. 142-43.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

⁷ The colophon is transcribed by Beaujouan (*ibid.*, p. 142) as follows: 'Scriptis cum magno labore istum librum pro maiori parte [frater Bertrandus Pulli de ordine fratrum minorum in Podio Vanosa] (i.e., the Franciscan convent of Poggio Canoso near Ascoli) pro eo ad Dominum dulcissimum atque mitissimum Ihesum Christum. Anno Domini MCCCVIII hic liber est scriptus quo anno fuit Pascha in festo Tiburcii et Valeriani in medio Aprilis.'

⁸ Beaujouan, misled apparently by the fragment of William's *Glosae* which appears after fol. 190r, reports mistakenly (p. 143) that 'mutilé à la fin, le texte s'interrompt au cours du livre II.' In fact, the *Apparatus super Thimeum* ending on fol. 190r glosses the entire text of Calcidius' translation of the *Timaeus*. James Hankins is preparing a study and edition of this text, which appears to come from a school in Northern France in the second half of the twelfth century.

Jeauneau, chap. CLXXVI), with a colophon which has unfortunately been erased and was not visible even under ultraviolet light.⁹

These facts suggest two inferences. First, the circumstance that the text of William's *Glosae* begins on the verso of the folio whose recto contains the explicit of the anonymous *Apparatus* suggests that both sets of glosses were collected at about the same time by the same scholar or group of scholars. Secondly, it seems likely that the passages of William's *Glosae* in S are not simple excerpts, but rather fragments of a manuscript which at one time was complete.¹⁰

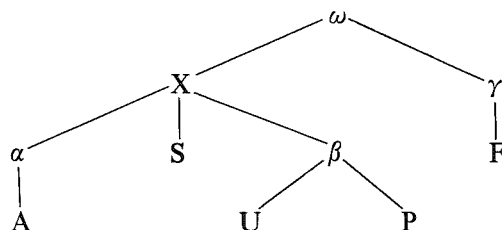
The place of S in the recension of the *Glosae* also reflects its early date, but its readings do not enable us to make many improvements to the text as established by Jeauneau. As is known, the attitude of scribes to the text of *glosae* was markedly different from the attitude they displayed towards *libri authentic*i; scribes, especially learned ones, often felt free to make whatever omissions, additions, clarifications, or changes suited their own (usually pedagogic) purposes. Some instances of this can be found also in S. Nonetheless, the evidence permits us to locate S in Jeauneau's stemma with a fair degree of accuracy. S disagrees with a large number of readings in F, and the few instances where it agrees with F against the other manuscripts can be easily explained as independent errors or corrections.¹¹ On the other hand, S sides sometimes with A against U and P, sometimes with U against A and P, sometimes with P against U and A, and sometimes presents readings different

⁹ The three hands appear respectively on fols. 158r-183v, 184r-190r, and 190v-191r. That all three hands in question are of the later twelfth century and not of the thirteenth is clear from their round and widely-spaced lettering, the absence of fusion and hairline tracery, the use of minuscule rather than uncial 'a'. The ascenders have a slight thickening at the bottoms but no serifs, and union of letters is relatively infrequent. The only 'gothic' feature is the OR-ligature, which is of course frequently found already in the first half of the twelfth century. The hand on fols. 158r-183v is similar in its general type to Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit ms. Periz. qu. 17, written in Germany between 1160 and 1168 (see G. I. Lieftinck, *Manuscripts datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas* [Amsterdam, 1964], p. 91 and pl. 87).

¹⁰ The authors were not able to examine the sequence of gatherings *in situ*, but on the microfilm there appears to be a large gap between fols. 190v and 191r which suggests that a gathering has been removed; a gathering of ten folios could plausibly accommodate the missing portion of the *Glosae*. Should this fragment be recovered, its *incipit* should read 'auctor aliquid obscure dixisset' and its *explicit*, 'tributa specie, id est forma'. It should be noted that mss. A, B, and P also preserve the text of the *Glosae* without the Prologus (= chap. I).

¹¹ The readings of S disagree with F in thirty-seven instances, and agree with it against the others only in the following readings, none of which constitutes a significant coincidence: III.2 *etc.* om. FS; 8 *veterem* FS for *veterum*, an easy correction, probably from an ambiguous abbreviation; *eiusdem* FS: *eius* AUP; V.15 *et* om. FS; VI.6 *est* post *physica* add. FS, but here the scribe of S is correcting his omission of *ubi* at VI.3; VI.10 *uel ut* FS: *ut* U: *et ut* A: *ut etiam* P, but this in a line where the scribe has inserted several clarifications of this kind. (References are to the chapters and their line numbers [supplied] of Jeauneau's edition.)

from all the other witnesses.¹² It may therefore be considered a copy of the hyparchetype shown on Jeaneau's stemma but not assigned a siglum. (We shall call it here X.) The revised stemma will thus appear as follows:



Of the readings unique to S, most are clearly errors.¹³ Three are probably correct, four more possibly so.¹⁴ A third class of variants seems to consist of variations in terminology, omissions, expansions, and clarifications, and would seem to represent the interventions of a learned copyist, but probably not William himself. The expansion in chap. II.12-14 seems chiefly to serve the purpose of syllogizing William's original misunderstanding of Socrates' doctrine. In other places the witness prefers different terminology: *quaedam species* for *pars* at II.17, *sermo* as a translation for *logos* rather than *ratio* at V.11. *Tractatum edidit* for *tractauit* (II.17), the added *divisio rerum* at V.4, the additional glosses of *flos* (VI.11) and *mathesis* (V.13) all seem to have been added for purposes of clarification.

We give below the variant readings of the two fragments. To the right of the bracket are the readings of S and any other witnesses concurring with it; to the left are given, first, the reading of Jeaneau's text, and afterwards the variant readings of the other manuscripts. The readings peculiar to S are given in

¹² These facts are sufficiently established by the readings of S recorded below, although the readings of the other mss. have only been given in cases where S disagrees with Jeaneau's established text. The reader may consult Jeaneau's apparatus for further ms. variants. The readings unique to S do not indicate knowledge of the longer redaction of the *Glosae* printed by Jeaneau in his Appendix A.

¹³ Probably incorrect readings: II.2 *fuit*; etc.; 4 *ergo*; 6 *optineret ... esse*; 10 *plurima; transferantur*; III.6 *nullam*; IV.3 *mundi* (cf. chap. LXXI, ed. Jeaneau, p. 145 and App. A, p. 295); 8-9 *veneremus* (sic); 13 *ostendamus*; V.7 *habeat*; 13 *autem*; 15 *sit*; *notulis*; 21 *melica*; VI.3, 4 and 6 *vero ... loquitur ... est*: the scribe has mistakenly dropped *ubi* and has had to supply verbs in the other clauses to make them parse; VI.11 *florere*; CLXXVI.37 *dicet*; *ostendendo*; 42 *probationis*.

¹⁴ Probably correct readings: II.3 *quis*; IV.1 *autem* (vid. edn. Jeaneau, App. A, p. 295 [IV.1]); VI.9 *discipulis* (vid. App. A, p. 297 [VI.18]).

Possibly correct readings: II.17 *positive iusticie*; IV.3 *illius*; V.16 *in*; VI.3 *efficienti*.

boldface with the exception of transpositions which are not generally recorded in Jeaneau's text.¹⁵

CHAPTER II

- 2 operis *FU*] *om. APS*
 fuerit *ABFPU*] **fuit** *S*
 unde *AFU*: et unde *P*] de quo *BS*
 et¹ *ABFPU*] **etc.** *S*
- 2-3 qua utilitate *F*: cui *U*: cur *ABP*] *om. S*
- 3 **quis** *ante* titulus *S*
- 4 vero *APU*: *om. BF*] **ergo** *S*
- 6 optinere certum esset *BF*: obtinentium esset *A*: o.c. sit *P*: o.c. est *U*] **optineret**
 certum esse *S*
 inquisitionis illius *S*
- 7 illam *F*: ipsam *BPU*] eam *AS*
- 10 plurimum *ABFPU*] **plurima** *S*
transferantur *S*
- 12-14 Qui enim ... minimum minime *ABFPU*] **illud attendens quod si omnes**
essent iniusti, tueri posset etiam ille qui multum potest, qui vero
minime potest, minime; unde et ei in tempore iniusticie plurimum
valere esse iusticia *S*
- 15 diffinitionem *BF*] sententiam *APSU*
- 16 sui discipuli *ABPU*: eius discipuli *F*] discipuli sui *S*
- 17 parte *ABFPU*] **quadam specie** *S*
 de positiva iusticia *ABFPU*] **positive iusticie** *S*
 tractauit *ABFPU*] **tractatum edidit** *S*

CHAPTER III

- 1 et *PU*] *om. ABFS*
 est *APU*] *om. BFS*
- 2 inventa est *S*
 etc. *AP*: et consimilia *U*: similia quoque *B*] *om. FS*
- 3 est *post* vero *AS*
 parentum dilectio *S*
- 5 de ea *FPU*: ipsius *B*] illius *AS*
- 6 in nulla *PU*: in nullo *BF*: ullam *A*] **nullam** *S*

¹⁵ The authors would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (P.E.D.) and the American Philosophical Society (J.H.) for their generous support of our research. A microfilm of the Salamanca manuscript was procured with the kind assistance of Dra. Teresa Santander of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca.

- 6-7 iusticiam invenire potuit *S*
 7 iuxta *F*: sed *U*] scilicet *ABPS*
 7-8 confinxit *post* Atheniensium *S*
 11 maxime circa mundi creationem *S*

CHAPTER IV

- 1 **autem** *post* Agit *S*
 2 causam mundi *S*
 3 hominis *post* anime *AS*: humane *B*
 modum *ABFPU*] **mundi** *S*
illius *post* potentias *S*
 5 de utilitate et officio *S*
 6 eiusdem *om. S*
 8-9 veneremur *ABFPU*] **veneremus** (*sic*) *S*
 9-10 vel hac ... cognitionem *om. ABPSU*
 11 tantum *om. S*
 11-12 in eo aliquid *S*
 12 appareat *F*: intelligamus *A*: *om. B*] intelligatur *PSU*
 13 divisione prodamus *FPU*: dicamus *A*: *om. B*] divisione **ostendamus** *S*, *sed*
vid. ad. lin. V.24.

CHAPTER V

- 1 eorum *om. S*
 non videntur et sunt *S*
 4 tres sunt *S*
 species *om. AFPS*
ethica, polytica, echonomica *post* sunt *add. S*
est ante de *add. S*
 5 id est *om. APS*
 unde *om. APSU*
 6 id est *F*: enim est *UP*: enim *A*] **enim id est** *S*
 7 debeat *AFPU*] **habeat** *S* (*post unusquisque*)
 8 est *om. S*
 10 ratio *AF*] *om. PSU*
 est² *om. S*
 11 ratio *AFPU*] **sermo** *S*
 11-12 vero ... id est *om. S*
 13 *post* vanitas *add. S*: **Unde scire facit mathesis, dat divinare matesis.**
 et *AFP*] **autem** *post* dicitur *S*
 scilicet *om. S*

- 14 doctrina fit *S*
 15 fit doctrina *AFPU*] **sit** *S*
 et *om. FS*
 oculis *AFPU*] **notulis** *S*
 16 **in** *post* auctor *add. S*
 18 vero est *om. S*
 est *om. S*
 20 tres species *S*
 21 melica metrica *S*
 melice *AFPU*] **melica** *S*
 23-25 Sed quia ... ordientes *om. FPS*
Schema deest in AFPSUV

CHAPTER VI

- 3 ubi *AFPU*] **vero** *S*
efficienti *S*
 de *om. S*
 4 **loquitur** *post* proportionibus *add. S*
 5-6 de physica *A*: physice *UP*] physica est *FS*
 7 Dicitur *F*] Dictus *APSU*
 8 Platonis *F*: eiusdem *U*: eius *A*] suo *PS*
 9 **uel** *post* discipulorum *add. S*
 illis *F*: discipulo *APU*] **discipulis** *S*
 honorem ... conferret *S*
 10 et ut *P*: et *AU*] uel ut *FS*
 11 **thimos id est** *post* quasi *add. S*
 floreo *AFPU*] **florere** *S*
 12-13 alii dicunt ... tractat *om. APSU*

CHAPTER VII

- 1 *supra* Ysocrates scriptum est **orator fuit** a librario
 etc. *om. FS*
 1-2 apud antiquos *om. PS*
 2 quia *FPU*] quod *AS*

CHAPTER CLXXVI

- 37 **dicet** *S*
ostendendo *S*
 38 eo *FU*: quo *V*] **hoc** *S*

- 39 **hoc** *ante* est *add.* *S*
42 pro generis *FUV*] **probatio** < **nis** > *S*
43 ammonitione *om.* *S*
45 qui *om.* *S*
 uias omnes pera < graveritis inge > nue *S*
46 **Finis. Deo gratias.** *S*; *ad fin. subscriptio quattuor linearum ob ras. illeg. est.*

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